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THE MIDDLE AGES

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BY

EDWARD MASLIN HULME

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN STANFORD UNIVERSITY

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TO

MY WIFE

"The real men of progress are those who begin with a profound respect for the past. All that we do, all that we are, is the outcome of immemorial labor."

ERNEST RENAN.

PREFATORY NOTE

This book is based upon the outlines of *The Middle Ages* by Professor George Lincoln Burr, printed, but not published, for the use of his students at Cornell University. They were outlines, he informed his students in an introductory note, not of lectures, but of studies; and their aim was to suggest questions, not to give answers; to set tasks, not to state results. The answers were to be sought in the sources. In this brief explanation he indicated the true method of teaching history. It is with his permission that I have used his outlines in my book; and of that kindness I wish here to make public acknowledgment. Here and there I have ventured to change them. Several chapters have been united with others; the order of several others has been rearranged; in every chapter minor changes have been made; and the last two chapters are entirely new. With these exceptions, however, the framework of the book remains completely his.

Far more than a set of outlines is another debt I owe to the best teacher it was ever my luck to find. From him, as from no other, I learned that there is no insight without sympathy, without the power to feel *with* others, not necessarily *for* them, to put ourselves into their place, to penetrate below differences to our common nature and our common needs, to keep a living mind in contact with life; and that even "to see the truth costs long and loving study, and that to tell it, which means to make another see it as we do, is the most delicate and difficult of arts."

E. M. Hulme.

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THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER 1

THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE OPENING OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

Its territory. Civilization seems to have originated in the Orient, whence it spread to the shores of the Mediterranean. There it was elaborated by the work of Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, Crete, Greece, and Rome. Rome grew from a small peasant community to a state that included the entire peninsula of Italy, and then to an empire that comprised all the lands of the Mediterranean. The geographical unity of this sea strikes the eye at the first glance. By means of easy and rapid navigation it brings together its various lands that lie in the continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe. Without its aid no combination would have been possible of the various peoples we find included in imperial Rome.

Its frontiers. We are to make a survey of this empire as it appeared at the opening of the fourth century. Rome at that time was very large. No land had seemed too distant to subdue, none too wild for civilization. On the west lay the trackless and untraversed ocean where no mariner dared to sail. At the south stretched the burning sands of the desert over which no foe could come. On the east, at times a troublesome neighbor, but not often causing anxiety, lay Persia. And on the north a boundary capable of strong defense was made by the Rhine and the Danube. Only at three or four points was successful invasion to be feared. The land between the two northern rivers was the weakest point of the frontiers of the empire. It was the vulnerable heel of Achilles. So a great rampart, running for two hundred miles over the hills and through the valleys, was built from the Rhine to the Danube. The profound reluctance

of the imperial rulers to cross those rivers was due largely to the fact that the impenetrable forests and endless plains beyond them presented an insoluble military problem. The chief city was nearly in the center of the empire. The fact was of great importance. Her position would in itself have been sufficient to decide that the capital of the ancient world should be Rome.

Dialects and languages. In this wide-stretching territory many local dialects persisted among the lower classes and in the remoter districts, but the two leading languages were Greek and Latin. The former prevailed in the East, the latter in the West; but all educated men, wherever they lived, and many even of the humbler classes in the West, spoke Greek, and so that language was a common medium for polite and learned society and made intercourse free wherever there were meetings of Romans, Syrians, Jews, and Greeks.

Armies and fleets. It was necessary to protect the frontiers, given by nature and by history; but there was no great army like those of our own time. Less than three hundred thousand men, most of them scattered in permanent camps along the frontiers, seem to have sufficed to maintain peace at home and repel the foreign foe. Only rarely did the wars, carried on along the frontiers, or beyond them, disturb the tranquil course of everyday life within the empire. The frontier was largely water, yet the fleets were not so large as had been those of the Phœnicians and the Greeks. A fleet at Ravenna, one at Misenum, and another at Frejus patrolled the Mediterranean, while still another protected the coasts of the Black Sea. And then a flotilla passed continually up and down the Rhine, and another did likewise on the Danube. The endless wars that formerly had made property and life precarious in the lands now included within the imperial boundaries had been brought to an end. Everywhere prevailed, during the first two centuries of our era, the seldom broken *Pax Romana*.

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ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BRITANNIA
GERMANIA
GALLIA
ITALIA
HISPANIA
MEDITERRANEAN
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Danube R.
Loire R.
Paris
Seine R.
Lyons
Rhone R.
Milan
Po R.
Ravenna
Toulouse
Garonne R.
Narbonne
Ebro R.
Frejus
Rome
Misenum
Carthage
Ripae
Tiber R.
THE ROMAN EMPIRE
at the opening of the
FOURTH CENTURY
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
0
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20
30
40
50
60
60
50
40
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CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Vistula R.
Dniester R.
Dniester
Don R.
Danube R.
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Adrianople
Nicæa
Thessalonica
Thrace
Thens
Antioch
Beirut
Cæsarea
Jerusalem
PALESTINE
Alexandria
Memphis
Nile R.
E A N S E A
OF THE

Cities. It is in the cities we shall find the essential and characteristic feature of the civilization of the empire. A great deal of the land was owned by men who lived in them. Many great landowners lived in the country in the summer, but their real home was in the cities. Only slaves and their overseers and semi-servile farmers stayed in the country all the time. The country played no part in the imperial life. In the cities one found temples, squares, baths, schools, amphitheaters, monuments, and other public buildings. Roman architecture was varied and flexible, intelligently planned and strongly constructed, the first to conceive the impressive effect of wide and lofty interiors unencumbered by supports; and it was a fitting expression of the superb power and magnificence of the empire. Beneath the disfigurement and the dilapidation of almost every town that remembers that ancient dominion there is rarely absent a hint of grandeur and a suggestion of imperial power. The great aqueducts, too, were all for the towns. It was a world of towns. Each was independent in a large degree; and each competed with other towns. Recently discovered inscriptions have revealed how rich and complete was municipal life. The culture of the time was essentially urban. The greatest city of all, of course, was Rome. Within its walls lived the largest urban population ever known to the ancient world. That enormous city must have been surrounded, as it is to-day, by a half desolate region, given over mainly to immense natural pastures, known as the *Campagna*, and so special provision had to be made not only for the more refined needs of the higher classes, but also for the daily food of the great mass of the people. Ships unloaded their cargoes of grain and other supplies at the port of Ostia, and the goods were then transported by road and river to the city, there to be stored in the warehouses at the Porta Portese. Roman civilization bequeathed the municipal system to modern Europe. The city is the last thing that disappeared beneath the waters of the bar-

barian inundation; and it is the first thing that meets the eye in the early history of the civilization of western Europe. It never entirely fades from view.

Roads. No small factor in the unification of the imperial possessions, and in the development of commerce and civilization, were the great military roads, imperishable highways, built so that an army might march without impediment to York or to Jerusalem. Starting from the golden milestone in the Forum at Rome one could travel in any direction to the frontiers with a rapidity and safety afterwards unknown, anywhere in the world, until well on into the nineteenth century. All these roads led to Rome. The imperial city was the center of that marvelous network. Five principal roads spread like the ribs of a fan; and from these arteries small roads branched off and found their way to the farthest confines of the empire. A few of the main roads were over a hundred feet wide, all admitted two wagons abreast, and some had two raised pathways for pedestrians; but the great majority of the branch roads were narrow, being only from eight to ten feet wide. All these roads, some of them made of cement and others paved with carefully chiseled blocks of stone, were incomparable in construction. Centuries afterwards they were consciously imitated by Napoleon. Straight as an eagle's flight they ran, or straight as a good grade would permit, through the valleys, over rivers, across marshes, climbing the mountains, until their destination was reached, overcoming natural obstacles with cuts, fills, bridges, culverts, embankments, and tunnels, and teaching the peoples along the way something of the bold and tireless energy of Rome. The rate of travel was from thirty to fifty miles a day, although, in time of need, a much higher speed could be maintained. Milestones gave directions and marked distances. On these roads passed to and fro soldiers, civil officials, messengers, merchants, professional men of various kinds, missionaries, and tourists, guarded by state and city

police. This ease and safety of travel, with the consequent free movement from one part of the world to another, produced a cosmopolitan empire. Itinerant rhetoricians and philosophers, as well as other missionaries, spread their doctrines by teaching in cities; and even traders carried ideas as well as wares. It was a great age of travel. Those splendid roads facilitated the passage of armies, commerce, and ideas for more than a thousand years, and bound together the immense state encircling the Latin Sea.

Posts. At convenient intervals rest-houses and stables were established along the roads. An elaborate postal service, modeled on the one maintained by the Persians, was kept up throughout the empire. Private letters were not carried by the imperial service. The public postal system was for governmental purposes only. Private correspondence was despatched chiefly by hired messengers who probably traveled at the rate of twenty-five miles a day on foot.

Trade. Free trade between one region and another prevailed throughout the immense dominions of Rome. No tariff gave rise to trickery, friction, and hatred between the provinces. For the first time in history the productions of separate regions, all belonging to the same state, but varying greatly in climate and soil, adapted themselves, within certain limits, to the natural conditions, and the deficiencies of one region were compensated for by the riches of others. This free trade brought to the provinces a high degree of prosperity. Wine, olive oil, wool, textiles, and metals were produced in great abundance in the peninsula of Iberia. The same was true of wine, wool, flax, silk, and wagons in Gaul; lead, copper, iron, and tin were exported from Britain; iron of excellent quality was obtained in southern Germany. Amber and furs were brought from northern Germany and the distant lands of the Slavs. Abundant gold was found in Dacia. Northern Africa exported grain, wines, cattle, and slaves, some of whom were brought across the Sahara

from the Soudan; while the greatest granary of the empire was Egypt. The ancient cities of Asia Minor and Syria wove wool, flax, and silk, and excelled in the manufacture of glass and metal ware; while through the ports of the Levant poured commerce that had originated as far east as India and even China. The natural center of this oriental commerce was Alexandria, a large and wealthy city, which in its turn distributed those imports, silks, perfumes, unguents, to different parts of the empire. We should remember, however, that the rural population, whether free or slave, and all the working class of the villages and smaller towns, had no recourse to importations from abroad, but had to provide for their own needs, whether of food or clothing, exclusively with local products. The commerce of the empire, like that of all antiquity, was mainly a commerce in objects of luxury. The importation of grain, wine, and oil was mainly to meet the necessities of the larger cities, which were under the paternal care of the government.

Law. The most important legacy bequeathed by Rome to subsequent civilization is the admirable body of law which to-day affords the basis to half the codes of Europe and to those of all the Latin countries of America, and which has materially modified our own. We shall learn something of this law when we study its codification in the days of Justinian. The Romans delighted in law, in ordered obedience. They had an unparalleled talent for administration, and the sense of legal responsibility was deeply implanted in their temperament. They respected local customs and usages in their conquered provinces, but everywhere they made their legal principles predominate. In those principles is to be found an expression of their sound common sense, even more than of the genius of their gifted lawyers, dealing with the questions of daily life as they arose successively in the changing conditions of many centuries. Underneath the imperial power which changed and passed, beneath the shifting pageantry of rulers who moved

across the stage and were seen no more, was this expanding and abiding body of law which still testifies to the constructive genius of Rome. The most famous law school at this time was at Beirut, in Syria.

Government. When we look at the political condition of Rome at this time we are struck by the fact that it was ruled by one man. At first, when it was only a community of peasants, it was ruled by petty kings. These gave way to an aristocratic and warlike republic which conquered its neighbors, extended its possessions beyond the peninsula, and became an empire. In theory the senate had a share in the government, but now it was little more than an aristocratic club, for in reality all power was concentrated in the hands of the emperor. The territory was divided into some one hundred and twenty provinces, whose civil governors, with a few exceptions, were responsible to the vicars in charge of the dioceses. The imperial administration respected local liberties. For many important purposes each town was independent. The reality, as well as the form, of republican government lingered in the municipalities long after it had become extinct in imperial affairs. The peculiar circumstances in the provinces were also taken into account, and so the governors were allowed much liberty and freedom of action. The provinces were grouped into fourteen dioceses, whose vicars controlled the governors of the provinces, and who were in turn subordinate to the prætorian prefects. The dioceses were grouped into the four prefectures of Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and the Orient. The prefects had charge of the raising of taxes and the administration of justice, the only persons exempt from their jurisdiction being the inhabitants of the cities of Rome and Constantinople. Each of these two cities had its own government. In addition to these territorial officials a group of ministers, resident at the court, each with a body of assistants, in control of some branch of the civil administration, assisted the emperor.

Slaves. The social institutions of the empire were not democratic. There was an enormous number of slaves. Most of them were not sharply differentiated in race and color from the free population, as were our slaves before the Civil War. Often they were drawn from the northern peoples, and sometimes from the East. They were, with few exceptions, white men. Many of them were barbers, craftsmen, doctors, and teachers, and were well-trained and cultured; some worked in the houses of rich men, where they were needed for the ceremonies attending the admission of guests, for the care of the baths, bedrooms, kitchens, and dining rooms, for the making and cleaning of clothes, and for personal services, but by far the greater number of them were employed in the country as plowmen, herdsmen, vine-dressers, gardeners, and keepers of bees and poultry. If one had slaves enough, and cared to do so, one manufactured for others. Society was founded upon slavery. It was a disease, producing social corruption, undermining free institutions, and causing the disappearance of the substantial middle class without which no nation can endure. Small farmers were ruined by the endless taxes that burdened the land and by the competition of the slaves. Many of these luckless *coloni* abandoned the fields and fled to the towns, especially to Rome. Their farms were incorporated into great plantations known as *latifundia*. Landownership on a large scale was continually increasing.

Freedmen. Above the slaves were the freedmen. They were not entirely free. From early times it often happened that a slave won his freedom by faithful service, or purchased it with his savings. Then he became a client of his former master, who usually helped him in the management of his affairs. His manumission did not make him industrially free. Part of his earnings had to be given to his master. Freedmen were protected by their masters, to whom they were generally loyal. They formed a large, intelligent, enterprising, and influential class.

Freemen. Above the freedmen were the simple freemen, most of whom lived in the towns. Some of them were tradesmen, others were artisans, and still others were such officers as notaries and constables. They could vote but not hold office. The laws paid homage to the corrupt public opinion of the time by regarding all artisans as slaves. All workers, therefore, not only such craftsmen as locksmiths, dyers, carpenters, and bricklayers, but also readers, copyists, librarians, school teachers, and architects were either slaves or foreigners.

Citizens. Then came men with full citizenship. In this middle class, between the slaves and the nobility, there were great contrasts and extremes. Most of them were sunk in abject poverty. Few had any possessions or influence. Those who lived in Rome, though very poor, disdained to ply a trade. Wrapped in rags they passed the day in the Forum, never doing a stroke of work, and slept on straw under a tree in the Arician wood, or under a portico near the Porta Trigemina. From before the beginning of our era the state had distributed grain to these inhabitants of the imperial capital at very low prices, or even entirely free, and it also provided them gratuitously with amusements.

Nobles. The highest social stratum was made up of the nobles of various ranks and titles. Many of them were very wealthy, as were also some of the tradesmen, while the bulk of the population was very poor. Some of them, influenced partly by tradition and partly by contemporary public opinion, gave large sums of money for the welfare and the glory of their cities. Others, especially those who had made money rapidly and did not know what to do with it, were spendthrifts and débauchées.

Manufacture. The necessities of the urban population, their need of a comfortable life and their increasing desire for luxury, stimulated local industry and developed commerce. Only to a small extent, however, was manufacture

carried on by free native artisans. Most of it was done by specialized slaves, and by immigrant artificers, chiefly Greeks. Greeks and Asiatics were to be found as craftsmen, and also as school teachers and physicians, in all the provinces of the West. Jews, even before the opening of our era, were scattered all over the empire; and side by side with them, in large numbers, as merchants and money lenders, were to be found Syrians. Foreign money flowed to the imperial capital from all sides, and the money changers who flourished there gradually found themselves transformed into bankers.

Gilds. Each class of workers was formed into a gild. The members of any gild were forbidden under severe penalties to leave it or to change their constitution, and serious obstacles had to be overcome by anyone who wished to become a member. Every worker had to live and die in the trade he first plied. A law of 398 even ordained that armorers should be branded on the arm, so that they might be recognized if they ran away. Public opinion and law combined to give to all craftsmanship a taint of slavery.

Agricultural labor. The same was true of agricultural labor. When the free *coloni* fled from the country to the towns they were replaced not only by slaves but also by *coloni* by obligation. Whoever cultivated the same fields for thirty years, so the law declared, could not abandon them. A new kind of prescription was thus introduced. *Coloni* they were born, and *coloni* they died; they were always *coloni* of the same fields; and their sons inherited their status. The colonate meant the immobility of the person, and was always regarded as only one degree above slavery. The obligatory colonate for the free man was the first step towards servitude. In many instances it ended by converting the free *coloni* into rustic slaves.

The great farms. The abundance and cheapness of slaves accelerated the concentration of agricultural property and helped to bring about a transformation of the methods

of culture in many parts of the empire. Small farms cultivated by their owners never entirely disappeared; in some districts they were numerous; but *latifundia*, large estates cultivated by slaves and *coloni*, became more and more frequent. The rural population, whether free or slave, and all the working classes of the villages and smaller towns, had no recourse to importations from abroad, but were obliged to provide for their own needs, whether of food or clothing, with local products. The great landed estates, were self-sufficing economic units. Each was divided into two parts. One of these parts, on which was to be found the *villa*, the dwelling of the landowner or the official who took his place, was directly administered by the lord and worked by his slaves. All the people on this domain constituted the *familia rustica*. Their dwellings, often clustered near the *villa*, made up the village. There, too, were the factories in which the specialized slaves worked, devoted to all the trades called into being by the necessities of the entire estate which, except for the refinements of the lord's table and other luxuries of the *villa*, was self-supporting. This local economic self-sufficiency, this "domestic economy", prevailed everywhere. Capitalistic economy, so widely prevalent to-day, was then, with the possible exception of the mining industry, unknown. The other part of the estate was divided into a number of small tributary farms assigned to *coloni*. The number of slaves had fallen at the time our story begins, and their price had risen. The lords of the *latifundia* subdivided that part of their lands for which they no longer had sufficient slaves into small holdings, which they let to manumitted slaves, or to *coloni*, receiving from them rent in money or in kind. These subordinate farmers made use of the oven, mill, and wine-press situated on the lord's domain; they found in the lord's slaves craftsmen who could do this or that job for them; they made presents of honey, eggs, poultry and other such things to the lord at certain times; and with their own

labor, and that of their beasts of burden, they were obliged to assist in repairing the roads and the bridges for the good of the entire estate. Thus grew up, side by side with slavery, the colonate, comprising many legal relationships of different character and origin, from the free leaseholder, to whom the lord handed over a farm for which he had to pay a stipulated rent, to the slave, who continued to cultivate the lands of the master, but who, instead of being provided with food and clothing, was now given a little piece of land with which he had to provide himself with his maintenance. But the conditions of all these peasants (*coloni*, *inquilini*, *ascriptitii*, *originari*) ultimately became assimilated the one to the other, thereby creating a new class of workers, bound in fact, if not yet in law, to the soil they cultivated, living under conditions no longer determined by contract but by custom.

Extension of citizenship. At first only those could take part in the government who were citizens of the city of Rome. But when the peasant community began to acquire the neighboring territories all the conquered peoples were admitted to citizenship and the patriciate was conferred upon their nobles. For a time this liberal policy was reversed; but it was eventually restored and with its aid the provinces acquired beyond the borders of Italy were Romanized. In 215 Caracalla extended citizenship to all free men born in the domains of Rome.

The state religion. Rome had a state religion. It consisted of external acts of worship of a definite list of gods, a list increased from time to time by additions from the divinities of conquered countries, whose statues might be seen beneath the reconciling, peace-imposing dome of the Pantheon. These deities, however, were not very attractive even to their worshipers. Most of them were only cold and formal personifications of civic virtues and the useful arts of life. Their worship helped to develop the sense of citizenship, but failed to satisfy the spiritual in-

stincts of the people. Temples of the various divinities were to be found in all the cities; and here and there in the country we may still see a wind-swept sanctuary of those vanished gods. The chief function of the priests of this religion was to see that the proper attitudes were observed, the due offerings made, and the correct formulæ employed in the worship of the gods. No men were allowed to "refuse the ceremonies" except the Jews. They were licensed nonconformists. Judaism was respected as an old national religion, one that, inasmuch as it was not missionary, could safely be left alone. There were no dogmas connected with the state religion, neither was there a code of morals. Men were free to believe what they wished and to act as they desired. It was very largely a mechanical religion. It took no account of sin and it made no provision for salvation. It was an etiquette governing relations of men to groups of beings who were deemed to be superhuman in power. There was no bible, no prayer book, no discipline, no sermon, and no churchgoing. The main purpose was to secure material blessings from the gods, safety and prosperity for the citizen and the state. No such thing as love, or trust, or hope was suggested. There was nothing to move the imagination, nothing to affect the conscience, nothing to stir the soul. Since the opening of our era this religion had included the worship of the emperor. Incense was burned before his statue. This worship was, in the first place, an expression of the gratitude of the provinces for the blessing of peace, the end of oppression, the coming of a better order. It symbolized, in visible form, the fear, respect, and love inspired in millions of souls by the absolute and tutelary power of the empire. The very title of "Augustus", which means venerable and sacred, recalled the religious character with which the emperor was invested. Men saw in him an actual divinity, and the ideal which fused into one the worship of the state and its ruler is summed up in the famous formula of "Rome and Augustus". This

state religion worked on the outside of the individual only, never penetrating to the depths of his inner life, concerning itself chiefly with the preservation of the state. It was entirely material and political. Yet it helped to produce some desirable results. It contributed to bind men together in all the provinces, and it united all men, from the senator to the slave, in the same devotion to the empire.

The local religions. Within the state religion, and tolerated by it, were many other religions and modes of worship. In every district of the countryside there lingered old local religions. Every *latifundium* was haunted by its own local spirits, *numina* of the fields, the wood, the spring, the hill, the household. The dead were not forgotten. Fire was kept burning on the ancestral hearthstone, and at times food was placed there for the comfort and the consolation of the departed. Every village had its own superstitions and beliefs, its fasts and feasts, its rites and ceremonies, and these beliefs and practices of the peasants, of the *pagani*, were deep-seated and persistent and found their way in part into the faith and worship of the medieval church.

Philosophy. Educated people, however, no longer believed in the state religion; nor were they satisfied by remaining faithful to the minor deities and sorcerers of the countryside. Many of them, therefore, adopted the teachings of philosophy. All along it was philosophy, not the state religion, that was concerned with morality. Philosophy was popularized by the theater, where the rights and duties of parent and child, husband and wife, master and slave, were freely discussed, and where moderation, tenderness, and humanity were lauded. Orations and poems were other means by which the teachings of philosophy were spread abroad. Cicero proclaimed the equality of all men as having the same origin and the same end; and he declared that nothing else so accords with a generous soul as benevolence and forgiveness, and that men should regard themselves as citizens of the world and not of one city only.

Such teaching, however, was ethical rather than philosophical. It had to do with conduct rather than with creeds. But there were two schools of thought that put forth philosophical creeds. Each claimed to provide a satisfactory way of life; each included among its subscribers many of the finest men of the time. The Stoics believed in a spirit that animates the world, that rules all things, and that has endowed the individual with something of itself to inspire and guide him throughout his life. They were, however, concerned with this life, not with any hereafter. Their ideal of life was that of "self-sufficiency", of dependence upon one's self only, of indifference to pain or pleasure, and of attaining this indifference by living "in accordance with nature". The austerity of this doctrine was very congenial to the practical and sober temperament of the Romans; it produced the aristocratic character that knew how to die with greatness of soul. In the second century it ended its golden age on the imperial throne with Marcus Aurelius (161–180); and then, in its decline, it became so modified as to be scarcely distinguishable from the doctrine of the more cheerful and cultured Epicureans. The Epicureans were materialists. They banished divinity from all perceptible things and from the life of man. The gods, they said, having no interest in human life, live far away serenely engaged in their own affairs. The soul of man dies with his body. They taught that the part of wisdom is to seek pleasure in this life, and that the highest pleasure is to be found in the practice of virtue. These two schools, however much they differed in their theories of the universe, agreed in making happiness the chief end of man. They declared happiness and virtue to be identical. They taught men to depend upon themselves, to practice virtue under the guidance of reason and the control of the will, and then to be indifferent to what may befall them here and hereafter.

Neoplatonism. The great mass of men, however, had no gift for philosophical reflection, nor had they the strength

and courage to depend only upon themselves; and many refined and sensitive souls, less dependent upon external support, failed to find what they were seeking in the proud self-sufficiency of Stoicism and the genial but selfish doctrines of Epicureanism. Some of these more religiously inclined men found what they needed in Neoplatonism. What is Neoplatonism? We must learn something about this posthumous system of Greek thought, because at this time it exercised a profound influence upon many religious leaders, and afterwards, when it had developed into mysticism, it flowed like a river, continually deepening and widening, all through the life of the medieval centuries. The soul, said the Neoplatonists, is imprisoned in the body and the world; it aspires to leave them in order to be reunited with God; it seeks to experience, even in its earthly existence, an actual union with God. Such a union may be gained in contemplation and ecstasy. This mystical tendency is to be found in the writings of Plato, but there it is tempered by the political genius of the Greeks. When it came into contact with streams of oriental thought, the ardor of mysticism knew no bounds. Neoplatonism, then, was a mingling of Greek ideas with ideas that had found their way from the Orient. It made its definite appearance in the Mediterranean world in the first half of the third century at Alexandria. Its first notable apostle was Plotinus (205–270), who left that melting pot of eastern and western peoples, philosophies, and religions, and set up as a teacher in Rome. It taught that by closing our eyes to the world about us, ignoring our bodily senses, and inducing a state of ecstasy, we may, in this life, for a brief period at a time, win our way into the actual presence of Divinity. It was welcomed because it came at a time when men were more than ever dissatisfied with the state religion of Rome, and when exhaustion was overtaxing the civilizations of Greece and Judæa. To Porphyry (233–304?), a Syrian who went to study in Rome, should be given credit for popularizing,

and making more practical and religious, the thought of Plotinus. Proclus (411–485), who lived and taught in Athens, is the great schoolman of Neoplatonism. He arranged the more or less amorphous mass of traditional lore in a definite system, and gave it that form in which later on it was transferred to Christianity in the teachings of the Pseudo-Dionysius.

Oriental religions. Yet, after all, only a limited number of men found what they were seeking in Neoplatonism. It appealed only to cultivated men who had the temperament of the mystic. Multitudes, therefore, embraced one or other of the new religions flowing in from the East. It was the dawn of a new day when religion became vital. The perpetual needs of the soul, which could no longer find satisfaction in the insipid worship of the state gods, or the vulgar beliefs of the countryside, or the material conceptions of philosophy, sought among these new mysteries for a deity who had not yet been profaned. The more significant of these oriental cults were those of Cybele and Attis, of Demeter, of Isis and Osiris, and of Mithras. The last was the most important. Mithras was a sun god, and his worship originated in Persia. For two centuries or more before the beginning of our era these new religions had been spreading widely in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean. They were propagated by merchants, by slaves, and by soldiers who had returned from the East. They were sensuous and mystic, diverse in detail yet similar in essentials, with elaborate and impressive ritual; they paid attention to belief and conduct, and they gave an exalted position to their priesthoods. Their priests were by no means content with directing the externals of worship. They wore a distinctive habit, had definite rules of life, gloried in detachment from the world and from ordinary human affections, and devoted themselves exclusively to their sacred calling. They desired to save souls, and to this end they performed religious rites and preached sermons. Often-

times one could see a procession of one of these religions wending its way through the streets of a city. Sometimes it was a procession of the black-robed priests of Bellona, an oriental goddess whose devotees lacerated themselves and sprinkled the blood on the spectators; and sometimes it was one of the priests of the Egyptian goddess named Isis, clad in robes of white and with tonsured heads, whose religion fascinated the Romans. These religions granted pardons for sins in return for the performance of certain ceremonies. Some of them had pilgrimages. In Syria thousands of men and women came to adore and to assist at the rites performed by the priests of the goddess Astarte. These religions resembled one another in many respects. All of them came from the same original ideas and answered to the same yearnings. The chief differences between them were due to the histories of their divinities. Some of them had a divine lord, intermediate between man and the supreme deity, who consented to live and suffer as a man in order that man, by believing in this sacrifice, might be saved. Such was the god Osiris, who was mourned by Isis; and such was the god Adonis, who was mourned by Astarte. The greatest of these oriental religions, one that for a time bade fair to conquer the civilized world, was that of the Persian deity named Mithras. It appealed to traders because its divinity was a god of prosperity, to soldiers because he was a god of victory, and to common men because he was a god of righteousness who, in the midst of a world of sorrow, promised to all the faithful a life of eternal happiness. Before his altar, lit with many lights, vested priests chanted litanies to the sound of music. But its propaganda was too circumscribed and restricted. Mithraism was never composed of anything more than small and scattered groups; and, by initiating only men, it deprived itself of the powerful spirit of proselytism possessed by women.

Desire for a more spiritual religion. In the third century the pagan world was ripe for devotion. The imperial power

was declining, and property and life were becoming less and less secure. In the midst of these painful realities multitudes of men and women craved a deeper spiritual satisfaction than that afforded by the state religion, the religions of the common people, the teachings of philosophy, or the nebulous thought of Neoplatonism. The soil was ready for new seed. There were plenty to scatter it. Every eastern nation had dispersed groups, *diasporæ*, in the western world, Persians, Syrians, Jews, Egyptians, and Greeks.

Christianity. But the future did not lie with any of these religions. Answering the same needs, and offering a superior doctrine and morality, another oriental religion gradually supplanted them and all its other rivals. Christianity came as the last among this host of competitors. It lacked much of their social and historical prestige; but it brought news of a leader who had come from heaven with a message of hope to the despairing, one who had borne their griefs and shared their sorrows, and one through whose resurrection and return to heaven their eternal life was secured. Two of its doctrines made a profound appeal to the mass of the people, that of universal love and that of the equality of all men. The doctrine of equality rests upon the belief that every man, slave as well as senator, has an immortal soul, and that the peasant will be welcomed into heaven as readily as the patrician. It was a message that fell like celestial rain upon thirsty souls, a message to people of all lands and stations in life, to women as well as to men, and especially was it a message to the poor, the outcast, and the slave. It was the one live element in that immense decay. The universality of its appeal was the secret of its ultimate triumph over its rivals, particularly over Mithraism.

Religious syncretism. When men of the western world entered one of these oriental cults they took many of their ideas and practices with them. Thus all these new religions were modified in their new environment. More and more they were blended with one another and with the thought,

the beliefs, and the practices they supplanted. This mixture of religions is called "syncretism". It exercised a profound influence upon the development of Christianity.

Conflict between Christianity and Paganism. At first Christianity was regarded as a Jewish sect, and protected accordingly. When it severed itself from its source and adopted an aggressive policy it was persecuted, first by the Jews and then by the empire. There was an incurable opposition between the teaching of the Christians and the root idea of the empire. The rulers felt this, and, almost against their will, were forced into opposition to Christianity. Gladly would they have recognized the new religion and consigned it to the peaceful Pantheon of the tolerated religions where flourished side by side the worship of the gods of the state religion, Janus and Jana, Jupiter and Juno, Saturnus, Vesta, and others, and with the gods of the new oriental religions, Osiris and Isis, Adonis and Astarte, and the appealing Mithras. But more and more they perceived that Christianity was a religion that would have all or nothing, and so, in order to keep it from the throne, they hunted it into the catacombs. Paganism began its struggle against the continually growing power of Christianity in the days of Marcus Aurelius; and in 302 Diocletian (285–305) began a thorough-going attempt to exterminate it. Paganism was fighting for its existence. It snatched at any weapon wherewith to strike. Churches were to be destroyed, the sacred writings burned, and libations to the state gods were required of all Christians. But persecution failed of its purpose. In 311 Galerius published an edict granting toleration to all Christians. This law gave freedom of worship to men who were already Christians. It did not specifically give permission to men to adopt the religion of Jesus, though this may have been implied. From this law is to be dated the line of tolerant edicts which eventually resulted in establishing Christianity as the state-supported religion of Rome.

Summary. Such, in outline, was the Roman Empire. It was a single, absolute, and divine power; master of legislation, taxation, the magistracies, the army, peace and war; the upholder of order and justice, a universal law based upon reason. It organized and governed as if outside of it nothing could exist but the shapeless raw material of humanity. For a thousand years after its disappearance in the western part of the continent it exercised, as a majestic dream, a powerful influence upon the minds of men. The generations that saw it vanish could not console themselves for its loss; and the memory of it, kept green by the piety of the ages, never ceased throughout the medieval centuries to awaken the hopes, stir the ambitions, and stimulate the audacity of conquerors who believed themselves destined to restore it.

References for Further Reading

The lists of references for further reading at the end of the chapters of this book are by no means complete bibliographies of the historical periods and subjects with which they deal. There is neither space nor necessity for such bibliographies between the covers of our book. The lack of space is evident to all who have an inkling of the vast literature dealing with the life of continental Europe during the ten centuries of the medieval period; while the lack of necessity will be apparent when it is remembered that the book is addressed not to scholars engaged in research work, though the hope is expressed that it may be of occasional assistance even to them, but to the undergraduate student and to the general public.

In every list some indication is given of the original sources, those sources that speak to us of their own knowledge, that are for us the ultimate resort in the search for information. It should not be understood that original sources are invariably superior to derived sources. An original source is trustworthy only in so far as its author knew the truth, desired to tell it, and had the capacity to do so. The best derived sources, those records that borrow their knowledge from others, are based not merely upon one original source, but upon several or upon all of them that relate to the

subject with which the derived source has to do. The value of a derived source, indeed, is determined by the extent of its use of original sources and by the competency of its study of them. The best secondary sources, are, in general, the latest. To this rule, however, there are many exceptions.

We ought, first of all, in our search for further information, to make use of Isadore G. Mudge's *New Guide to Reference Books*, which is by far the best introduction to the study of finding printed matter. Then we should make ourselves acquainted with bibliographies of medieval history. The best one for general purposes is Louis J. Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History*. The last volume of *The Cambridge Ancient History* and all the volumes of *The Cambridge Medieval History* relate to our period and contain extensive bibliographies arranged according to the various chapters. Briefer lists of references are appended to the pertinent articles in some of the encyclopedias.

A portfolio of maps accompanies every volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History;* and W. R. Shepherd's *Historical Atlas* and Ramsay Muir's *Hammond's New Historical Atlas for Students* have many maps dealing with the medieval centuries.

The encyclopedias are so comprehensive in scope that they contain articles on almost every topic with which our book has to do; and so, with a few exceptions, they are named here once for all. The very brevity of their treatment of most of our topics and their inclusive character often make these articles the most desirable preliminary surveys and sometimes the most effective summaries.

A good collection of encyclopedias forms the basis of the reference books in any ordinary library. Chief of them in English is *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, not without serious faults, but unrivaled in many important respects. An authoritative account of Catholicism in all its phases by eminent Catholic writers of many countries will be found in *The Catholic Encyclopædia*. The most important French encyclopedia, and one of the best in any language, is *La Grande Encyclopédie*. It has authoritative signed articles and good bibliographies, and is especially useful for medieval history. The *Grande Dictionaire Universel* of Larousse combines the features of a dictionary and encyclopedia; while the *Nouveau Larousse Illustré* is of a more popular character and

has briefer articles. There are several good encyclopedias in German. Brockhaus's *Konversations-Lexikon*, though its articles are often briefer than one wishes, is very dependable and is especially valuable as a source of information relating to German topics. Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon* is an admirable work. More copious than either of these is Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Kunste.* Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon* is often helpful. Of the Spanish encyclopedias the *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano* is the one most frequently found in the libraries of our country; but it is inferior to the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, which has long articles and good lists of reference. In Scandinavian tongues there are the *Nordisk Conversations-Lexicon*, and the *Svenskt Conversations-Lexicon.* And in Russian we have the masterly *Russkiy Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar*, to which all the leading scholars in letters and science, of the generation before the World War, contributed. Encyclopedias have also been published in the Polish, Hungarian, Bohemian, and Rumanian languages.

The original sources for our first chapter are very miscellaneous and much scattered. They consist of imperial laws, and writings, in prose and verse, of men who lived at that time, such as Eusebius, Eutropius, and Lactantius. The important ones are enumerated in the bibliographies of the last volume of *The Cambridge Ancient History* and the first of *The Cambridge Medieval History.*

The first volume of Joseph Henry Allen's *Christian History in its Three Great Periods* contains a good chapter on "The Mind of Paganism". Samuel Angus's *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity* has a selected, but extensive, bibliography. Cyril Bailey's *The Legacy of Rome* is made up of chapters by various authors. James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, chapter 2. John B. Bury, *The Later Roman Empire*, book 1, chapter 4. Gaston Boissier's *La Fin du Paganisme* is scholarly and charming; and his *La Religion Romaine* deals with the faiths of the time other than Christianity. Chapters 2 and 19 of the first volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History* have to do with our present theme. Arthur Carr, *The Church and the Roman Empire.* M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire.* J. B. Carter, *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome.* Franz Cumont, *The*

Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, and also his *Mysteries of Mithra*. J. Declareuil, *Rome the Law-Giver*. Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, book 3, chapter 2. W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*. The later chapters of Tenny Frank's *A History of Rome*, which have well-selected lists of reference, is one of the best introductions to the study of the last years of the imperial power in the West. Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 13 of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The best edition of this great classic of historical writing is that by J. B. Bury. The first volume of Ferdinand Gregorovius's *Rome in the Middle Ages*. T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*. Albert Grenier, *The Roman Spirit in Religion, Thought, and Art*. George Hodges, *The Early Church*, chapter 1. E. G. Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*. W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*. Michael Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* is one of the most notable historical works written in recent years; and the second volume of his *History of the Ancient World* will be found very helpful for our present purpose.

CHAPTER 2

THE DECLINE AND DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE

The divided administration. In a time of tumult when the Mediterranean world seemed about to break up into a number of warring states Diocletian (285–305), a soldier who had made his way to the imperial throne, divided the administration of the empire. He made Maximian ruler in the West, while he ruled in the East. Each bore the title of Augustus, but Diocletian remained the superior. Each Augustus was assisted by a Cæsar, who shared with him the administration of his half of the empire. This fourfold division was a strict and pitiless organization, binding all men to their original conditions, and punishing infractions of the new law with great severity. For a time it lessened disorder and arrested decay, and yet it contributed to the disintegration of the empire. Four elaborate courts of oriental character, each with a numerous hierarchy of officials, were very expensive, and harsh expedients were tried in order to satisfy the government's thirst for gold. Italy lost its privileged position. It was parceled into provinces and taxed like the others. The increased financial burdens were a deadly blow to agriculture. Defying the laws that sought to bind them to the soil, more farmers than ever fled from their fields to seek refuge in the towns and there add themselves to the indigent populace. The most fatal symptom of the age was the sullen discontent of the agricultural workers upon whose labors all else depended.

DIOCLETIAN WITH MAXIMIAN
CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS
CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS
CONSTANTINE

Constantine. The two emperors retired in 305 and were succeeded by Galerius and Constantius, the men who had

been their Cæsars. The latter died in the following year. Constantine, his son, stationed at the head of an army in Britain, then became involved in the quarrels about the succession to the thrones. Crossing the Alps he thrice defeated Maxentius, who had usurped the Cæsarship in the West, the final engagement being a great victory in 312 at the Milvian Bridge near Rome. Entering the capital he became sole ruler in the West, while in the following year Licinius gained the same position in the East. For some years, during which Constantine devoted himself vigorously to improving the administration of the western provinces, strengthening the frontiers, and checking the encroaching barbarians, they acted in harmony; but they regarded each other with jealous suspicion, and at last war broke out between them. Licinius was defeated and put to death, and then Constantine (324–337) became sole ruler of the empire.

Laws favorable to Christianity. We have seen that in 311, only a few days before his death, Galerius issued an edict granting toleration to the Christians. Two years later Constantine and Licinius issued in their joint names the famous Edict of Milan. For the first time, without distinction of rank or nationality, every man was given complete freedom of faith and worship. Tolerance was proclaimed for all religions. Christians were now eligible for office as municipal magistrates and as provincial governors. Thus a new factor was introduced into the tendencies of political development. Then, in 321, the Catholic Church was granted the right to inherit property. Already, though it belonged to the *collegia illicita*, much real property had been acquired by the church. And now every one was permitted by imperial decree to leave it any property he possessed. Eventually it was to become the universal inheritor. And such property, in accordance with Roman precedent, became more and more regarded as inalienable, because it was deemed to be divine property. In 470 the inalienability of ecclesiastical property, which by that time had become very

extensive, was made a legal maxim by an imperial edict issued in the East. Thus were laid the bases for the political and material power of the Catholic Church, while in the same generation paganism was weakened by confiscation of the property of its temples and prohibition of its public worship by the sons of Constantine. In proclaiming the Edict of Milan the two rulers were inspired not so much by personal interest in Christianity as by concern for the welfare of the empire. They wished to bring harmony into society, to restore unity and prosperity to the wide world they governed. But, though it had not thus far received any special favors, Christianity, burning with an intense life, rapidly increased its membership. Then the laws of Constantine began to show a progressively favorable attitude towards the Christians. His attitude, however, was never that of an ardent supporter of the new religion, but rather that of a statesman who wished to further the interests of his country.

The Council of Nicæa. If the imperial statesmen hoped their famous edict would still the voice of theological controversy they were destined quickly to be disillusioned. Differences of opinion about creeds had long been developing among the Christians. Three hundred years had gone by since Jesus had summed up his teaching in the Sermon on the Mount. Those years were a momentous period, for they were the formative age of the church. Heresies were abroad, and schisms had taken place. Among the doctrines produced by the syncretic religious thought of the first three centuries of our era was that of the Trinity. The gracious history of the Galilean peasant had been supplanted by the mystery cult of the *Khristos*. The leading opponent of this creed at this time was Arius (?–336), a presbyter of one of the churches in Alexandria, who had been trained in the great Syrian school of biblical study at Antioch. He had learned to rely upon the methods of grammar and history, instead of depending upon tradition and allegory. He insisted upon the unity and simplicity of God. Jesus, he believed, was

ineffably superior to all other created beings, but still he was a creature, created by the Father. Many bishops supported this theory of the unity of God. About 323 a definite and bitter controversy, leading to serious civil disturbances, began between the Arians and the Trinitarians. It reached the ears of the emperor, who for some time had realized that one of the best means of checking the disintegration of the empire was the development of the Catholic Church, and who quickly perceived that such dogmatic disputes endangered the unity of the church. So, in order to settle the question and effect a reconciliation of the two theological groups, he summoned the first œcumenical council to meet in 325 at Nicæa. Some three hundred delegates were present, of whom, owing to the distance of the meeting place from other parts of the empire, the great majority were from the East. At that time there were about eighteen hundred bishops, of whom more than half lived in the East. The church was still largely eastern; the West was missionary ground. The principal opponent of Arius was a youthful deacon, named Athanasius (297?–373), from Alexandria. After a series of very vituperative debates, carried on in Greek, a decision was given in favor of the doctrine of the Trinity. The result was not due to internal conviction, but partly to the indifference of most of the members, and partly to the pressure exercised by Constantine. The formula put forth by the council is characteristically Greek, and though its distinctive words were afterwards found to be almost incapable of translation into Latin, it still retains its place among the creeds of all the orthodox churches of western Christendom. This action of the council is the first instance of the fixing of doctrinal requirements by ecclesiastical authorities as an indispensable requirement for membership in the church. The decision failed to subdue the Arians. The general forces of rationalism were enlisted on their side. Their teachings spread among the Germanic tribes at the time of the great migrations; they were accepted by the Goths,

Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, and Lombards; but temporarily they were silenced by the growth of medieval Catholicism. Another fact makes memorable this first œcumenical council. With it began the efforts of the state to control the church.

The new capital. Rome had ceased to be the political center of the empire. More and more the imperial power was losing its grip on the West, and more and more industrial activity and social development were adding to the importance of the East. In 330 Constantine began making a new capital out of the old commercial city of Byzantium, which he called New Rome, but which was destined to be known as Constantinople. By that single act he proved his political genius. Multifarious interests made necessary the imperial residence in what had come to be the center of gravity of the empire. The natural advantages and the beauty of the site are probably unsurpassed by those of any other capital in the entire world. But the establishment of the new capital accelerated the growing difference between the Latin West and the Greek East and made inevitable the ultimate division of the empire.

Constantine's motives and influence. Constantine, despite his concessions to Christianity and his evident devotion to that religion, remained the recognized head of paganism and to his death retained the title of Pontifex Maximus. He seems to have looked upon religion as a statesman who feels that his first duty is to rule the nation over which he has been placed in an orderly and peaceable manner. Had paganism been in its prime and possessed any real political vitality it is unlikely that a ruler of his secular temperament would have troubled himself about the new faith; but when he saw how the latter was making swift progress despite persecution he doubtless felt it wise to protect and favor it. On his deathbed he was baptized a Christian. The question of the sincerity of his conversion is of little historical importance. What we have to remember is that he influenced

the course of history very greatly by giving the aid of the civil authority to the church.

Constantine II and Constantius II and Constans
Julian
Jovian

Life under Constantine's successors. When the first Christian ruler died he left three sons who for a time were joint emperors. The last of them was Constantius II (337–361), a feeble prince, vain and indolent, controlled by his eunuchs. The times were troubled. Barbarians were invading Gaul and crossing the Danube, destroying villages and towns along their way, while in the East war was renewed by Persia. Everywhere one looked there was trouble. About 346 the first edict of proscription against the pagans was published. It ordered the closing of the temples, the confiscation of their property, and the end of their sacrifices. Two other decrees abolished the mysteries and made the offering of sacrifices punishable with death. These laws aroused widespread resentment among the pagans. Then the government increased the financial burden of the people. Several things led it to do this. The imperial system underwent a rapid transformation after the removal of the capital to Constantinople. No longer did men see a supreme war lord, a soldier and statesman, in the emperor. He had become a mysterious being, secluded in his palace from the gaze of the people, surrounded with all the attributes and ornaments of an oriental monarch, robed in gorgeous vestments heavy with gold and glittering with jewels, whom the privileged approached only with genuflections. He stood at the head of a numerous hierarchy of social and administrative officials, and was identified with it far more than with the separate body of military officials of the empire. The numerous officials and the extravagance of the court increased the taxes. Woodland and waste, as well as the fertile fields, had to pay. When a landowner became bank-

rupt, the others of the neighborhood had to make up the deficit between them. The solvent paid for the insolvent. Small farmers who wished to flee to the cities were "ascribed to the land" and there they had to stay. It was slavery in everything but name. A great pauperization of large classes of the people had been going on for some time. Efforts to meet the deplorable economic situation were made by political and religious authorities, and part of the grain supplies were assigned by the state for free distribution by the Catholic Church.

The Emperor Julian. All Constantinople poured out to meet Julian (361–363), a nephew of Constantine, who was only thirty-two years old, but who had driven back the confederated Germans in Gaul, pursued them into their own land, and compelled them to sue for peace. His personal daring on the field had won for him the affection of his soldiers, while his skill as a leader had gained the admiration of veteran strategists. His monastic education had served only to turn him away from the rude asceticism, gloomy piety, and continual theological disputes of his teachers to the cheerfulness, refinement, and intellectual meditation of the old philosophers of Greece. He had become a pagan, and then a Neoplatonist; but this he kept a secret because of the intolerance of Constantius. Now that he no longer had to walk warily he openly disclaimed the religion of the "Dead Jew". He said it was not intelligently concerned with this present world, and he declared that a real Hellene would never be converted to a religion that unfitted men for life, that made them strangers on this earth. Hellenism decried its apostate sons who had deserted a civilization made illustrious by Plato in order to embrace the religion of an obscure Barbarian. Yet Julian was not intolerant. Pagan temples were reopened and the ancient rites resumed; but to his palace he summoned leading Arians and Catholics, advised them to end their disputes, and assured them of the continuance of the tolerance practiced by Constantine.

To this noble policy he proved, for the most part, faithful, though he favored those who conformed to the old rites, and forbade the employment of Christians as teachers in the *studia literalia*. Many of those teachers had ridiculed the stories of the gods contained in the classical literature.

Julian's religion. Julian, vigorous in action yet dreamy in speculation, was devoted to Neoplatonism. What was that spiritualized philosophy? Platonism taught that spirit is the only real thing, and that matter is merely the medium through which spirit expresses itself. Spirit existed before everything else. It is the creative and causal antecedent of all things other than itself. God is spirit. The spirit of man is a spark of the divine. Spirit is the essence of everything that exists, of inanimate as well as animate nature. Spirit unites everything in the universe, no matter how distant and how diverse. Men crave for unity; they crave for harmony and peace. They can obtain these things only by the development of spirit which is the unifying force of life. This was the central thought of Platonism. Neoplatonism was a revived and adulterated Platonism, an inclusive syncretism, which had its cradle in Alexandria. It was the noblest product of the paganism of this time; but it was an esoteric doctrine, wholly personal and quite incommunicable, fitted only for a few trained intellects and refined souls, incapable of satisfying the religious yearnings of the multitude.

Julian's religious policy. Julian's personal life was virtuous and even austere. His patron saint was Marcus Aurelius. When he saw the degraded life of the cities of Asia Minor he denounced it in language that might have come from the lips of Chrysostom. He tried to reform the personal character of the pagan priesthood, and to induce them to care for the poor. He declared that charitable activity, supported by the state, was one of the chief causes of the rapid spread of Christianity. It was disgraceful, he said, that the Galileans should have to feed the poor of other faiths as well as

their own. He tried to make the pagan worship intelligent by introducing the practice of preaching in the temples and to make it more reverent and devout. There is something tragic in the fact that he failed to realize that the spiritual needs of the mass of men could never be met by the nebulous pantheism and the pathological ecstasy of Neoplatonism, and that all the time he was in sympathy with the spirit, though not the creeds, of the religion he desired the world to renounce. It was not the subtle dogmas, or the ingenious speculations, that attracted him to Hellenism, but its poetical traditions that colored his soul with sweet and varied hues and its tolerant spirit that won his kindly heart.

Death of Julian. Julian's life ended in tragedy. In a great battle against the Persians he was mortally wounded by a spear. No one can say who threw the javelin that ended the life of the military genius and dreaming scholar. Rumor whispered he was slain by a fanatical Christian. The truth will never be known. He ruled only three years, yet he occupies a high place in the second rank of the great rulers of Rome, for he was just, liberal, and humane, and had his reign been prolonged he might have reached the higher dignity among the emperors. He was a defender of the right of reason against implicit faith, one of the last and noblest representatives of freedom of thought.

Emperors in the East	Emperors in the West
Valens	Valentinian I
Theodosius I	Gratian and Valentinian II
	Valentinian II
	Theodosius I
Arcadius	Honorius
Theodosius II	Valentinian III
Marcian	Maximus
	Avitus
Leo I	Majorian
	Severus
	Anthemius

Emperors in the East	Emperors in the West
	Olybrius
	Glycerius
Leo II	Julius Nepos
	Romulus Augustulus

Advent of the barbarians. During the reign of Valentinian I (364–375) constant vigilance was required to defend the frontier districts from the inroads of the swarms of barbarians who watched the swift decay and were ready at every opportunity to hasten the impending doom of the imperial power in the West. The internal administration of this able and prudent soldier was excellent, and, though he was unlettered, he established schools throughout the empire. His brother Valens (364–378), who for eleven years ruled with him, and who tried to make the Arian form of Christianity the dominant religion of the empire, perished in 378 in a great battle with the Goths near Adrianople. That defeat of the imperial army revealed the beginning of a new period in the struggle between the Romans and Germans. A policy of pacification carried out by Theodosius I (378–395), assisted by an outbreak of the plague among the barbarians and the loss of their most effective leader, saved the situation for the time in the East.

Imperial support of Catholicism. Theodosius did much to ensure the final victory of Catholicism. In 392 an imperial decree made illegal all pagan cults, and also all minority movements within Christianity. Pagan worship was forbidden even in private houses; and the criminal laws against heretics of this cruel and vindictive persecutor were eventually to find their culmination in the Inquisition. Henceforth the only legal religion in the state was Catholicism. The state was now at the service of the church. Such a policy seemed to correspond closely with the interests of the former. The latter was now the only living institution in the West, the sole power pregnant with unity. Would

not a close association with it save the empire? Would not religious unity arrest the forces of disintegration and strengthen political centralization? One faith, one law, one emperor! It seemed as if the imperial world, based upon these foundations, would be endowed with new vitality and its existence be indefinitely prolonged. The decree of 392 was the last important imperial law in the western provinces, and it may be considered as the completion in that part of the continent of the long work of organization taken upon itself by the empire. But the new policy neither decreased internal dissension nor prevented foreign invasion. The empire fell apart and was invaded. The second œcumenical council, which met at Constantinople in 381, did not succeed in ending the disputes between the Arians and the Catholics. And paganism was by no means destroyed. For a long time it continued to claim the most distinguished families in the city of Rome and all the circles that represented literature and philosophy in such cities as Alexandria and Athens. Then, too, the local superstitions and customs of the country people persisted with scarcely diminished force. So, in order to win the remaining pagans, the state-supported religion had to conform itself to their long established habits, to satisfy their sentiments, to care for their interests, and to appeal to their emotions by developing its ceremonies and borrowing ideas from Neoplatonism.

Decline of the imperial power in the West. A division of the empire took place after the death of Theodosius. It was not a permanent legal separation. The unity of the empire remained formally unimpaired. Two empires would have been unthinkable to the Romans. But an actual division took place, and lasted until, in 476, the last emperor in the West disappeared. For eighty years each of the two parts of the empire went its own way, and sometimes they came into conflict with one another. The dividing line between the two parts was largely settled automatically by the historic opposition between the East, which was Greek,

and the West, which was Latin. The only territory whose possession varied was the debatable land of Illyricum at the head of the Adriatic. During this period either women or barbarians ruled the emperors in the West. These degenerate monarchs were only the nominal heads of the bureaucracy. They abandoned their armies, and sheltered themselves behind the walls of Rome or Ravenna. In 410 the Goths, under Alaric, took and sacked Rome. The sad picture of internal decay and foreign aggression was momentarily lightened from time to time with flashes of the old warrior spirit in the reign of the weak and contemptible Valentinian III (425–455). Rome had for the last time a great soldier at her command, the patrician Aëtius. But he was unable to prevent the dismemberment of the western empire. The province of Africa was conquered by the Vandals; the imperial forces withdrew from Britain; and large stretches of territory were occupied by barbarians in Spain and Gaul. The generation during which this incompetent ruler sat on the throne witnessed an utter corruption of manners, a complete extinction of public spirit. Population declined in the country. More and more the slaves of the *latifundia* were supplemented by *coloni*, free men bound to the soil, who were in reality serfs. More and more the idle and dissolute inhabitants of the cities undermined the strength of the state. Men were concerned only with defending their individual advantages against one another and against the state. There was no feeling of solidarity, no sense of sacrifice Each man lived for himself, with the sole thought, not of sharing the common burdens, but of escaping them. Nothing better shows the extent of the evil than the effort made by all classes to evade taxation. Great and small alike had only one thought, to make use of the state, while refusing it the indispensable means of existence. They refused to give money. They also refused to give themselves. Military duty was no longer performed. This desertion was the gravest consequence of the

social events which had gradually impoverished the free classes. In order to fill the legions, the imperial government had recourse to two proceedings. One was to allow substitution in the army. The other was to impose a money tax in place of a tax in men for the army. Personal obligation once abolished, the army ceased to be a citizen army. It was now composed of *coloni* and freedmen, with an admixture of the lower elements of the common folk. Nor was only its composition altered. Its value was also impaired. An army thus recruited could not be expected to display the spirit that unites the soldier closely to his country. The only thought these recruits had was to escape. The imperial legislation of this time teems with measures intended to keep men in the ranks or to capture them when they deserted. The multiplicity of these laws, however, proves their worthlessness. Only one resource was left: to enroll foreigners. Most of the foreigners were Germans. To them was ultimately confided the defense of the empire. All this showed only too plainly that the imperial power had decayed far beyond remedy, and that if it were not destroyed by external foes it would speedily crumble and disappear because of internal corruption.

The last emperor in the West. The last of the phantom emperors in the West was Romulus Augustulus. He was a boy, some fourteen years of age, whose nominal reign lasted only ten months. For twenty years the real power in Italy had been exercised by two barbarian chieftains, the second of whom was Odoacer. In 476 this ambitious chieftain deposed the lad invested with the imperial purple and sent him to live in a villa by the sea. Then he founded a kingdom in the peninsula similar to those established by other barbarian leaders in Spain, Gaul, and Africa. Word was sent to the court at Constantinople that there was no longer an emperor in the West, and that the new kingdom would be maintained under the supremacy of the emperor in the East. It was a supremacy in name only. The empire, with

its territory now greatly lessened and its power steadily diminishing, could exercise no control over any of the several barbarian kingdoms now established on its former territory in the West. All it could do was to claim vague rights of suzerainty over them. The separation of the western provinces from direct imperial control may rightfully be regarded as marking the beginning of a new period in history. It left the empire with a distinctly eastern civilization in which the prevailing language was Greek, while it permitted a new civilization to be developed in the West to which contributions were made by Germans as well as Romans.

Growth of the power of the Bishop of Rome. When Constantine transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium, great political importance was gradually acquired by the bishop of Rome. What seemed the greatest misfortune for Rome proved a blessing for the papacy. The transfer of the secular capital and the decline of the imperial power in the West meant for the pope the decisive step to independence. Not all the phantom emperors of the West lived in Rome. Some of them resided at Ravenna. Not one of them was a worthy successor to the great rulers of the bygone time. The only worthy representative of imperial majesty left in the West was the bishop of Rome. And the only western organization in which the old Roman principle of unity and centralization still existed was the Catholic Church. Many things contributed to the gradual acquisition of prestige and power by that prelate. Rome was the only great city in the West; in the pagan days of old it had been the residence of all the gods of the peninsula and of the conquered provinces; and, doomed and decaying as it was, it retained something of its ancient splendor and continued to receive the pagan titles of "the Holy City" and "the Eternal City". The Christian group, or church, established there became wealthy by contributions that flowed to it from many other places. Its wealth was ably administered.

It furnished funds to other groups, or churches, for charity and propagation of the faith, and so these churches naturally looked up to it.

Pope Innocent I. At this time the episcopal position was occupied by two exceedingly able men. The pontificate of Innocent I (402–417) is very important in the history of the relations of the church at Rome with the other churches scattered throughout the empire. In those years the custom of appointing delegates to represent the bishop of Rome in other parts of Christendom was greatly extended and systematized. Innocent I missed no opportunity of maintaining and increasing the authority of the See in Rome as the final authority in the settlement of all disputes affecting the welfare of the church. He proceeded with great energy against heretics and schismatics. His letters, filled with claims of universal jurisdiction, make it clear that already there had "dawned upon his mind the conception of Rome's universal ecclesiastical supremacy, dim as yet and shadowy, yet full and comprehensive in its outline". Innocent took part in political affairs. In 410 he went to Ravenna to persuade the emperor to modify the policy of opposition to the Goths. The effort failed, and in his absence Alaric captured Rome; but the Germanic warrior exhorted his troops to spare life and respect the two most venerable churches in Rome. The papal authority was exalted by this mitigation of the woes of the Eternal City.

Pope Leo I. Even more important is the pontificate of Leo I (440–461) in which the regular series of papal letters and decretals may be said to begin. In 445 Leo obtained from Valentinian III a decree recognizing the primacy of the bishop of Rome, giving to his rulings the force of law, and ordaining that opposition to them should be punished as treason. Leo's letters, addressed to all parts of Christendom, reveal indefatigable activity and unflagging zeal; and his bold and successful actions prove his prestige and power. In 449 he set aside the proceedings of the Council

of Ephesus and summoned another that met at Chalcedon. In the new council his legates presided, and there his famous *Dogmatical Letter* was accepted as "the voice of Peter" and adopted as the authentic exposition of the divinity of Christ. When Attila with his Huns was making his way down the peninsula in 452, bent upon taking Rome, he was met by Leo. The majestic figure, dignified bearing, and eloquent voice of the pontiff are said to have subdued the savagery of the dreaded invader and thereby saved the ancient capital. It was the first appearance of any pope on the scene of world history. Leo was less successful three years later when Rome was captured by Genseric, who turned it over for fourteen days to his Vandals. Still, his intercession was so far successful as to protect the lives of the populace, procure the exemption of the three oldest basilicas from plunder, and save all the private and public buildings from fire. Leo was the first pontiff to be buried in the vestibule of Saint Peter's and to be called Great. Later on he was canonized by the thankful church.

The imperial rôle of the Bishops of Rome. Thus in the midst of dire confusion, of perpetual deeds of violence, a new religious and political power appeared in the West, the bishop of Rome. While the puppets who wore the purple and the various barbarian chieftains and adventurers passed across the stage he alone represented permanent authority. He hastened to end theological dissensions, to bind up the wounds when the battle was over, and in general to care for civilization in the midst of the continental convulsions. His prestige grew, his power increased, and later on he claimed jurisdiction over all the churches of Christendom.

Barbarian kingdoms in the West. When a barbarian kingdom was set up in Italy by Odoacer, the immediate authority of the Roman Empire extended westwards only as far as the Adriatic. The Germanic invaders were unable to establish permanent kingdoms south of the Danube.

This was due to a number of reasons. Several of the emperors in the East were more effective administrators than any one who ruled at Rome or Ravenna; the machinery of government was less impaired in the East than in the West; Constantinople was much more strongly fortified than Rome; and, finally, the eastern provinces were far more thickly populated than were those of the West. The Germanic tribes followed the line of least resistance. They set up kingdoms of their own in Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Italy. But the Roman Empire continued in the East, and there it did a wonderful work in preserving a good deal of the civilization of the past and developing its own Byzantine culture. The dying world left its inestimable treasures of philosophy, literature, law, the science of government, the sense of order, of unity, and of the universal, to be transmitted to subsequent ages by the Roman Empire, with its capital at Constantinople, and the Catholic Church, with its capital at Rome.

References for Further Reading

Paul Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'empire romain.* Paul Allard, *Julien l'Apostat;* three volumes; third edition; 1900–1903. J. C. Ayer's *Source Book of Ancient Church History* contains original source material relating to several of our earlier chapters. John B. Bury's *The Later Roman Empire,* of which the first volume is useful for our present purpose, is the work of an outstanding master of the subject. Chapters one, two and eight of the first volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History* have abundant information and their bibliographies are the best introduction in English to the original sources. C. B. Coleman's *Constantine the Great and Christianity* is a recent and scholarly treatment of this disputed subject. L. M. O. Duchesne's *Early History of the Christian Church* is the work of a distinguished and liberal Catholic scholar. Chapters two, seven and nine of the second volume relate to our present topic. Alice Gardner, *Julian.* T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire.* H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies in Arianism.* Thomas Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* will be

found useful for many of our chapters; and his *Dynasty of Theodosius* is immediately helpful. A volume by Ferdinand Lot on *The Dissolution of the Western Empire* has been announced. Gaetano Negri's *Julian the Apostate*, translated from the Italian, is an interesting and delightful book, based upon a careful and discriminating study of the original authorities, from which many extracts are given, and written from the point of view of a sympathetic rationalist. There is an excellent article by Edward Pears on "The Campaign against Paganism" in *The English Historical Review*, January, 1909. Chapter eight of Henry Osborne Taylor's *Deliverance* deals with Neoplatonism.

CHAPTER 3

EARLY CHRISTIANITY

Religious conditions in Palestine at the time of Jesus. What is the early history of the church that, by the opening of the fourth century, had come to be the chief representative of law and order and the chief custodian of civilization in the West? It is in the land of the Jews, then a province of the Roman empire, that we must look for the beginning of Christianity. The leading figure in the origin of the new religion was Jesus the Nazarene. The Jewish environment at the time of his birth was not simple. It was surrounded, and to a certain degree penetrated, by the religions of Phœnicia, Syria, Greece, Mesopotamia, and Egypt; and beneath an apparent uniformity of race, manners, and religion, there were very different sets of peoples in Judea. There was a large body of clergy, a priestly caste, concerned with the regularity of the services in the Temple at Jerusalem; there were the scribes, most of whom were also found at the national capital, who commented upon the Jewish law, and who, despite their personal piety, were much given to formal scruples; and then there was the mass of the people, peasants of the countryside. During the four centuries that immediately preceded our era these peasants had waited and prayed for the Messiah, who would restore to Israel the splendor of the time of David. The priestly aristocracy did not share in this hope; they were, indeed, fearful of the difficulties it might put in their way in dealing with the Roman rulers. In Galilee the bulk of the population consisted of simple folk. There Jesus was born, and there he grew up among men whose religious feeling was far more intense than that of the priestly caste in Jerusalem. He breathed the ideas floating in the air, and in due time began to translate

his convictions into acts. Another was already preaching the necessity of repentance in view of the approach of the promised time. He was John the Baptist. We are not certain of the relation between these two prophets; but we do know that when John was imprisoned Jesus began to preach. He taught belief in a heavenly father, he urged men to love their fellowmen, and he announced the speedy coming of the Kingdom of God.

The teaching of Jesus. What did Jesus mean by the imminent coming of the Kingdom of God? We are not certain. Our texts date from a time when the delay in the coming had modified the idea of the Kingdom in the minds of Christians. Perhaps he meant just what the people about him had always understood,— a period of material prosperity and happiness for Israel. Did he believe himself to be the Messiah? He never openly gave himself that title. And he did not call himself the "Son of God." That expression would have appeared offensive to a Jew. It belongs to the language of Hellenized Christians. Nor did he even use the expression "Son of Man" in the sense of styling himself the Messiah, for that phrase in Aramaic, his native language, means nothing more than Man. There are sufficiently strong grounds for thinking that he regarded himself merely as a prophet who felt impelled to proclaim the approaching realization of the great hope of his people and the necessity of preparing for it. Yet upon this, as upon other points, so inadequate are our sources of information, certitude escapes us. We do not know the length of the public life of Jesus. It seems to have been not more than a few months; perhaps it was confined to a few weeks. He was able to win as followers only a comparatively few of his fellow Palestinians. Most of them saw him pass, in the brief time he walked among them, with curiosity or indifference. Perhaps he attracted at the most a few hundred inhabitants of Galilee.

The failure of Jesus to win the Jews. Why did Jesus fail to win the Jews? He preached introspection, love of

neighbor, humbleness of heart, and filial trust in God. He preached these things to men who were hoping for an appeal to arms and the announcement of a final combat that would give them permanent victory over those who held them in subjection. He spoke of righteousness, peace, patience, and longing for the heavenly father, with never a word of revolt and triumph of the chosen people over their enemies. So he failed to please the ardent Messianists of Palestine. And between the spontaneity of his religion and the formalism of that of the learned scribes there was inevitably a mutual antipathy. The democracy of his words and deeds caused him to be regarded as a dangerous agitator by the aristocratic priests of Jerusalem. It is not clear why he went to the capital city of his people, but it is certain that in doing so he put himself in the power of the doctors and priests. They easily persuaded Pilate, the Roman procurator, that it was in the interest of public order that an end should be put to the agitations of an insignificant Galilean. He was arrested, tried, and crucified. The panic and flight of his disciples seem to tell us that he had not foreseen the fate that befell him.

The teaching of the immediate followers of Jesus. Jesus did not leave behind him a new religion, or even a new rite, but only the touching memory of kindly words and deeds and personal charm, and a new and deeper conception of piety in his people's religion, of which he claimed to alter neither the faith nor the form of worship. But the hope of his immediate followers triumphed over death. They believed they saw him again, and that he was no longer dead, when they were back again amid the familiar scenes in which they had lived with him in Galilee. They were simple folk, mostly fishermen of the Lake of Gennesareth. They taught that Jesus was the Messiah, and that soon he would return. Faith in the resurrection of Jesus became the basis of a new religion, a religion that soon separated itself from Judaism.

The teaching of the new religion carried to the Jews living outside Palestine. The apostles gained a few recruits in Jerusalem, and in the little adjacent towns, but everything tends to show they soon reached the zenith of their success in Palestine. Judaism was a national religion, claiming special revelation, having its own law. It had made great sacrifices to preserve its historic identity, to keep its nationality, and so it clung tenaciously to its law. Quite naturally, therefore, it opposed with all the power at its command the new and universal ideas of Christianity. The new heresy, so it seemed, would not survive the generation that had seen it spring up; as in the case of many another leader, oblivion would soon claim the followers of Jesus the Nazarene. Then, about the year 45, a new element entered into the movement. The missionary activity was extended from Jewish soil into an environment saturated with the civilization of Greece. At first the apostles thought only of trying to convert "the sheep of the house of Israel". But Jews were scattered throughout the basin of the Mediterranean. They were to be found in compact groups in the great cities of the Greek world, in Egypt, and in the city of Rome. These Jews of the *diaspora*, or dispersion, had been like their countrymen when in their native land, distrustful of strangers, difficult of approach; but they had adopted better customs in their new homes among the Gentiles. They did not refuse to teach strangers who wished to become acquainted with their law; and it was easy for any educated man to read their sacred books, now contained in the *Old Testament*, because they had been translated into Greek. A body of proselytes had gradually been formed about each synagogue in the lands of the Gentiles. Some had become converted to Judaism; while others, without going so far, attended the services of the synagogue and contributed to its support. This latter class seems to have been very numerous about the Jewries in Asia Minor and Egypt; and it included representatives of the upper strata

of society, especially women, in Rome. Its members were called "those who feared God".

Character of the Jews living in foreign lands. The Jews who lived in foreign lands had not kept unmodified either the frame of mind or the habits of their brethren in Palestine. Their exclusiveness, their dislike of strangers, had softened in an environment in which it would have made their life difficult, if not impossible. They held daily intercourse with Gentiles; and, above all else, they felt the attraction and experienced the influence of the Hellenic culture in which they were immersed. They were deeply impressed by the irresistible force that was blending all races and nations of the eastern Mediterranean into a great cosmopolitan unity, a great syncretic culture. Two or three generations after their emigration they resembled the Greeks in language, social customs, and intellectual training. Ideas regarded as of prime importance by the Palestinians became impaired among these Hellenists. Their Messianism, for instance, instead of taking the form of a narrow and aggressive nationalism, tended to figure as the actual conquest of the world to truth. On the other hand, new ideas, foreign to their race, had found lodgment in their minds. They were, for instance, no longer much concerned with the future fate of their body. They had transferred all their solicitude to the destiny of their soul, a point whereon no sure and clear doctrine had been set forth in Palestine. Still more were the proselytes of the synagogues, while more or less completely adopting Judaism, imbued with the culture and spirit of their syncretic environment. This is the reason why both the Jews who had left the land of their ancestors and "those who feared God" were better disposed, especially the latter, to consider the affirmations of the apostles, and even to accept them, than were the Jews who had remained at home in Palestine. It is also the reason why the very simple apostolic doctrine, which proved to be very plastic, was in danger of being seriously changed

when it was accepted, and in turn transmitted, by Hellenists. In the minds of these foreign converts Jesus ceased to be bound up with the destiny of the Jews. He became the savior of pagans as well as of the children of Israel.

The apostles. Of the original twelve apostles we have only meager and unsatisfactory knowledge. In after years it was believed they had spent their lives in carrying on missionary work in many lands and that some of them had died martyrs. That we know so little of them does not incline us to believe they were men of great mark or originality. We know most about James, who remained at Jerusalem; John, whose history, however, seems inextricably interwoven with legend; and Peter. The last seems to have had an interesting and vigorous personality. He was the unquestioned leader among the immediate followers of Jesus in Galilee and Jerusalem, and in time he became the martyr and patron saint of the powerful group, or church, at Rome. A year or two after the crucifixion of Jesus, one of his followers named Stephen was stoned to death by the irate Jews of Jerusalem for his radical criticism of the law and the Temple. Other followers of the peasant reformer scattered for safety. They were not content, however, to preserve their lives; they carried on an active propaganda beyond the confines of Palestine. The majority of them appealed only to Jews. But some, most of whom were recent converts, made a new departure. They told the story of Jesus to Greeks. And they did not tell it in vain. A large number were won to the new religion. Chief of these active missionaries among the Gentiles was Paul. More and more the breach widened between this new Jewish sect and the orthodox Jew

Paul. Paul was born of a Jewish family settled at Tarsus, a busy city at the meeting of important commercial routes, in Asia Minor. It was still an oriental city, as far as its dominant beliefs were concerned, but it possessed flourishing Greek schools that may be regarded as a university.

Paul does not seem to have frequented the university, but all the years of his youth were spent in this environment that was intellectually Hellenized. It seems probable that from Jewish doctors he received instruction "in the law"; and perhaps he completed his studies at Antioch, the powerful metropolis of Syria. Born on Hellenic soil, sprung from a well-to-do family, having a very lively common sense and yet possessing an ardent and mystical temperament, he was admirably adapted to grasp and understand the religious aspirations of the Jews of the "dispersion", and of their proselytes, who would believe in Jesus as the Messiah. He was at first violently hostile to the Christians, but, as the result of a long and obscure mental process which ended in a decisive vision, he became an apostle of the new religion. He had never known Jesus, and so his reflections and his teaching as to the person of the peasant leader were not limited by the memories of actuality. He displayed an invincible energy as a missionary in the transformation of the teaching of Jesus, as we have defined it, into a religion of universal salvation.

Antioch the first Christian center outside Palestine. The starting point of Christianity among the Gentiles and the original nucleus of the Christian missions was really Antioch, the great intellectual center of Hellenistic Asia. There a Christian church was for the first time set up free from all connection with Judaism. It seems probable that in this environment of intellectual and religious syncretism the "divination" of Jesus was accentuated and hastened, that there was a more pronounced tendency there than in Palestine to divest him of his simple human character in favor of the idea attached to the title of *Kyrios*, or Lord, or Christ.

Paul's teaching. We have not time to dwell upon the busy, troubled, perilous, and fruitful life of Paul. He saw clearly that "those who feared God" believed easily enough "in the Lord", while the majority of the pure Jews closed their ears and hardened their hearts, when the missionaries

sought to convince them. The apostles, yielding to him, agreed to dispense converted Gentiles from circumcision and other obligations of the Jewish law. This step meant the implicit separation of Christianity from Judaism and compelled it to become an original religion. Paul quickly perceived that the Messianic idea was comprehensible only when bound up with the nationalistic hopes of the Jews, and that it did not interest the Gentiles. In order to make it acceptable to the latter it was necessary to enlarge it, to present the Galilean peasant no longer as a man armed with power from heaven to uplift the chosen people from their misfortunes and put their oppressors under their feet, but rather as the envoy of God commissioned to bring to all men eternal salvation. So he portrayed the executed Nazarene as the crucified Son of God. Gradually the real man was lost, and in his place there remained a worker of miracles, who, in the course of the first three centuries of our era, became a member of the Trinity. Paul did not inaugurate all this alone. The Christian groups, or churches, scattered in the Hellenistic world, surrounded by a rich and subtle syncretic culture, had prepared the ground for his work. Thus, on the threshold of the second century, Christianity already presents itself to us as an independent religion. As yet, however, it was not very coherent. Its dogmas, rites, and institutions did not go beyond the elementary stage. But it was definitely aware that it was no longer one with Judaism. It was already far removed from the ideals of Jesus and his apostles, and it claimed to offer eternal life henceforth to all men, without distinction of race or condition.

Paul's missionary activity. Paul had a definite missionary policy. He aimed at large cities, important centers of commercial life, containing groups of Jews. And the fact that he spoke with fluency a Greek dialect was of great importance in the propagation of Christianity. That, as we have seen, was the chief language of all the ports of the eastern

Mediterranean. In every town he visited he used the opportunity afforded by the synagogue to speak to the congregation of Jews and to the half-conforming Gentile admirers of Judaism. There he found audiences, more or less sympathetic, to whom he could speak in Greek. He knew that eventually the message he conveyed would spread from those strategic centers into the villages and the open country. Speedily it became necessary in each city for the members of the new religion to separate themselves from the synagogue. They formed a group, or church, of their own. Many things favored the diffusion of Christianity. Merchants as well as missionaries carried it along the wonderful roads, and many a slave made it known in the great country estates. Its missionaries enjoyed the Roman peace, the privileges of the Roman law, and the protection of the Roman government. The spirit of cosmopolitanism then prevailing favored the extension of a world religion matching the far-flung imperial civilization in which the men of that day were proud to take part. And, above all else, the widespread sense of religious need, unsatisfied by the local religions of the people, the imperial state religion, the philosophies of the time, and even the various oriental mystery cults, conduced to the success of Christianity. It was a world hungering and thirsting for spiritual religion. So the Christian churches multiplied.

Religious life of the first Christian groups. What was the inner life of these first Christian groups scattered in various parts of the empire? At first they were small bodies in the midst of a large world. Christians were, in the nature of the case, separatists. They were inclined to withdraw into the circle of their own life and interests, and to organize their life on communistic principles. They shared all things in literal and consistent obedience to the teachings of Jesus. The first groups of the new religion seem to have been made up very largely of the poor, forsaken and disreputable persons, social outcasts. The outside world regarded them as

dangerous social and religious radicals. Their thought and life were deeply influenced by their confident belief that soon a great cataclysm would bring the world to an end. They were ardent and enthusiastic, and distinctly missionary in spirit, for they believed themselves divinely inspired. Then, working its way into the upper strata of society and becoming permeated by the syncretic culture of the eastern Mediterranean lands, the creeds and ritual of Christianity underwent a marked development. At the end of the second century Christian communities were established as far west as Lyons and as far north as Treves and Cologne. Toward the end of the third century something like a hundred million people were included in the empire. No one can say with certainty how many of these were Christians. We know they were far more numerous in the East than in the West. Most of them, therefore, spoke Greek. If we reckon them at a twelfth of the whole we shall perhaps somewhat underestimate their number. They were probably at least one in five at the opening of the fourth century in certain parts of Syria and Asia Minor.

Why did Christianity succeed? What was the secret of this astonishing success? Was it the message of Christianity? Then why did it fail with the Jews? Was it not rather the new soil on which the seed fell, the character of the response made by the Gentiles? It left the remote province of its origin and came into the wide imperial world while still in its nascent stage, with only a slight traditional heritage, and in a form as yet largely undecided in detail. It was plastic. It was easily affected by the new environment in which henceforth it was to live and grow. Its first groups were formed in the cities, and it was there the syncretic culture of the time had most fully developed its essential characteristics. Many of its converts were men and women whose faith and worship, whose religious interests and habits, had been formed in one or another of the mystery cults, the oriental religions, with which it had to compete. These con-

verts contributed in large measure to the development of Christianity. They refined and elaborated its ritual and helped to change the simple teaching of the Galilean peasant into a religion of divine redemption. Thus they widened the range of its activities and increased its capacity to satisfy the religious needs of the upper classes of society.

Rise of presbyters. How did Christianity acquire its hierarchy, its body of organized ecclesiastical officials? The organization was very democratic in the first groups, or congregations, or churches, of Christians. There was no distinct clerical class. But as time went on those who had first embraced the new religion were more and more regarded with reverence. Converts looked up to the missionary who had told them of the new way of life. These leaders were known as presbyters. *Presbyteros* is a Greek word. It means simply elder. In the first and second centuries the presbyters were the older men of the congregations who, because of their age and experience, had a voice in the management of affairs. At first no uniform system of government prevailed in all the Christian communities. Each group, for the purposes of charity, instruction, discipline and worship, governed itself as it deemed best. So the duties of the presbyters varied from place to place. They were probably concerned chiefly with discipline. Discipline played a large part in the life of those early communities. Morality held their members together, the character of their daily life, far more than a common belief. The presbyters were the guardians of morality. They also settled disputes between Christians. Litigation of any kind, but especially that between Christians in the secular courts, was deprecated by Paul. These two functions of the presbyters changed as time went on. Increase of membership made close supervision of morals impossible; and then belief gradually became more important than conduct. So the disciplinary function of the presbyters declined. After Constantine all the secular judges were Christians. The possibility of

"going to law before the unjust" was therefore done away with. So the judicial function of the presbyters was lessened and changed. In the meantime they had begun to exercise other functions. They taught morals, and then doctrine. Gradually sacraments were established. Each community then had only one presbyter who could administer the sacraments. He was a priest. Gradually a distinct priesthood, having sacramental powers not possessed by the laity, became permanent and universal throughout Christendom.

Rise of bishops. All possessions seem to have been held in common in the first groups of Christians. Complete self-sacrifice had been taught by Jesus. There was much poverty in the empire. Large tracts of land had gone out of cultivation. Absentee landlords of the great *latifundia*, the country estates that long afterwards were known as manors, wasted their wealth in demoralizing luxury. The smaller landowners were crushed by the unequal and oppressive taxation. Christians made almsgiving a chief duty. To-day hospitality is often regarded as a pleasurable luxury, but it was of the essence of the new way of life set up by the early Christians. The financial officers were therefore important. The financial official in Greek associations was known as *episcopos*, or bishop. At first there were several of these financial officers in each Christian community. Then there was only one. He accepted the offerings made in public to the poor, distributed them, and became the center round which the vast system of charity revolved. Other similar functions of administration were performed by the bishop. Many Christian strangers streamed along the routes of commerce and passed from city to city. Hospitality was a common virtue practiced by all Christians. It was a special duty for the bishop. He gave alms to all traveling Christians who were in need. Then he had to provide for the support of the church officers in his district who had no means of their own. Thus he became the chief official of ecclesiastical administration. The name *episcopos* directly

connotes administration. In time the bishop came to be the chief overseer of discipline and of doctrine. At first there were several bishops in each district; but in the course of the second century a single bishop came to be supreme in every district. Contemporary secular organizations experienced a widespread tendency toward centralization; and the internal conditions of the Christian communities also tended to bring about the supremacy of a single bishop in each district. It was an age of philosophical and theological speculation. Many people felt the necessity of settling matters of faith definitely. So the bishop became the custodian of doctrine as well as the supervisor of discipline. In the third century the rule was firmly established that there should be only one bishop in each district.

Rise of deacons. Still other ecclesiastical officials came into existence as need for them arose. The duties of the bishop increased. They became too numerous for him to perform. Assistants, known as deacons, were provided. "Deacon" is a Greek word. It means servant. The deacons helped in the administration of charity. They worked in the hospitals, poorhouses, orphan homes, and guest houses. Then they came to be subordinate officers of public worship.

Growth of the power of the bishops. The bishops lived in the cities. Each municipality, for many important purposes, was independent. Ecclesiastical organization followed that of the secular government very closely. Nearly all the towns were situated on the great military roads; and each was the center of the surrounding district. As the municipal power became weak, that of the chief ecclesiastical official became stronger. The bishop gradually took the place of the town magistrate, and he exercised some of the latter's civil jurisdiction. Naturally he acquired authority over the surrounding district, which was less wealthy and less civilized than the city. When the barbarian invaders poured down from the north, the governors of the invaded provinces disappeared. The bishops, however, remained. The epis-

copal tribunal was then the only court in which the old imperial law could be pleaded effectively. The bishop wore the robe of an imperial magistrate.

Rise of archbishops. Some of the bishops lived in diocesan capitals. They came to be archbishops. The civil governors of the provinces had been subordinate to the vicars of the dioceses. In like manner the bishops of the provinces came to be subordinate to those who lived in the diocesan capitals.

Rise of patriarchs. In each city where an apostle had lived there lingered after his death the memory of his personal prestige. Men thought that in those places religious tradition was truest. So the archbishops who lived in apostolic cities gained special ascendancy. They were called patriarchs. Thus by gradual steps the early democratic communities of the new religion passed from their original state of independence into a great confederation. It was an organization that followed closely upon the lines of that of the imperial government.

Rise of the papacy. It was in accordance with the logic of the governmental evolution of the Catholic Church that its ever growing desire for unity, after having brought the episcopate into being, and then, in the fourth century, placed archbishops above the bishops and primates or patriarchs above the archbishops, should lead to absolute monarchy. One of the most disputed of all ecclesiastical questions is that of the rise of the papacy. Some claim that the church was created by the founder of the faith; that he taught how it was to be managed and governed; that from the first it was a unit; that in its essential structure it was the work of Jesus the Nazarene. The evidence for this theory is not so much in documents as in tradition. Others claim that both the organization and the faith of the church were the result of gradual evolution. The fact is that when the church emerged into light it was organized. It seems to have shaped itself gradually, almost unconsciously, and

largely by accident. It took the shape that bodies of men at that time naturally took. It was determined by the character of its environment. The first leader of the community at Rome of whom we have any record is Peter. Perhaps he went to live there about ten years after the death of Jesus, and he may have lived there some twenty years. Little is known of his immediate successors. Perhaps the fourth leader of the church in the imperial capital was Clement. He is one of the great figures of early Christianity. He is the first type of "pope", or father of the entire church, that history presents to us. Already a general acceptance was developing of the idea of the primacy of the church at Rome. The right of the leader of that community to warn other groups and to compose their differences was being gradually conceded. Clement is best known by a letter which tradition says he sent about the year 96 to the disputing members of the church at Corinth. It is the earliest document outside the biblical writings of which we are at all sure of the date. It makes no claim of superior rank, no assertion of general leadership, of the chief official of the community at Rome; but it reveals him as a peacemaker trying to settle the troubles of a church in Greece. The letter is anonymous, but few writings of this age are as authentic. It is the first written indication that has come down to us of the principle of authority over all the church by the leader of the group at Rome.

Causes of the preëminence of the bishopric of Rome. Many causes contributed to the preëminence of the church at Rome. In the pagan days that city had been the residence of all the ancient gods and the deities of the conquered provinces. Their statues were all in the Pantheon. In the eyes of the pagans Rome was the Holy City, the Eternal City; and those titles were retained after the triumph of Christianity. When the seat of the imperial government was moved to Byzantium the leader of the church at Rome became in some sort the heir of political power and social

guidance in the West. The church at Rome was rich; its wealth was ably administered; it gave generously to other churches for charity and for spreading the faith, and so those churches naturally looked up to it. And the tombs of the two greatest of the apostles, Peter and Paul, were at Rome. There were only five patriarchates. Four of them were in the East; only one was in the West. By their quarrels the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople mutually weakened one another in the East. In time the first three of these apostolic sees became obscure or extinct; while that of Constantinople failed in its attempt to establish an equal position with that of Rome. Gradually the right, not only to warn, but also to arbitrate was assumed by the bishop of Rome. Councils yielded precedence to his legates above the bishops of other churches, and then they accepted those legates as their presiding officers. The "primacy above all others" of the Roman See was specially affirmed in 381 by the Council of Chalcedon. Gradually, too, the bishop of Rome acquired the power to appoint other bishops and to remove them. At the moment when the imperial power was rapidly disappearing in the West, an ecclesiastic of great administrative ability occupied the See of Rome. Leo I (440–461) did much to complete the foundations of the predominance of the papacy. A great change had come about in the organization of Christianity. The first communities were democratic and of a socialistic character; but the principle of democratic fellowship had now been superseded by a carefully articulated hierarchy animated by the principle of sovereignty. Paganism had no such organization. Its framework was loose and disconnected. So, too, were the organizations of the other oriental religions competing with Christianity. In its organization, which now extended over the whole empire, an immense advantage over all its rivals was possessed by Christianity. It was an organization which in these difficult times could give effective support to

the state. That is why Constantine and his successors used their power to promote unity of faith. By an imperial law of 445 the supreme legislative and judicial authority in the church was recognized as belonging to the See of Rome.

The shaping influence of the Jewish environment of Christianity. A change, no less sweeping, affected the faith and worship of the church. In noting this change we have first of all to study the environments of early Christianity. The first Christians were Jews. They did not consider themselves as of a religion different from that of the other Jews. On only one point did they differ from the other Jews. They believed their leader was the Messiah. From him they had received a new way of life. Still they deemed themselves to belong to Judaism. They continued to go to the synagogues, and only when they were no longer tolerated there did they form separate congregations. They retained many customs from the environment of Judaism. On the Sabbath they gathered to hear some one read and explain the law. The elders presided at these meetings as they had done in the synagogues. The books held sacred in the bygone times were used. At first the new worship supplemented the old but did not supplant it. Suddenly, however, the early Christians were emancipated from the Jewish environment. Many causes provoked a rebellion of the Jews in Palestine and elsewhere against the imperial government, and in the year 70 Jerusalem was captured by a Roman army and a large part of it, including the Temple, was destroyed. This helped to confirm the growing belief of the Christians that an end had come to the old religion, to the mission of the Temple. It weakened their adherence to the customs of their forefathers and lifted them out of the environment of Judaism.

The shaping influence of Greek education. Christianity spread westward into the environment of Hellenistic civilization in which it first found itself at Antioch. Greek was understood almost everywhere within the frontiers of the

empire, but especially was it the language of the eastern Mediterranean. With the language went Greek ideas, habits of thought, æsthetic tastes, and social customs, so that during the three centuries immediately preceding our era an intellectual unity, and in large measure a religious syncretism, were gradually established throughout the lands between the Euphrates and the Adriatic. This widely diffused civilization was devoted to education. Much attention was paid to the study of literature, the cultivation of literary style, or oral expression, and of the rules of argument. This delight in literature penetrated the whole nature of the Greeks. They took it with them when they entered Christianity. It helped to transform the primitive simplicity of Christianity. From it came the method of interpreting allegorically, instead of accepting the literal sense, the passages in literature whose statements an advancing civilization could not approve. In the third century there was a great struggle between the Christians who held that the biblical writings were to be taken in their literal sense and those who claimed that their true meaning could be learned only by allegorical interpretation. Gradually this method became traditional and authoritative. Subsequent generations were required to accept the allegorical interpretations of their predecessors. Thus the method of allegorical interpretation became the arbitrary master of souls.

The shaping influence of Greek oratory. The first preachers of the new religion spoke spontaneously. In the course of the second century, under the influence of a more cultured and subtle environment, the unpremeditated appeals, oftentimes given in a barbarous patois, gave place to carefully prepared oratorical sermons. Only the presbyters, who gradually became priests, were permitted to preach. Lectures were given on the sacred writings, just as the pagan rhetoricians gave lectures on Homer and Plato. Eloquence was valued for its own sake.

The shaping influence of Greek philosophy. Philosophy was almost entirely ethical in Palestine; and so, too, was religion. They did not deal so much with abstract ideas as with the concrete affairs of daily life. This was to be expected in a land of peasants. The first Christians were Jewish peasants. Their new religion was largely ethical. It was a new way of life. But in the course of time members of the upper classes of society, highly educated pagans, were converted. Christianity thus came into contact with the philosophic thought of its Hellenistic environment. The consequences of that encounter were incalculable. These converts could not rid themselves of their education, their intellectual and philosophical acquirements. The new religion they adopted seemed to them poor, not in its substance, which they deemed infinitely unfathomable, but in its ritual and its expression, and they felt an irresistible tendency to give it a more refined form of worship and the appearance of a revealed philosophy. They demanded sharpness and precision in the definition of creeds, and they insisted upon the systematization of beliefs. They attached more importance to creed than to conduct. We can see something of this great change of emphasis if we compare the Sermon on the Mount with the Nicæan Creed.

The shaping influence of Greek ritual. Nothing else clings to us like ritual. It appeals to the emotions. And our emotions are a far more ancient inheritance than our power to think correctly. They are interwoven in the very fiber of our being. We can drop ideas more easily than customs. A few chords of music or a simple melody have often broken the mental resistance of a cold temperament and a highly analytical mind. The Greeks had many splendid religious rites, and they clung to those ceremonies after they became Christians. They changed the worship of the new religion in conformity with their pagan mysteries. They introduced the adoration of images, the swinging

censer, altars lighted with candles, the nimbus of the saints, consecrations, washings, and forms of ascetic abstinence of various kinds. The earliest liturgies are in Greek; and when liturgies in Latin began to appear they were translations, with some changes, from the Greek. A religion without æsthetic rites was hardly conceivable by the Greeks. One of the most important of their rites had to do with purification. Baptism seems to have been a simple washing among the early Christians. In the Greek environment, however, it came to be regarded as a purification, then as a mystery, a sacrament. Only after giving the password could one go into the lighted hall of the baptistery where the sacrament was administered. Perhaps the most touching of all the pagan rites had to do with the idea of a sacrifice of expiation, designed to appease the divine wrath, a sacrifice of oblation, intended to secure divine favor for the worshiper, or a sacrifice of communion, whereby the followers of a divinity were united to it and showed that they formed one body with it. Apparently at first all meals were deemed sacred by the Christians. Many of them took their meals in common. Each meal was blessed. Each was a commemoration of Jesus. But as the followers of the new way of life increased in number meals were regarded as a commemoration only at certain times. Then, under the influence of the Greek environment, these special meals were sublimated from a commemoration to a sacrament. The Lord's supper was transformed into the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Thus it was that in the syncretic civilization of the eastern part of the empire the simple rites of baptism and the last supper grew into elaborate and impressive ceremonies performed only by a special class.

Creed becomes the basis of union for the Christians. This development of Christian ritual went on side by side with a development of doctrine, and by the same processes under the same influence. The ritualistic spirit and speculative habit of the cultured and subtle pagans gradually

imposed themselves upon Christianity. The power of the clergy found a remarkable enhancement in the exclusive right they early acquired, despite some hesitation and opposition, of dispensing the sacraments and defining the doctrines. Creed, not conduct, became the basis of union for the Christians. Those who differed in opinion from the majority were stigmatized as heretics. The acceptance of a body of abstract beliefs became increasingly important, until finally it was required for membership of the church.

The shaping influence of the Roman environment. The Roman environment also exercised a great influence in the shaping of the church. The ecclesiastical hierarchy, with its priests, bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and pope, was parallel to the civil hierarchy of municipal magistrates, provincial governors, vicars of the dioceses, heads of the four prefectures, and the emperor. What Christianity acquired through contact with the Roman world is mainly to be traced in the organization of the church. It is institutional rather than religious. But Rome influenced the new religion in other ways. It was owing to her example that the idea of a universal church arose so soon in the history of Christianity. Then, too, the spirit of the Roman law, which dominated all the relations of life, very early influenced the religious understanding in the West. Something of this we can see in the writings of Tertullian (155?–222?), the earliest of western ecclesiastical writers, whose eminent ability as a jurist did not disappear when he became a presbyter, and also in those of Cyprian (200?–258), a wealthy and highly educated patrician with a masterful genius for organization. Gradually primacy and then supremacy was gained by the bishop of Rome. He became pope. More and more Rome became the capital of Christendom. So the organization of the church, and its legal procedure, shaped themselves in accordance with their environment. They took for their models the Roman empire and the Roman law.

Translation of the Old Testament into Greek. Among other things that helped to shape the church was its sacred literature. The Jews who accepted the leadership of Jesus did not abandon their devotion to the religious scriptures of their race when they became Christians. For many years, indeed, their only sacred books were those of the *Old Testament*, originally written in Hebrew. A century or two before the beginning of our era those books were translated into Greek for the use of the Jews of the Dispersion. This translation was known as the *Septuagint*. Thus the Gentile converts to Christianity, though without knowledge of Hebrew, were able to read the book which from the first was considered to be the authoritative and divinely inspired book of the Christians. It was to them a source of life and inspiration and truth. In order to retain it, however, they had to interpret it not by the method of critical study, but by resorting to allegory. Only thus could they still find a meaning for them in many passages. So the sacred books of the Jews were kept by the Christians and they helped to shape the growing church.

The writing of the books of the New Testament. During the life of Jesus no written record was made of his words or deeds, and for some time after his death nothing was written about him. He wrote never a word, and he never asked anyone else to write. It is not strange that while he was living no one wrote an account of his words and deeds. When his followers after his death began to go about telling his story, and preaching his gospel, everything was fresh in their memory. They had no need of written records. They expected him soon to return; and when they had *him*, what would they care for writings *about* him? So for at least a score of years after his death no one of his followers seems to have thought of writing the story of the life of Jesus. But the years went by and Jesus did not return; and then, too, the memories of him, at first so distinct, began to grow dim; and, most serious of all, one by one those who had

known him best began to be taken away by death. Then arose a need for a history of his life. Meanwhile, oral traditions about him were springing up, based upon the preaching of the different apostles; and, mingled with these, as was inevitable, fables, myths, and legends about him began to accumulate. Such was the general condition of things in which, about a generation after the death of the peasant leader, the work of writing records of his life and teaching began. Aramaic, a language midway between classical Hebrew and modern Arabic, was the language spoken in Galilee at the time of Jesus. As far as we know the writers of the twenty-seven documents that were eventually selected from others to make up the small book we call the *New Testament* were all Jews, but they wrote in Greek. Their letters and biographies give evidence of Jewish thought, and the color of their style is Hebraic. The printed order of these twenty-seven books is not that in which they were written; and not all of them were written by the men whose names they bear. How have these books come down to us? Grave difficulties prevented the preservation of the original autographs. The commonest and cheapest material for writing in ancient times was papyrus, obtained from the pith of a plant which grows in shallow water and which was found chiefly in Egypt. More lasting, but more expensive, was parchment, made of the skins of sheep or goats or other small animals, and still more costly was a fine kind of parchment called vellum. Probably all the original autographs of the books of the *New Testament*, as well as the earlier copies of them, were made on papyrus. No original autographs of these documents have come down to us. The two earliest of the surviving manuscripts of the *New Testament* are one, not quite complete, in the Vatican Library at Rome, and one, found in a monastery of Mount Sinai, in the Imperial Library at Leningrad. They were written in the fourth century. There are only a few fragments, written on papyrus, that date from the third century.

All the autographs, and all the copies made between the autographs and the manuscripts we now possess, have been lost.

Authorship and character of the books of the New Testament. The earliest part of the *New Testament* is made up of some of the letters of Paul, written more than twenty years after the death of Jesus. The first of the four biographies of Jesus in the new collection of sacred books is the Gospel according to Mark. It was probably written about the year 70, and belongs therefore to the second generation of Christianity. No trustworthy scholar dates it earlier than forty years after the death of Jesus. If a book should be written in 1954 dealing with the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 it will be just as near the persons and events of which it speaks as the Gospel according to Mark is to the persons and events mentioned in its pages. Tradition tells us this Gospel was written in Rome and based upon the personal recollections of Peter; but we are not sure of its authorship. It is the simplest of the four biographies, the one that gives us the most human representation of Jesus. The biography attributed to Matthew may have been written ten or twenty years later. Much of it is taken from Mark, but it is also indebted to other previous sources that were soon lost. We do not know the author, but it seems certain he was not the apostle Matthew. Mark was also copied liberally, and use made of earlier sources that have disappeared, by the writer of the biography attributed to Luke. Somewhere between 85 and 100 seems to be the date of this Gospel. It shows more purely historical interest than Matthew. These three biographies are called the Synoptic Gospels. Each contains a larger element of the miraculous than its predecessor, but after all they present a similar view of the life of Jesus. The authors of these books were influenced by the culture of their time. They gathered traditions from various sources. They looked out upon a world very different from ours. They did not fulfill

the conditions of biography as we understand it. They reveal the theological and ecclesiastical interests and preoccupations of the second generation of Christians after the death of Jesus. Their purpose was not to tell a simple and accurate story of the life of Jesus, but rather to present an apology for Christianity, and, above all else, for the death of the Messiah. Very different is the Gospel attributed to John. Here is no simple record of ecclesiastical tradition or the memory of a disciple. When we pass from the synoptics to this fourth gospel, written, it seems quite certain, after the year 100, we are in a wholly different atmosphere. Instead of a record of fact, we seem to have a construction of faith. The peasant leader is no longer a man. He has become a mysterious being, not purely a divinity but much more than man, who has descended to earth from on high. The book is probably not a compilation, but rather the work of a single unknown author, a man given to meditation, of deep religious experience, a theologian who, influenced by the syncretic religion of the age, wished his fellowmen to believe that Jesus was the Incarnate Word of God. It reveals the direction men's thoughts were taking; it is the charter of medieval mysticism; it shows the tendencies that were destined in the following century to transform the primitive Galilean religion into Catholic Christianity. We have mentioned only five of the books of the *New Testament.* There is no space here to speak of the others. They are made up mostly of letters, and of their dates and authors we are for the most part uncertain. All of them were written when the predominant interest of the writers was to prove that their leader was the Messiah. Do they contain any of the words of Jesus? The process of transmission from memory to memory, of translation from the Aramean vernacular into Greek, and of copying from preceding manuscripts, leaves us unable to assert that any of the great sayings that have come down to us are precisely as they were uttered by Jesus. What subtractions and additions and other

changes were made by the innumerable army of copyists before the invention of printing? No one, indeed, can tell us what changes the pages of the *New Testament* have undergone in the course of their transmission down the centuries to us.

Canon of the New Testament. The early Christians had many sacred writings other than those included in the *New Testament*. The determination of the canon of that single volume, the selection of the writings that were to be included in it, was a gradual process. It began to be definite about the middle of the second century. By that time the ecclesiastical officials were becoming more concerned with the beliefs of men than with their conduct, and it was they who made the selection. Naturally they would give preference to the books that supported the accepted opinions. Perhaps this is why they failed to include *The Shepherd*, usually attributed to a writer named Hermas but the authorship of which is uncertain, a book widely read and loved by the common people. It appears improbable that it would have been excluded by a consensus of popular opinion. It was the popular book of devotion from Italy to Greece and Abyssinia. Men in authority, ecclesiastical officials, were doubtless the first to repudiate it because of its heretical leanings. They were probably offended by its attempt to maintain the primitive equality of the presbyters against the growing authority of the bishops. Gradually they discredited it, and eventually it was discarded. In all probability we should have had a different *New Testament* had its component parts been chosen by the mass of the people. Not until the last quarter of the second century was this new collection of writings deemed to be equally as sacred and inspired as the *Old Testament*. The conception was then established of a book, in two parts, known as the *Bible*. The fixed collection of the new set of scriptures may be dated from the days of Jerome and Augustine; and the final completion of the process may be said to have been effected

in 692 by a council that met in the imperial palace in Constantinople, though even after that there were differences of opinion, especially in the East. Thenceforth, according to the compilers of the book, revelation was closed and prophecy at an end.

Shaping influence of the early schisms. Very early there were divisions in Christianity, and these heresies and schisms influenced the shaping of the church. Dogma was in a very fluid state. Speculation was rife. Among the dissenting groups were the Nazarenes, an obscure sect whose members remained more or less Jews; the Corinthians, who insisted upon circumcision, on the observance of the Sabbath, and who believed Jesus was the Son of Joseph and Mary; the Ebionites, who also denied the divinity of Jesus; the Gnostics, whose syncretic religion was influenced by the writings of Plato and also deeply stamped with the impress of Christianity; the Montanists, more concerned with conduct than with creeds, convinced of the divine presence in the world, believers in continuous revelation, who protested against the increasing secularization of the church; and the Pelagians, who rejected the rising doctrine of the total depravity of man, due to the sin of our first parents, and the consequent servitude of his will and helplessness to save himself. The discussions and quarrels gradually brought about the fixing of the orthodox doctrine. They gave the faithful an opportunity of examining their own thoughts and aspirations. They accentuated the differences of opinion which it was the purpose of the theologians to reconcile. They seemed to manifest the necessity of a discipline of the faith, a canon of belief, and an authority to defend and enforce it. They increased the desire for such an officially proclaimed and supported faith, and in doing so they were a very active and important factor in molding the medieval church.

The two chief rivals of Christianity. After all, however, we must look elsewhere for the most powerful rivals of ortho-

dox Christianity. They were two religions, oriental like itself, Neoplatonism and Manicheanism. All three issued from the same religious crisis, all established themselves at the same time, the second half of the third century, and, though they had different tendencies and a different spirit, they had much in common. All three broke with the ancient conception of a national religion; they were universal in their claims; they were monotheistic; they wished man to win eternal life by subscribing to certain doctrines, submitting to certain cultural rites, and obeying the rules of an austere morality. But from the first Neoplatonism showed a marked inferiority. It had no founder, and did not succeed in discovering one; and, instead of being a religion that appealed to the emotions, it was more of an abstract and highly individual speculation. Mani (215?–277?), the founder of Manicheanism, was born in that frontier region which may be called either Persia or Babylonia. He preached a religion of salvation by renunciation, but, at least from the metaphysical point of view, simpler, clearer and more logical, than Christianity. From the moral point of view it was more austere and radical. It was based upon an ancient dualism, upon the old myth of the struggle between light and darkness, good and evil, spirit and matter. Mani was its prophet. He borrowed the elements of his teaching from a very wide field. After a brief and brilliant period, however, Manicheanism was abruptly checked by the fierce opposition of the imperial government, which looked upon it as an anarchical system even more formidable than Christianity. It regarded the world as being wholly evil, and its followers were therefore inclined to abandon their duties as citizens and as men. It imposed the harshest penalties, and logically aimed at the extinction of mankind. It was an interesting and powerful religious movement, but its austere morality could not hope to win over the mass of the people, and within its thought it carried the germ of its death. Christianity supplanted these

two rivals in the declining days of the ancient world because it expressed better than they did the general tendencies of the time. It expressed those tendencies not by including now one and now another, but all at once; and it balanced them, harmonized them, and regulated them, so that they answered the religious needs of a wide variety of men. The experience of three centuries had carried it very far from its simple beginnings in Galilee; but the many difficulties it had encountered had given it a spontaneous tact which kept it from extreme theories and excessive discipline, endowed it with a sense of life, and enabled it to proceed triumphantly. Christianity partially absorbed the dogmatics of Neoplatonism and the ethics and discipline of Manicheanism, but it did not succeed in destroying those religions. Neoplatonism continued to live in philosophical writings that, all through the medieval centuries, penetrated the theology of the West. Manicheanism was prolonged by various scattered sects, which developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries into such formidable heresies as to cause great alarm to church and state.

Shaping influence of the synods and councils. In the old days of imperial power, deputies from the chief towns of a province used to meet once a year in a deliberative assembly. To some extent these meetings partook of a religious character. In the course of the second century the practice of coming together in representative assemblies began to prevail among the Christian communities. Questions of discipline, ritual, and doctrine had to be settled. At first these meetings were more or less informal. Some influential bishop invited neighboring communities to confer with his own. The conclusions of such a conference were not binding upon the minority of the delegates who disagreed. Such conferences began to multiply immediately after the recognition of Christianity by the state. They also tended to become regular instead of occasional as before. Then their decisions were regarded as binding upon the

district from which the delegates had come. These assemblies were called synods. The earliest synods of which we have authentic record were held in Asia, probably not before 150, to deal with the Montanists. A second stage in the development of such meetings was the extension of their jurisdiction over areas larger than a single district or province. In 314 a conference, summoned by Constantine, met at Arles, and was attended by bishops from Gaul, Britain, Germany, Spain, North Africa, and Italy. Then came councils that represented the entire church. The first of the œcumenical councils is that which met in 325 at Nicæa to consider the dispute between the Arians and the Catholics.

THE MEDIEVAL COUNCILS

1. Nicæa I 325
2. Constantinople I 381
3. Ephesus 431
4. Chalcedon 451
5. Constantinople II 553
6. Constantinople III 680
7. Nicæa II 787
8. Constantinople IV 869
9. Lateran I 1123
10. Lateran II 1139
11. Lateran III 1179
12. Lateran IV 1215
13. Lyons I 1245
14. Lyons II 1274

Its chief work was the formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity. The first eight general councils were all held in the East. What influence did these synods and councils exercise in the shaping of the church? They promoted unity. When the imperial government recognized their decisions and helped to enforce them, they became a powerful factor in producing the uniformity of faith and worship that finally prevailed. The opinions of the majority of the members of these councils became orthodox. The state made them laws in all but name. The people were obliged to accept them upon pain of the severest penalties. Thus the initiative of the religious sentiment was weakened. Personal impulse was looked upon with suspicion as heretical. Theology became systematic, learned, and subtle, and imposed its formulæ with tyrannous power. The dominance of orthodox

doctrine is a thing of fundamental importance in the history of Christianity.

Summary. When we contemplate the church at the beginning of the fourth century we no longer recognize it. Instead of little groups of peasant and proletarian devotees, separated from the majority of their Jewish brethren merely by a particular hope and a more cordial welcome to converts than was shown by the ordinary nationalism of Israel, we see a vast and highly organized religious association. We see a church whose sway is immense and almost uncontested, a power that is virtually mistress of civilization. The reason why Christianity was able to oppose and conquer the whole of pagan syncretism in the Mediterranean world was that it had itself become syncretistic. It had copied the imperial constitution in order to give itself a satisfactory organization. It had united in itself all the essential rites and all the fruitful ideas of pagan religious thought and feeling. It had combined and harmonized them in such a manner that it could by itself hold its own against the incoherent beliefs and practices of its adversaries. It had become the dominant religion, and the most complete of all religions, because it had taken from all the others the best they had in them. It was the most welcoming religion, the most comforting, the most consoling, the most humane. It was a religion of such kind that the simple had only to believe in it without understanding, and to obey its authorities without questioning, in order to be assured of their eternal salvation. And it was a religion in whose esoteric doctrines the philosopher could find ample material for speculation. The roots of this universal religion, now ready to carry on an effective missionary activity throughout the known world, lay deep in the past, not of the Jews only, but of all the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean. Its cradle was neither Galilee nor Jerusalem, but all the eastern part of the empire.

References for Further Reading

There is a vast literature relating to this subject. The original sources, some of which are translated into English, are given in the bibliographies of the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventeenth, and twentieth chapters of the first volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*. And there, too, will be found extensive lists of the derived sources. In reading on the subject of our present chapter one must be particularly careful to notice how far the documents and books have been colored by the spirit of the time and that of the place in which they were written and also by the author.

Among the derived sources are the following. Walter F. Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*. Ernest D. Burton and Shailer Mathews, *Constructive Studies in the Life of Christ*. J. Estlin Carpenter, *The First Three Gospels and their Origin*. Shirley Jackson Case's *Evolution of Early Christianity* has a very helpful bibliography; and his biography of *Jesus* is a fine book that profits by the best of recent scholarship and its author's sincerity and intelligence. Among the other books of this liberal scholar are *The Historicity of Jesus* and *The Social Origins of Christianity*. Frederick C. Conybeare, *History of New Testament Criticism*, and also his *Myth, Magic, and Morals, a Study of Christian Origins*. His *The Historical Christ* is an investigation of the views of several recent writers on that subject. Franz Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*. G. A. Deissmann's *Saint Paul* is one of the best books on that important apostle; and his *New Light on the New Testament* sums up the recent study of that subject. The three volumes of Louis Duchesne's *Early History of the Christian Church* are a fine example of liberal Catholic scholarship. George H. Ferris's *The Formation of the New Testament* is the best brief book dealing with the selection of the books that make up the second part of the *Bible*. George P. Fisher, *The Beginnings of Christianity*. Frederick John Foakes-Jackson's *The Parting of the Roads* is a study, by several writers, of the separation of Christianity from Judaism. William Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*. Translations into English of three volumes by Charles Guignebert have been announced: *Jesus and the Birth of Christianity*, *The Formation of the Church*, and *The Advance of Christianity*. The seven volumes of Adolf

Harnack's *History of Dogma* are the work of one of the most eminent scholars in this field; and among his other works are *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries,* and *New Testament Studies.* Edwin Hatch's *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches* and his *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* may be highly recommended; they are based upon original sources, and though they contain some slips of a minor character their substance is thoroughly trustworthy, and in every page there is true insight. William R. Halliday, *The Pagan Background of Early Christianity.* George Hodges's *The Early Church* is a useful brief book, sympathetic, and fairly liberal. Maude A. Huttmann, *The Establishment of Christianity and the Proscription of Paganism.* Oscar Holtzmann, *The Life of Christ.* One of the best general histories of Christianity is Gustav Krüger's *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte fur Studierende,* of which there are four volumes. Walter Lowrie, *The Church and its Organization in Primitive and Catholic Times.* P. Labriolle, *The History and Literature of Latin Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius.* Shailer Mathews, *History of New Testament Times in Palestine.* John Henry Newman, *Development of Christian Doctrine.* A fine picture of the evolution of early Christianity is to be found in the two volumes of Otto Pfleiderer's *Christian Origins;* and his other books may be strongly recommended. Among them are *The Development of Christianity, Primitive Christianity, The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity,* and *Religion and Historic Faiths.* Robert Rainey, *The Ancient Catholic Church.* Ernest Renan, *The Influence of the Institutions, Thought and Culture of Rome on Christianity.* John M. Robertson, *The Historical Jesus.* Auguste Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul.* Gustav Schnüre, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter.* Crawford H. Toy, *Judaism and Christianity.* Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church.* G. A. Van den Bergh van Eysinga, *Radical Views about the New Testament.* Ernest von Dobschütz, *The Apostolic Age,* and also his *Christian Life in the Primitive Church.* Herbert Brook Workman, *Christian Thought to the Reformation.*

CHAPTER 4

MONKS AND FATHERS

Recapitulation. We have considered the influence of the Jewish, Greek and Roman environments in the shaping of the church; and we have also noticed the effect of the scriptures, missions, schisms, synods, and councils in determining the character and the institutions of the church. We must now see something of the monks and the fathers, for they, too, were very important in molding the church and affecting the life of the time.

Rise of monasticism. The fundamental idea of monasticism is partial or complete isolation from society in order to lead a life which society fails to afford, but which, it is believed, may be attained by abnegation of self and retirement from the world. There is a class of minds for which such a life has always had a powerful attraction. Monasticism is to be found in every leading religion. It is a principle deeply seated in human nature. It seems to have begun long before the dawn of history. We first hear of it in Asia. On a moonlit night, nearly six hundred years before the opening of our era, a young Hindoo rajah, whom men now call Buddha, fled into the forest, leaving wives and kingdom, to find rest for his soul. He denounced caste, and preached a life of poverty and self-denial. He founded a religion that was democratic and ascetic, with monasteries, the adoration of saints, miraculous relics, pilgrimages, rosaries, and other things strangely anticipating that of western Europe in the Middle Ages. But even those who gathered about him were not the first monks. Long before their time the same forests had sheltered recluses devoted to the doctrines of Brahmanism. Monasticism still retains a firm hold upon Buddhism. Even to-day in some countries

where that religion prevails every one, whether he will or no, must at some period of his life, adopt the monastic habit and live, if only for a month or two, in retreat.

Jewish monastic sects. There were at least two monastic sects among the Jews. The Essenes held all their property in common, practised a severe asceticism, denounced slavery, and were justly famous for their deeds of charity. The Therapeutæ were less practical and more contemplative, and they preferred a solitary life to one in common. There were monks among the pagans who lived in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean. For several centuries there had been a great monastery at Memphis in which monks dwelt who were devoted to the worship of the deity whom the Greeks called Serapis. It was a vast common building which the monks never left, and in which, although they might retain a limited control over their property, they were dead to the world.

The hermits. Hermits, or anchorites, became noticeable, if not numerous, in the first century of Christianity. Most of them came from the large towns where corruption prevailed. From the strife of political factions, from slavery, famine, and war, they fled into the lonely places to wear out their lives in penance and in prayer. But the first three hundred years of our era went by before large numbers adopted the eremitical life as the surest way of attaining salvation. Christian monasticism first became important in Egypt. The first prominent Christian ascetic who fled from the haunts of men to live a solitary life was Paul of Thebes. In the middle of the third century, in a time of persecution, he sought safety in the desert that borders the valley of the Nile. But Anthony, his successor, exerted a greater influence in the movement towards a solitary life. Late in the third century he began the life of a hermit, and was followed by many members of the noble families of Egypt. Swarms of solitaries clustered round him in the desert of northern Egypt. About 305, after twenty years

of solitary seclusion in a ruined fort by the Nile, he came forth to organize and direct the lives of the hermits who called upon him to be their leader. He became a pattern to the age. The monachism that found its inspiration in his example and advice was always eremitical in character. Pilgrims who visited the caves and huts of these hermits spread accounts of their austerities far and wide. The life of the recluse became a career.

The cenobites. Almost contemporaneously, however, Pachomius established a cenobitic type of monastic life in southern Egypt. The first hermits shunned one another. Every human relation was a snare. But the necessities of the religious life, attendance at public worship, participation in the sacraments, and instruction led to modifications of the solitary life. Groups of hermits lived together, though under no rule requiring a common life. Such a group was merely an aggregation of cells with a common chapel and the services of a priest. Pachomius, an Egyptian who had been a private in the army of the Emperor Constantine, founded the first Christian cenobium, or convent, in which the hermits, though each was left very largely to his own mode of living, took the first steps toward a common life; and about 315 he drew up for them the first set of Christian monastic rules. These rules permitted each monk to have a dwelling of his own within the precincts of the cenobium, but provided for organized and self-supporting colonies devoted very largely to agriculture. "The cenobites", said Chrysostom, "practice equality such as may be conceived as existing among the angels; some are not to be seen in misfortune and others in prosperity. All live in the same peace, the same joy, the same glory. There are neither rich nor poor among them; mine and thine, that cause of trouble and dissension, are words they do not know; everything they have is in common, board, habitation, clothing. Need we be astonished at this, seeing they are all animated with the same soul?" From the deserts the cenobitic life

flowed back in a great surge to the cities of Egypt. All through the troubled times of the fourth and fifth centuries the cenobia were popular places of refuge. Similar institutions were established for women. From Egypt the cenobitic life made its way and spread rapidly in the other lands of the eastern Mediterranean. Numerous colonies were to be found in Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece. The life of the cenobites was, generally speaking, humane and healthful. They dwelt in large monasteries, attended the services of the church together, ate in common, cultivated the soil, engaged in several branches of useful industry, and practiced a generous hospitality. They lived a peaceful life of toil and prayer. Yet many men preferred to live alone. It is these hermits who were the chief practitioners of extreme and strange austerity. The ascetic life in the East was colored with burning hues it did not assume in the temperate climate of the West. Only in the East were practiced such severe and fantastic austerities as those of the pillar saints, of whom the best known is Simeon Stylites. Forty years he lived on top of a pillar that had gradually been built to the height of sixty feet; and so many were the people who came from near and far to see him, that his life of privations, his extraordinary existence, had wider echoes than the eloquence of men like Gregory of Nazianzus and Chrysostom. But all the religious life of the fourth century, Pagan as well as Christian, was traversed by a deep current of stern asceticism.

Organization of the monks in the East. In the middle of the fourth century the real foundation of monasticism was laid by Basil (329–379), whose ideals of the monastic life are preserved for us in his Letters, and in two series of Rules. "We must strive", he says in one of his letters, "after a quiet mind. He who lives in the world is exposed to perpetual distraction; he is anxious about his wife and children, worried by the care of his house and the oversight of his servants, distressed by misfortunes in trade, and he quar-

rels with his neighbors. Every day darkens his soul. The only escape is by the way of solitude." Basil regarded monasticism as a means, not as an end. The true aim of the monk, he taught, is the mystical union with God. His Rules, which virtually absorbed or supplanted all their predecessors, require withdrawal from the world and the renunciation of all private property. They outline a life of work, and prayer, and meditation. They suggest the quieter trades, such as weaving, shoemaking, carpentering, and especially agriculture. The better educated monks are to find their work in study, and are also to teach the young who may be sent by their parents to the monastery school. The brethren are to engage in works of charity, ministering to the poor and caring for the sick, but in every case for the sake of the soul, rather than the relief of the body. These Rules improved upon the preceding ones in their emphasis upon social duty. They provided for a brotherhood, for a life in common, in dormitory, chapel, study, and farm; and they enjoined deeds of charity that related the monks to the outside world.

Character of eastern monasticism. Eastern monastic life, despite the admirable prescriptions of Basil's Rules, displayed some undesirable tendencies in the fifth and sixth centuries. Many of the monks became embroiled in the ecclesiastical politics and theological disputes of the time; and whatever cause they espoused, orthodox or heterodox, conservative or liberal, they were only too frequently violent and fanatical. Monasticism has always been more contemplative, and therefore less active, in the East than in the West. There arose in that part of the world no great monastic society to set an example to the peasants of better tillage and better husbandry, to make itself famous for deeds of charity, and to win an honored name for its work in the preservation of literature and the keeping of historical records. Greek and Slavonic monasticism has remained largely passive and has experienced little change. Less and

less it has devoted itself to labor and charity, and it has failed to encourage intellectual activity. For more than a thousand years it has been characterized chiefly by devotional contemplation. Its life to-day is by no means dominated by the Basilian Rules, though they remain the single monastic guide of Greek and Slavonic Christianity.

Spread of monasticism in the West. The ascetic life was early transplanted to the West. Athanasius (297?–373), one of the eastern church fathers, enjoyed a personal association in Egypt with Anthony and Pachomius. When he returned to Rome in 339 he brought two Egyptian monks for the purpose of introducing the monastic life in the West. Some forty years later, Jerome (340–420), one of the western church fathers, with charming letters and eloquent tongue, aroused great enthusiasm for the monastic life during the three years of his residence in Rome. Politicians, rich merchants, and literary men adopted the dress and took the vows of the ascetic life. Senators and aristocratic ladies converted their palaces and villas into monasteries. In the last quarter of the fourth century there were numerous monasteries of men and of women in Rome. The history of the nuns runs parallel to that of the monks. From the ancient capital the movement spread to other cities in the peninsula, and even to the distant Celtic lands on the shores of the Atlantic. Among those who popularized it in the West was Martin of Tours (316?–400), who about 360 founded a famous monastery near Poitiers; and who, when he became bishop of that place, established another at Tours. His shrine was one of the most popular in the medieval centuries, and he remains the patron saint of France. John Cassian (350–433) was another champion of monasticism in Gaul. He was a monk of Bethlehem who made a long and careful study of Egyptian monasticism, and who then wrote a book about it, which is virtually a rule, entitled *De Institutione Cenobiorum*. He built a monastery at Marseilles from which his influence radiated in all

directions. From the beginning a marked difference showed itself in the spirit of western monasticism as compared with that of the East. This was due in part to climatic influences, but still more to those of racial temperament and national spirit. There had always been a less tendency to abstract contemplation and to severe forms of asceticism in the West.

Conditions favoring monasticism. Several causes brought about the spread of monasticism. Social disorders were fruitful feeders of the cloister. The black cloud of the barbarians hung on the northern horizon, growing ever larger and coming ever nearer. In 410 Alaric sacked Rome. Quite naturally there was an increase in the corruption and misery of the internal life of the empire. Men and women eagerly sought the shelter of convent walls in a time of increasing social disturbances. Yet great enthusiasms are never completely explained by external causes. No torch would have kindled so great a conflagration if the fuel had not already been gathered. The artificial civilization of the time was declining in all parts of the empire. It was a time of decaying and disintegrating culture. The world was worn out and rotten. The old social austerity was dead and man had not yet learned the lesson of restraint. Everywhere there was a craving for costly luxuries and fictitious excitements. Pleasure was pursued incessantly, and life devoured with feverish haste. Such a craving is never satisfied. It begets a vague restlessness, which in its turn passes into ennui. Life seemed no longer worth living. There were young men standing on the threshold of life who were already weary of it. There were old men who had passed through life and found it vanity. Social ambitions had been disappointed, political schemes had been defeated, and moral reformations had failed. For many the horizon of life had shrunk incalculably. The flagging spirit no longer answered to the spur of external things, but had to find its motive and energy within, or find them not at all. So the hedonist became a quietist. The pleasure seeker who

had failed to find satisfaction determined to forego desire altogether. And again it was an age in which the doctrine of dualism was finding its way from the Orient. It was spreading in the western lands, principally in the forms of Gnosticism and Manicheism. There was an exaggeration of the antagonism between flesh and spirit. The human body was no longer regarded as a servant to be trained, but as an enemy to be crushed and beaten with unrelenting hostility. Still another potent cause of the increase of the ascetic life was mysticism. There were sensitive souls who fled from the actual world to dream of a world that could be only a dream. There were men who, in the life contemplative, sought to find their way to God. As the morning mist floats upward from some woodland mere, rests for a while in the glory of the sunlight, and is then lost in the infinity of noon, so did these pure and passionate souls hope to be absorbed in Divinity.

Influence of monasticism in shaping the church. Monasticism played a profoundly important part in the shaping of the church. It gathered to itself the prevailing pessimism and the deepening mysticism of the time. It attempted to found a new ordering of society based upon asceticism. It strove to justify itself and to preserve its strength with a comprehensive charity. Thus it became a protest against the growing secularity and paganism of the church. It proclaimed that a new way of life, and not merely sacramental ceremonies, was the essential element of Christianity. More and more the church became involved in the affairs of the world; more and more she relied upon her secular power as her most efficient source of strength for the conquest of the world. Monasticism was for long the most powerful corrective of this error. Still more! When a convert entered the church there was rarely a breach with his former life. His previous interests and customs merely received a new meaning. But monasticism wished for such a breach. It was deeply penetrated with the complete new-

ness of the position of Christianity. It bore in itself the ideals of a new way of life. From this it derived its attractive force, its energetic moral initiative, which, sooner or later, was bound to give it the leading position in the church. The church went into the world, making use of the existing legal organizations, in order to fulfill her mission. But monasticism remained by her side to warn her. Unweariedly it repeated that it was useless to subject men to dogma and ecclesiastical discipline if religion could not also be made effectual as a moral rule of life. Monasticism would have been incapable by itself of winning the world for Christianity and educating the barbarian peoples in an ethical religion; but since it was active within the church it imparted to her the strength to keep afloat on the stream of worldly tendency and did not allow her to be carried away by the temptation of earthly aims.

Origin and character of medieval monasticism. Medieval monasticism appealed to the teaching of Jesus. But it found no justification in his words. Never did he condemn the possession of property in itself; but only its immoral abuse. He declared the highest moral law to be the love of God and of our fellow men, and he did not deem the fulfillment of this law to consist in the absolute renunciation of property, of calling, of personal position in the world, and of marriage, but in a constant purity of heart which never feels itself to be identical with these external things. Monasticism did not spring from Christianity. It is, as we have seen, something far older. It originated in the deep chasm made by oriental religious feeling between spirit and matter. It strove with all its power that the soul might escape the snares of the sensuous world and the flesh and find its way to God. Similar ideas from Greek philosophy, and from the syncretic thought of the eastern Mediterranean lands in the time of imperial Rome, stimulated this effort. The imperial despotism, the economic needs, the social misery of the decaying empire produced a pessimistic atmosphere

very favorable to the development of monasticism; and the confident belief that the end of the world was near at hand, that its goods were worthless, that the part of wisdom was to become a citizen of a future heavenly kingdom wherein all distinctions of master and slave were done away with, set up a complete renunciation of the world as a sublime ideal of personal holiness. The Kingdom of God, originally thought of as the coming of a new and better condition of earthly life, now became transposed to another world. There was nothing left for this earthly existence but the soul's longing for redemption, and for a life of contemplation devoted to the love of God.

Attraction and power of monasticism. Asceticism is always a sure symptom of an over-ripe and decaying culture. It was the last resource of those who loathed the licentious world in which they found themselves. It made its way, and was sanctioned by the church, as the ideal form of Christian life. The church could not have acted otherwise. She had developed into a hierarchical organization, a political entity, that could no longer be held together merely by religious enthusiasm. She resorted to the external means of worldly restraint and compulsory obedience. Many men, therefore, in whom the spirit of the older communities still lived, turned their backs upon her in despair; they sought peace in solitude, having failed to find it in the worldly church. They did not reject the church. They clung to her doctrines, consecrations, and means of dispensing grace; but they had grave doubts as to the future of the church, and they preferred to resort to personal holiness, and the renunciation of the world for a life of contemplation, in finding their way to God. Multitudes of the discontented, among them some very dubious persons, crowded to join the monks. There were, therefore, many varieties of the monastic life, including not a few of an objectionable sort. This meant danger to the church unless she came to terms with it. So she gave it express recognition as the highest

actual form of the Christian life, and she assigned to it a place within the system which made her the only mediator between man and God. When we note the monastic demand for celibacy of the priests, something is seen of the powerful influence of the monks in the shaping of the church. Life in the monasteries was very varied. "All the stirrings of the heart", says Harnack, "the most passionate and the most delicate, meet us in that world of renunciation. Art, poetry, science, found in it a foster-mother; nay, the beginnings of our civilization are a chapter from the history of monasticism".

Who were the Fathers of the Church? Very important in the shaping of the church were the fathers. The "fathers" were the leading religious teachers of the early centuries of our era, those whose opinions were deemed sound and authoritative, whose lives were noted for piety, and whose writings became a court of appeal in all subsequent doctrinal disputes. Many of them were born of pagan parents, and all of them were nourished on pagan literature and philosophy in the common schools of the time. Their intellectual environment consisted of the secular teaching and the philosophical ideas and tendencies prevailing on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean. Among them were orators, poets, lawyers, statesmen, monks, and priests. In the fourth century the fathers were intellectually superior to the contemporary pagan priests, rhetoricians, and philosophers. Paganism, broken and decaying, was now a lost cause. The greatest thinkers were by this time enrolled in the ranks of the Christians. They did not desire knowledge for its own sake, however, but were inspired by the master motive of learning how to be saved and of helping in the salvation of others. Whatever in the pagan civilization of the past seemed capable of being used for this paramount purpose was incorporated in their teaching, while all else was dismissed as dubious, or dangerous, or positively heretical.

Character of the Greek Fathers. Most of the fathers who lived in the Greek-speaking lands of the East thought and wrote in accordance with the processes and customs of profane rhetoric taught in the schools of their time. They were aristocrats of intellect, men of letters and philosophers, who had been won over to the new faith, yet who had forgotten neither the substance nor the methods and forms of reasoning that in their youth had occupied their attention. They were permeated with Greek philosophy.

Athanasius. Little is known of the boyhood of Athanasius (293?–373), whom we first find as a young priest in the service of the bishop of Alexandria. He accompanied his superior to the Council of Nicæa, where he was a very influential opponent of the Arians. At the age of thirty-three he became bishop of Alexandria. At that time the city was almost as preëminent in the East as Rome was in the West. Thus the new bishop was equipped for leadership of the orthodox forces by his high position as well as by his deep conviction. The first years of his official career were tranquil, but soon the storms that made all the rest of his life tempestuous began to darken the skies. The council had by no means put an end to the disputes concerning the divinity of Jesus. Arius (?–336), who led the opposition to the dogma of divinity, still lived, and he had powerful friends at the imperial court at Constantinople. Five times Athanasius was banished from his diocese, or had to seek safety in flight. For six years he wandered in the West, making long journeys in Italy and Gaul, and going as far north as the mouth of the Rhine. Everywhere he carried on an energetic propaganda in favor of the Nicene Creed. Some time, too, he spent among the numerous hermitages and monasteries scattered in the solitudes of Upper Egypt. He left many writings behind him, consisting for the most part of brief treatises born of the doctrinal disputes in which he was ceaselessly engaged. As a theologian he is important chiefly because of his sincere and persistent

advocacy of the divinity of Jesus. All who agree with him honor him as the "Father of Orthodoxy".

Basil. Basil (329?–379) was also a zealous advocate of the orthodox cause against the Arians. He attended school at Constantinople and at Athens under pagan teachers; and then, having been converted to Christianity, went to visit the most famous hermits in Syria and Egypt. He became an ardent supporter of monasticism, and, as we have seen, was the first effective organizer of the monks in the East. When he was made bishop he enforced, in a wide variety of ways, his strict ideas of discipline and orthodoxy. His life was not without friction. Temperamentally, and perhaps unconsciously, he was a domineering prelate. His fearlessness and commanding personality made him the chief support of orthodoxy when the cause of Arianism was championed by the Emperor Valens. With indefatigable zeal he administered his extensive diocese, preached continuously, founded and fostered monasteries, built a great hospital outside the walls of his episcopal city, wrote innumerable letters, published many pamphlets, revised the liturgy, and took a vigorous part in a hundred controversies.

Gregory of Nazianzus. Gregory of Nazianzus (329?–389) was also a student, under pagan teachers, of rhetoric and philosophy at Athens. When about thirty years of age he was baptized a Christian. Strongly inclined by nature and education to a contemplative life, to the quiet reading of books in some sequestered monastery, the cause of orthodoxy summoned him to resist the Arian influence radiating from Constantinople, and, later on, Julian's attempt to restore paganism. When Theodosius ascended the imperial throne, Gregory became leader of the orthodox party in Constantinople. His five famous discourses on the Trinity are the best exposition of that doctrine made by any of the eastern fathers. The last few years of his life were spent in retirement at Nazianzus. His tenderness of

heart and his tactfulness are revealed in his attitude towards those who differed from him in matters of doctrine. He wished gentle and sympathetic measures only to be employed in trying to bring back heretics to the bosom of the church. "Let us not be hasty in condemning them", he said; "let us rather yield to them in matters of little importance, in order to obtain a greater blessing, concord". His memory retains its luster largely because he exalted the liberty of man as much as it was debased by Augustine.

Chrysostom. Chrysostom (345?–407), the golden-mouthed, is the most famous of all the Greek fathers. He studied under Libanius, a famous pagan teacher, at Antioch. He was baptized when twenty-five years of age, and then for about ten years spent a life of study and self-denial in a neighboring desert. When he became archbishop of Constantinople he devoted his revenues to hospitals and other forms of charity. But idle monks, licentious priests, corrupt courtiers, and the young and beautiful Empress Eudoxia, whom he had denounced fearlessly and with dramatic eloquence, intrigued against him and were successful in bringing about his banishment to a desolate village in the Taurus Mountains. From this lonely place, however, he exerted greater influence than before, and so he was exiled to a still more distant desert. He died on the way there.

Chief purpose of the Greek Fathers. We should look in vain in the writings of the eastern fathers for a single word testifying to any interest in the lofty questions of law, national politics, and international relations which had occupied the thoughts of the philosophers of Greece. Government, people, war, peace, the approaching invasion of the northern barbarians, nothing distracts their attention from the overmastering purpose of salvation. They are filled with contempt for this present life which had so powerfully attracted the Hellenic peoples. The comparison of life with a shadow, a dream, recurs on every page in the orations

of Chrysostom. If Christianity had practiced to the full this contempt of the world, its influence upon mankind would have been greatly less than it was, for it would have ended in the quietism of the Orient.

Character of the Latin Fathers. Latin Christianity received its tone and temper, its final fashioning, from the Latin fathers in the lands west of the Adriatic. They built upon the creative work of earlier and chiefly eastern men; but they changed it. The theological genius of the East was different from that of the West. Eastern theology had its roots very largely in Greek philosophy, while western theology was profoundly influenced by the great body of the secular law of the Roman Empire. The Greek fathers were the true successors of the Hellenic sophists, while the Latin fathers were the successors of the Roman lawyers.

Ambrose. Ambrose (340?–397) studied rhetoric, literature, and law in Rome, and then distinguished himself by his effective administration as consular prefect of Liguria and Emilia. When about thirty-four years of age he was made bishop of Milan. There he became a zealous opponent of the pagans and a leader of the Catholic party against the Arians. He was very popular because of his generous donations to the poor and his support of social and religious reforms. He was a jurist, a statesman, a consul-bishop, a man in whom the old imperial power of command continued to be seen, whose reputation rests far less upon his writings than upon the courage and skill with which, in troublous times, he administered his diocese.

Jerome. Jerome (340?–420) studied grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy at Rome, and also attended the law courts there and listened to the pleadings of lawyers in the Forum. He was a scholar, greatly attached to the pagan literature of the past and filled with a real desire for knowledge; but a change came over him in the course of a dangerous illness while journeying through Greece and Asia Minor. He had seen the whole civilized world of his day, its outposts in the

forests of Gaul and its gorgeous home in Constantinople, and from his heart he spurned it all. He invested all the treasure of his affection and hope in the mystical city of God. For several years he led the life of a hermit in a desert not far from Antioch. There he copied manuscripts and began the study of Hebrew. When he went to Rome to act as a secretary, Pope Damasus I (366–384) suggested to him a revision of the Latin translation of the *Bible;* and to this work he henceforth devoted most of his time and all his unusual literary power. Part of this great task he accomplished while at Rome, but much of it was done in a monastery at Bethlehem where he had the aid of several scholarly Jews. Very little is certain of the Latin version of the *Bible* in general use before this, except that it originated somewhere in Africa and that it had assumed many shapes in the hands of the various transcribers. Jerome translated from the two original languages of the book, Hebrew and Greek. Only very gradually did his version supplant the older translations into Latin and become known as the *Vulgate*. Ever since then, though with many changes, it has remained the authorized version of the Catholic Church.

Character of the Latin of the Vulgate. The Latin of this new version of the *Bible* is not that of Cicero. In the four hundred years that had gone by since the death of that classical writer modifications of diction and style are to be found with increasing frequency in the works of the pagan writers, and still more so in those of the Christian fathers. The classical tradition of balance and stately self control was disappearing. Adjusting itself to new conditions, the language was becoming more flexible; and when it had to express the thought and feeling of a new religion, it was greatly changed. A new strain came into it with Jerome. It acquired a plaintive melody upborne upon a organ-swell, the thrilling monotony of a voice which, if it alter, must break in tears. The new version of the sacred writings,

whatever its merits as a translation from the two original languages may be, possesses splendid liturgical rhythm. Listen to the chanting of some priest who sympathetically appreciates its qualities and you will feel the langor of mystical love, the deep reverberations of mighty and majestic words, the melodious surge and cadence of sound which has echoed for more than fifteen hundred years down the aisles and through the arches of the sanctuaries of Catholic Christendom. Undoubtedly the *Vulgate* played a great part in the mental and spiritual transformation from classic to medieval times.

Early life of Augustine. Augustine (354?–430) was born in Tagaste, a little town in that part of northern Africa now called Tunisia. He was trained for the career of a rhetorician. Very early he became a zealous Manichean. He lived a more or less dissolute life, and that dualistic religion seemed to him the best explanation of the world and his own experiences. From Carthage, where he had continued his studies, he went to Rome, and from there he went to teach rhetoric in Milan. In the northern metropolis he adopted Neoplatonism, a religion that proved to be in his case, as in so many others, a bridge to Christianity. After listening to the sermons of Ambrose he was baptized into the faith of that virile and authoritative bishop. In 388 he returned to Tagaste and formed a small religious community, which looked up to him as its head. The life of these ecclesiastics was not strictly monastic, but the experience he gained in directing it was probably the basis of the rules which he drew up later on for the order that came to be known as the Augustinians. After some years he became bishop of Hippo, a town on the African coast directly south of Sardinia, and then he began a series of treatises against the Manicheans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians.

Augustine's concern with the origin of evil. From the time he first began to meditate, Augustine was preoccupied

with the question of the origin of evil. Manicheanism said evil is coeternal with goodness; one comes from Satan, the other from God; to deny this is to attribute the origin of evil to God. In his youth Augustine had accepted this as the solution of the problem of evil. But another explanation was made by Catholicism. Evil first came into the world by the sin of Adam and Eve. Augustine made use of the doctrine of original sin to overthrow Manicheanism. Evil, he said, has its origin in the free will of man, not of God. Our first parents, by their own act, fell from their primitive purity; all their descendants have inherited that original sin; they are by themselves incapable of good; they are condemned forever unless saved by a gratuitous gift of the grace of God. "We have all merited death in Adam." But the Pelagians taught that Adam's sin was purely personal; that every man is born with power, unaffected by that first sin, to save himself; and that children who die in infancy, having no stain of sin, are saved without baptism. To the refutation of these contentions Augustine devoted all his intellectual strength, and his views deeply and persistently colored the stream of Christian thought. Every man, he said, has inherited original sin. No man can do anything to save himself. Everyone needs the grace of God. This saving grace, he insisted, is gratuitous in its essence; it would no longer be grace if it were given as a reward to merit. How can it be a reward for good done by man, since, before he has received grace, man is incapable of any good? The anxious question then arises as to whom this gratuitous grace is given. Augustine's reply is one of despair for the immense majority of men. It is given only to a few. Only a small minority, the elect, are predestined to salvation. Then are the rest of men, the overwhelming majority of them, predestined to be lost? Augustine recoiled from the fearful reply, but the irresistible logic overcame his gentle and compassionate soul. He answered in the affirmative. The deep pessimism of the medieval cen-

turies towards this life is here revealed in all its fulness. Where did Augustine find this theory of original sin? The vague belief in the "fall" of our first parents was formulated as a positive dogma by Paul. On that dogma was built the edifice of orthodox Christianity. It is a doctrine that destroys human individuality, and therefore morality. It is irreconcilable with the idea of divine justice; nor does it harmonize with our own sense of justice. It is disappearing in the atmosphere of modern thought and feeling. The voice of humanity has won the victory over the rigor of dogma. In these controversial writings Augustine declared it to be the duty of the civil power to control schism, to punish departures from orthodox teachings. His name is the most authoritative one in the black record of intolerance. His maxims led to many lamentable deeds.

Augustine's first great book. In addition to these polemical pamphlets Augustine wrote two great books. The first is *The City of God.* In 410 Alaric took Rome. The Eternal City, the metropolis of the western world, the invincible and inviolable fortress of civilization, was captured and plundered by the Goths. An agonized cry went up from the pagans that this was the judgment of the gods, that men should retrace their steps to the old faiths they had forsaken. To deny this, to show that though the city of the world had fallen the City of God stands strong forever, was the purpose of Augustine. His book has twenty-two parts. Ten refute the claim of paganism that man's happiness, here and hereafter, depends upon the gods; while twelve are devoted to proving the truth of Christianity. There are two societies, or, as the great father called them, two cities, in the world. The City of Satan, whatever deluding successes it may achieve in worldly affairs, is essentially impious and corrupt. Its beguiling features are only a mask, its beauty the whitening of a sepulcher. When seen with clear eyes all its vanity, cruelty, and misery, its ignorance of everything the welfare of his soul requires

man to know, are perceived. The City of God is made up of all the souls predestined to salvation. Often it may seem lost in the heedless and noisy world, or be found only in obscure and forgotten places; but however humble and inconspicuous it may be on earth its destiny is eternal and its saints comprise the shining hosts of heaven. Life is made up of the conflict between these two cities, or societies, one a natural morality, the other supernatural; one a rational philosophy, the other a revealed religion; one a worldly beauty, the other spiritual; one a temporal glory, the other eternal; the world and the church. Whatever their transient truces or alliances may be, they are fundamentally antagonistic and essentially alien to one another. Their conflict fills the pages of history and will be concluded only on the awful day of reckoning, when angels will blow their alarming trumpets, the innumerable army of the dead will arise from their graves, and the blessed will be sent to eternal bliss, the wicked to everlasting torment, by the Lord in his terrible Last Judgment. Augustine said that the City of God is represented on earth by the church. The secular state is not an end in itself; its only true purpose is to support the church. Thus did he set up the theory of the relation of the state to the church which dominated Latin Christianity throughout the Middle Ages.

Augustine as an exemplification of the changes of his time. Thus, in his paramount concern with salvation, did the great father tear himself away from the ideals of the ancient world, from its political life, its science, art, morality, and religion. Thus, in his woeful spiritual struggle, did he turn away from the old joy in the world, its active and happy realism, its cheerful objectivity. Into his own time and the succeeding centuries he poured the full flood of his passionately ascetic temperament. Yet he was not able to dispense entirely with the thought and culture of the past. He did not cease to regard with reverence the classical writers whom he had loved in his youth, despite his penetrating nostalgia

for the infinite. Paganism and asceticism continued to struggle for the control of his mind and heart. And so, too, did those opposite poles contend for supremacy with alternate attraction in the intellectual life of the West. He thus summed up the sweeping intellectual and spiritual changes that accompanied the dissolution of the Roman Empire.

Augustine's second great book. Far more important for us to-day is Augustine's second great book, his *Confessions*, in which he revealed himself as "a virtuoso of self-observation and self-analysis". For long we have been told the book is not strictly historical; that the author exaggerated the trifling peccadilloes of his youth, and that therefore the work is to be regarded only as a penitential handbook of prayer and praise. But the truth seems to be that he was intensely human, strongly sensuous, and keenly intelligent; that he did what he says he did; that he wished to make himself known, as he really was, to the reader; that his primary purpose was autobiographical. The great bishop meant precisely what he said when he cried out to God: "Accept the sacrifice of my confession by the agony of my tongue". He had been in the torrent of life, and had not merely watched it from the shore; he had drunk from every cup in the voluptuous world; of the vanity of life he was deeply convinced; and he was actuated by the deep necessity of cleansing his bosom of "that perilous stuff which weighs upon the heart". And after having purged his soul with public confession he was filled with exultant delight. "Thou hast made us unto Thyself", he cried out, "and our heart is restless until it rests in Thee". The power of the book flows from the vitality of its literary genius, and its lasting influence is due to the sincerity and truthfulness of its information. The book marks the first appearance of the confessant in literature. A thousand years later, at the other end of the medieval centuries, its example was followed by Petrarch; and since then a long series of confessions has been written, though only a few of them with

the same purpose of leading souls to heaven, in the manner begun by Augustine.

Augustine's influence upon medieval and modern life. It may be said that the early history of western Christianity ends with the death of Augustine. The time in which he lived saw the decisive events which overthrew the imperial power in the West. In his voluminous writings, the product of a mind ever in movement, of a restless soul, all the Christian thought of the first four centuries was concentrated, expounded, clarified, and ordered under the profound, if not always visible, influence of the Roman law and the spirit of Neoplatonism. He stamped that thought with his incomparable personality, imparted to it the warmth of life, and gave it an extraordinary elasticity that was to permit many new endeavors and to fire the piety of long succeeding centuries. His teaching marks a halting place in the history of Latin Christianity. From him proceeds all the religious evolution of the western world throughout the Middle Ages. He laid the foundations of its theology, propounded the principal themes of its speculation, oriented its mysticism, and formulated the rules of its public morality. And it was not only the most conservative, the most scrupulous orthodoxy, that sought and found sustenance in his writings. Natures so rich in surging life often contain as many contradictions as life itself. Throughout the medieval centuries he was the supreme authority for the teachers of every school. They employed all the artifices of interpretation in their attempts to reconcile themselves with him. Rationalists admired him as the master of their reasoning, while mystics revered him as the origin of their contemplation. Even the heretics appealed to him,—Gottschalk, Luther, Calvin, and the Jansenists.

Pope Gregory I. All the seven fathers we have studied lived at the same time. The life of every one of them falls in the same period of a hundred and thirty years. But a century and a half went by between the death of Augustine

and the beginning of the public life of Gregory I (550–604), one of the two popes whom men have styled "Great". In this intervening period England, Gaul, Spain, and Italy had been invaded by the northern barbarians. The Roman Empire had given way, west of the Adriatic, to Germanic principalities and kingdoms. Hopeless decadence characterized the life of the Italian towns, and the peninsula was overrun by the most barbarous of all the northern peoples, the Lombards. Gregory was the son of a senator. He was educated for the law, but he became a monk. He stood between a subtle but moribund civilization and a young and vigorous barbarian world. By his patrician birth and culture he represented the memories of the vanishing age, while with his monastic austerity and credulous mind he anticipated the spiritual ideals and intellectual conditions of the approaching period. It was his function to reconcile such apparently irreconcilable forces; and this he attempted to do by creating a sacerdotal empire that would contain them both, that would revitalize the old and bring the new into quiet channels. He was the first monk who sat on the papal throne, the first of the great medieval monk-rulers of the church. In those difficult times he took command, as he said, of the "battered ship of the church, into which the waves were pouring from all sides, and the decaying timbers of which were creaking and moaning in the hurricane". He preferred a cloistral life, and undertook his public work unwillingly; but when once he had started upon it he carried it out with unswerving certitude of purpose. His work may be classified under three heads. First, he summed up the tradition of the Latin church and thus directed the development during the next four centuries of the religious life and secular civilization of the West. He was the last of the classical teachers of the western church. With him we see the end of the patristic age and the beginning of medieval Catholicism. He accepted the teachings of Augustine, but colored them

with the deepening ignorance of the time. He is, in a sense, the pope of the miraculous; and he employed his unrivaled authority to denounce all secular learning. His *Dialogues*, one of the most popular books of the entire medieval period, is a handbook of credulity. He was anxiously concerned with the conversion and education of the barbarian peoples, and for them he expressed the doctrines of angels, saints, demons, hell, purgatory, and heaven in a simple form, suitable to their understanding; and he elaborated the rites and ceremonies, made them more impressive and appealing. Secondly, he realized the religious importance and civilizing power of the Benedictine monastic Rule. He supported the Rule in every possible manner, and thereby gave a compact and effective system of the ascetic ideal to the West. And, thirdly, he was a wise and able administrator. He insisted that the primary duty of priests is the care of men's souls. His *Pastoral Care*, issued in the first year of his pontificate, furnished the bishops with a set of rules for the conduct of their work and that of their priests. Then, for the first time, with far-reaching vision and with great influence upon the succeeding centuries, he took effective control of missionary activity from the religious capital of the church. It was he who sent forty monks from Rome to convert the Anglo-Saxons. Gregory is a complex figure, strong, untiring, defiant if need be, subtle, haughty, and yet apostolic.

Influence of the fathers for orthodoxy. What influence did the fathers exert in shaping the church and in affecting the general life of the time? The question has already been answered in part, but it may be well to look into the matter a little further. All of them supported orthodoxy. Athanasius endured exile because of his unrelenting antagonism to the Arians. Arianism was the greatest danger orthodoxy encountered; no other struggle was longer or more bitterly contested. The fundamental dogma of orthodoxy was at stake. All his treatises are occasional pieces, born of controversies with heretics and intended for controversial ends.

When the Emperor Valens (364–378) tried to make Arianism the prevailing belief the leadership of the cause of orthodoxy was assumed by Basil, and to his tireless energy the victory of that cause was largely due. Gregory of Nazianzus went to Constantinople to champion orthodoxy against the Arians. He was the gentlest of all the great fathers in his attitude towards heretics, yet even he insisted that magistrates are obliged to use the power they have received from God in defense of the truth. "If it is a great thing to prevent murder, punish adultery and chastise larceny", he declared, "it is a much greater thing to uphold piety by the authority of the laws, and to make the people receive the true doctrine". Chrysostom was also inclined to be tolerant. The sentiments of tenderness and charity are often found in his writings. "Let us wage relentless war on heresy", he said, "but let us pardon the men who are led astray, and let us pray for their salvation". The eloquent orator foresaw the evil that persecution would bring upon the church. "Heretics must not be put to death", he said; "that would be to introduce an irreconcilable war into the world". His great political talents, as well as his earnest preaching, were employed in combating the various heresies spreading in the East. Arianism almost ceased to exist in his diocese, and his opposition to it was not confined to his own ecclesiastical territory. Jerome, who traveled much, denounced heterodox beliefs wherever he encountered them. He was a violent and bitter writer. His many controversial pamphlets reveal his passionate nature. "We are commanded to believe", said Ambrose; "we are forbidden to discuss". Augustine, the supreme man of the day, declared heresy to be a crime in itself and made intolerance a duty. "Justice is the first duty of kings", he said, "and heresy is a crime more atrocious than forgery or murder". It was from a charitable motive that he advocated persecution. "If a heretic dies in sin, and if you might have saved him by using force", he asked, "will not your tolerance be actual

hatred?" He answered his own question. "It is better to save with harshness than to destroy with gentleness." He raised intolerance to the height of a dogma. In vain did he try to moderate a theory as cruel as it is false. In subsequent times men less compassionate than he took upon themselves to draw the consequences of his false doctrine. Gregory I opposed heresy wherever he found it. "There is no merit in a faith", he said, "whereof human reason furnishes the proof". He was the head of the orthodox church.

Influence of the fathers for asceticism. All the fathers supported asceticism. They were unanimous in saying that monasticism is the realization of religious perfection on earth, that it is the very essence of Christianity. "The monasteries formed under the inspiration of Anthony", said Athanasius, "were like tabernacles filled with divine choirs, holy ascetics chanting the praises of God, fasting, praying, delighting in the expectation of the joys of the future life, laboring to do alms, united by the bonds of charity and concord. They might be called a world apart, the home of compassion and righteousness". It was he who took the first Christian monks to Rome; and his *Life of Anthony* gave a great impetus to the ideal of monasticism and set the standard of conduct for the entire church. "As long as we have a bond that holds us to the world", he said, "it is impossible for us to attain to the contemplation of divinity. Renunciation is the dissolution of the ties of this earthly and temporal life. Only when man is free from all human care can he turn his soul to heavenly things". He was profoundly penetrated by the incompatibility between the world of his time, impregnated with a decadent paganism, and a truly religious life. The peerless oratorical power of Chrysostom was employed in furthering the cause of monasticism. Preoccupied with the life to come, he spoke of the present life only to condemn it and wean the faithful from it. "Let us not think of present things", he pleaded;

"let them be neither a joy nor a sorrow to us; let us concern ourselves only with the terrible judgment day". Ambrose pictured in an alluring manner the life of the monks on the island of Capraria. "It is there in these isles", he declared, "thrown like a collar of pearls upon the sea, that those who would escape from the charms of dissipation find refuge. Nothing there disturbs their peace, all access is closed to the wild passions of the world. The mysterious sound of the waves mingles with the chant of hymns; and, while the waters break on the shores of these happy isles with a gentle murmur, the peaceful accents of the choir of the elect ascend to heaven". If men had listened to the ardent preaching of Jerome they would have abandoned life. "Virginity", he exclaims, "unites men to God. It is a kind of angelic life. Virgins are the fragrant flowers of the church, the glory and ornament of spiritual grace, a divine image corresponding to the sanctity of the Lord". It was as a well-nigh irresistible champion of monasticism that he made his deepest mark in the city of Rome. His numerous letters, so real, so expressive of his ardent personality, of his sensitive, sympathetic, and yet irascible temperament, were greatly influential in persuading men and women to the life contemplative. He practiced what he preached. The last thirty-four years of his life were spent in a monastery in Bethlehem. The mighty Augustine, living in closest sympathy with the great social forces of his age, pleaded for the celibate life. "Woman was evil from the beginning", he asserted, "a gate of death, a disciple of the serpent, the devil's accomplice, a dogstar to godly labors, rust corrupting the saints; whose perilous face hath overthrown such as had already become almost angels". He refused to see any woman save in the presence of a third person. Gregory I was himself a monk, and he did all he could to spread the monastic system from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. The fact that monastic life developed into a powerful force for the leavening of

medieval society was due in large degree to the energy and administrative ability of this first monastic ruler of the church.

Influence of the fathers for theocracy. In its spiritual domain the church had become sovereign. It was the only judge of morality and dogma; it alone could convene councils and issue canons. "Wherever religious matters are in question", said the Emperor Honorius in 399, "reference must be made to the bishops". The autonomy of its government was also to be recognized. The church had the right to elect its officers freely and to recruit its priests without obstacle. It had the sole right to regulate their duties and functions. The bishop had exclusive jurisdiction over his clergy, and, since the community had property, the free disposal of its goods. Obviously the secular rulers were no longer superior to the church. The fathers went beyond this. They favored theocracy. They declared the state subordinate to the church. "If you are a Christian", said Chrysostom, "you have no country in this world; you are an inhabitant of the heavenly Jerusalem". "What we call our country", said Gregory of Nazianzus, "is only an illusion of our short and fugitive existence". If by these maxims the fathers had wished only to remind us that our present life is not our ultimate goal, they might be pardoned their exaggeration. But they did not so mean them. They said literally that heaven is our true and only country. Clement of Alexandria (150?–220?), one of the lesser fathers, declared that "the Christian lives in the city as in a desert, he contemns the agitations of civil life, he passes the forum with indifference, as though he were a foreigner". And Tertullian (155?–222?), who is scarcely less important than any of the eight outstanding leaders we have considered, said: "Nothing is more foreign to the Christian than what is called public life. He never goes to law, he does not fight, he never appears in the assemblies. He withdraws within himself." From such maxims it was not difficult to

proceed to the declaration that the state is subordinate to the church. "The prince is in the church", said Ambrose. What does that mean, if not that the state was to be at the service of the church? But all doubt was set aside by Augustine. In his *City of God* he insisted in the most unmistakable manner upon the preëminence of the church. It was his purpose in that book to demonstrate the direct government of the world by God. His book is the renunciation of the classical world and the program of the western Middle Ages. The church is the visible manifestation of the Kingdom of God. She must press into her service all the kingdoms of the world. She must be the guide of nations. She must create a kingdom of moral excellence on earth. She must ignore all political frontiers and establish a universal brotherhood of man. She must point the way to the eternal city in the skies. Only then will she fulfill her mission. In order to do this she must have dominion over the world.

The Pseudo-Dionysius. It seems well to mention here the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius. The *New Testament* states that among these converted by Paul in Athens was a certain Dionysius the Areopagite. The Areopagus was the hill on which sat the highest judicial court of Athens. The name was also applied to the court itself. An Areopagite, then, was a member of the court. Some time in the fifth century a man whose name is still unknown to us wrote several books and a number of letters that were attributed to Dionysius. This writer is now called the Pseudo-Dionysius. His writings were cited in 533 at the council held in Constantinople. That is the first certain date connected with them. They are a remarkable assimilation and arrangement of the varied elements of the religious thought and feeling of that time, the work of a subtle and gifted mind that absorbed and systematized the ideas then floating in the air, Oriental, Jewish, Greek, and Christian. Poetical Neoplatonic fantasies concerning the

divine essence, angels, and other holy spirits, splendid description of the Catholic ceremonies, glorifications of the ecclesiastical hierachy, panegyrics on the monastic life, and mystical interpretations of religious doctrines, made the books very appealing and immensely influential. But they were not known to the West until after the death of Charlemagne. They are mentioned here only because they are a representative product of this time, only because they are indicative of the thought and feeling of the approaching medieval centuries.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for the story of the early monks are given in the bibliography for chapter eighteen of the first volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History;* while those for the fathers are enumerated in the lists of references of the biographical articles on the several fathers in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, Smith and Wace's excellent *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and Schaff-Herzog's *Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge.* A vast collection of the writings of the fathers was made by Father Jacques Paul Migne (1800–1875), a French priest and publisher, under the title of *Patrologiæ cursus completus*, of which the Latin series has 221 volumes, and the Greek series (with Latin translation) 165 volumes. Migne's texts are not in all cases satisfactory. Two critical collections of the patristic writings are now in process of completion. One of them is the Vienna edition of the Latin fathers entitled *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.* The other is the Berlin collection of the writings of the earlier Greek fathers entitled *Griechischen christlichen schriftstellern der ersten drei jahrhunderte.* For English readers there are three series of translations of many of the writings of the fathers: the Oxford *Library of the Fathers;* the *Ante-Nicene Library;* and the *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.*

Pierre Batiffol's *Saint Grégoire le Grand* is an admirable little book. J. M. Besse, *Les Moines d'Orient.* Dom E. C. Butler, who is a Benedictine, has an excellent chapter on the early monks in the first volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History.* See also his *Benedictine Monachism*, and his *Western Mysticism.* Louis Ber-

trand, *Saint Augustine.* The original text of Augustine's *Confessions,* with a good translation into English, is to be found in the Loeb Classical Library. E. Bernheim's *Mittelalterliche Zeitanschauungen und ihrem Einfluss auf Politik und Geschichtschreibung,* a very suggestive but rather prolix work, summarizes, sometimes with exaggeration, the influence of Augustine's ideas upon medieval life. Gaston Bossier, *La fin du Paganisme.* William Bright's two volumes on *The Age of the Fathers* are the work of an able Tractarian. W. K. Lowther Clarke's *Basil the Great* is an admirable study of the eastern father's monastic legislation. F. M. Dudden's *Gregory the Great* is the most helpful book in English dealing with the greatest figure of the sixth century and one of the most dominant minds of early medieval Christianity. The second and third volumes of Monsignor Louis Duchesne's *Early History of the Christian Church* have several chapters on the monks and fathers. Frederic W. Farrar's *Lives of the Fathers* is a readable history of the first four centuries of Christianity written by a liberal Anglican. The first chapter of Frederick John Foakes-Jackson's *Introduction to the History of Christianity* is an excellent summary of the history of the church to the end of the pontificate of Gregory the Great. A. C. Flick's *Rise of the Medieval Church* will be found helpful for many chapters of our book. The worth of Cardinal Gasquet's *Monastic Life in the Middle Ages* is lessened by errors and omissions. Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* The value of Canon J. O. Hannay's *Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism* is devotional rather than historical. Adolf Harnack's *Monasticism* is a brief and excellent book. F. J. C. Hearnshaw's *The Social and Political Ideas of some Great Medieval Thinkers* contains a chapter by A. J. Carlyle on Augustine and the *City of God.* Rufus M. Jones's *Studies in Mystical Religion* has a fine chapter on Dionysius the Areopagite. Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders.* W. E. H. Lecky, *European Morals.* In François Laurent's *Le Christianisme* the influence of the fathers is ably summarized. Joseph McCabe's *Augustine and his Age* is one of the best brief books on the subject. The Comte de Montalembert's *The Monks of the West* should be read carefully. Ernst Tröltsch's *Augustine, die christliche Antike und das Mittelalter,* is an attempt to appraise Augustine in so far as he accepted and transformed Christian antiquity, and is a healthy reaction

against views too much taken over from the Middle Ages. Of great usefulness and interest are Henry Osborn Taylor's scholarly volumes on *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages* and *The Medieval Mind.* A. W. Wishart, *Monks and Monasteries.* Very dependable and helpful are H. B. Workman's *Evolution of the Monastic Ideal* and his *Christian Thought to the Reformation.*

CHAPTER 5

THE GERMANS

Whence did the Germans come? Not much is known about the origin of the Germans. The early history of the land and its people north of the Rhine and the Danube is veiled in mystery. Perhaps the Germans were contingents of a great army which, starting from the eastern steppes, several centuries before our era, threw the flood of its emigrants, in successive waves, on the north and west of Europe. Or they may have originated in the lands of the western end of the Baltic. But, whether they came from the East or the North it seems certain that as these newcomers traveled southwards they found people already settled in what is now Germany. Archæological evidence shows a continuity of settlement in certain districts of that land from the neolithic and bronze ages down to historic periods. In those early times central Europe was much more covered with forests than it is to-day. Swamp and moor were also undoubtedly very extensive then. But already many districts were free from forest, districts that had been settled from the stone age. The steppe land bordering the forests offered the exact conditions of life then required. Free movement was possible, pastures were plentiful, game abundant. Agriculture is four or five thousand years old in certain districts of central Europe. At the beginning of our era the Germanic peoples were scattered from the Rhine to the Vistula, and from the Drave and the Main northwards into a considerable part of the Scandinavian peninsula. From the time of Cæsar onwards they were known to the Romans as *Germani*.

Who were the Germans? Were the Germans a pure and homogeneous race? Or were they a conglomeration of many

peoples? They themselves did not know. The fact that they believed they sprang from the soil of northern Europe shows they had no tradition of an earlier migration than the one we are about to study. It is only in the second century before our era that a general name appeared with which to designate them,—the Germans. From that time their contact with Rome enables us to approach them and study their character and life. The first information we have of them was brought to southern Europe by Pytheas, a Greek merchant of the port now known as Marseilles. But the news he brought, in the third century before our era, was scanty. About 114 B.C. Germans came into close contact for the first time with the world of Rome. It was the first wave of their southward migration. Between 58 and 49 B.C. Cæsar defeated them and drove the survivors back beyond the Rhine. He made careful observations and notes. He describes them as a half nomadic people, still unacquainted with the possession of land, consisting of loosely associated tribes. The tribes were often at war with one another. They had no cultivated fields privately owned. They moved from place to place at will, year by year, and shared the land among themselves for this short space of time. Obviously, if this description is true, there was no close connection of the individual, or even of the tribe, with the soil. Their agriculture was the kind we find among shepherds and hunters, a secondary occupation, chiefly for women and old men. But the great general described an exceptional state of things conditioned by a time of war and wandering. His account is a description written by a Roman, and by a statesman, not a historian, and was intended for Romans. Archæological evidence shows a continuity of settlement in the inhabited districts from the neolithic age down to the historic period. It tells us something of the number of cultivated plants, the method of manuring the ground, gathering the harvest, threshing, grinding, making the grain into bread, and many other things showing that

a settled and tranquil way of life is to be assumed as the normal conditions of the Germans long before they came into contact with the Roman Empire.

Meaning of the word "barbarians". When we use the word "barbarians" we must be careful to give it the same meaning as that given to it by the Romans. The Romans seem to have used the word *barbari* for all the Germans. What did they mean by it? They did not mean barbarians in our sense of the word, enemies and destroyers of culture. The word at first connoted only strangeness of speech and of national customs. It did not imply savagery, nor even did it signify hostility to culture. By and by they connected it with the idea of heathen life and hostility to Christianity. They meant no more than "devoid of Roman civilization", or "devoid of Christianity". They meant only that the Germans were outside the culture of Rome, not that they were its opponents and destroyers. It is in this sense, too, that the word *barbari* was applied to themselves by the Germans.

The testimony of Tacitus. Fuller and more reliable is the information about the Germans given to us by Tacitus (55?–120), a Roman historian who was probably an administrative official for several years in the province of Belgic Gaul. His *Germania* was published in 99, five or six years after he returned to Rome. His knowledge of the geography of the barbarian country is inaccurate, but what he says about the people has been largely confirmed by modern research. If he did not go beyond the Roman frontier and travel in the land he wished to describe, certainly he questioned officers and traders who had been there; and it seems highly probable that he talked with barbarians who had come into the Roman territory as fighters, or prisoners, or upon some errand or other in time of peace. His book remains the best summary of what we know about the early Germans. Yet, largely based upon hearsay, it is not without slips, and has been the source of serious errors. The

picture he sketched is about a hundred and fifty years later than Cæsar. By that time the Germans living just across the Rhine were a settled people.

Truthfulness of the Germans. We can find the central thing in the character of these northern people, tall and strong, harsh and energetic, with fair hair and blue eyes, the tallest and strongest of all the Europeans. We find it in the writings of Tacitus. With a sure and rapid glance he perceived their essential qualities. They had many virtues and many vices that we should expect to find in any barbarians. But they were notable for their singular truth and purity, qualities which all their laws had not given the Romans. The Latin word *honor* means only repute, esteem, reward, official dignity; and *veritas* means only the accurate statement of a fact. Very different is our word "truth", which is of Germanic origin. It is full of moral significance. It means being true to a person, a cause, or a principle. It means faithfulness, loyalty, keeping one's plighted word. Among the Germans there prevailed the idea that there is a voice within to which one must listen. It was a new attitude towards self, a new conception of truth. It implied an indwelling sense that one owes it to oneself to be truthful, to keep good faith. Cunning and astuteness lurked behind their truth telling, yet to them truthfulness was the highest and the deepest thing in life.

The treatment of women by the Germans. Tacitus speaks of the respect paid to women by the Germans. True that, in some tribes at least, women were legally considered chattels. They were like slaves. The very name *weib* has come down in grammar as of neuter gender. Marriage contracts were no more than sales. The union was not lawful unless the man could prove by witnesses that he had paid the required sum for his wife. Yet the marriage relation was respected. Polygamy was permitted only to princes, and then chiefly for state reasons. Infidelity was punished by severe and public scourging. "It is not by law that the

Germans are chaste", says Tacitus; "it is by public opinion". Unreservedly did the Roman writer admire in the Germans their integrity of family life, their serious conception of marriage, their respect for women, and the manly education they gave their children.

Other virtues of the Germans. Loyalty, bravery, and hospitality were also cardinal virtues of the Germans. Each chieftain was surrounded by a war band of chosen youths, whose heroic deeds were to redound to his glory. They were to defend him; if need be, they were to sacrifice their lives for his safety. It was disgraceful for a leader to be outdone in bravery by any of his followers; and it was the shame of a lifetime to desert a leader or to throw away the shield in battle. Hospitality was practiced by rich and poor, noble and slave. To turn a wanderer away from the door was deemed nothing less than a crime.

Vices of the Germans. The Germans had certain vices. Passion and emotion, in their undisciplined character, outweighed quiet deliberation. Good-humored in ordinary intercourse, they sometimes became unbridled in rage, cruelty, and lust. In times of peace the fighters left the care of the fields and houses to the women and slaves. But too large a part in agriculture seems to have been assigned to the women by Tacitus. The high consideration shown them, which elsewhere he depicts so impressively, can hardly be reconciled with the idea of down-trodden agricultural slaves after the pattern of the women of our American Indians. German women, faithful and true, followed their husbands and sons to the battle-field. They took food to them and encouraged them. Wavering armies with ranks half broken were sent back to the attack by their impassioned entreaties. Some of them even took part in the combat. The old sagas extol the exploits of "virgins with shields". Nor is the indolence of the men in times of peace inconsistent, as Tacitus thinks it is, with their great activity in times of war. Hunting and fighting made up a life of

spurts, a life requiring periods of rest and recuperation. It is true that the men were addicted to drinking and gambling in times of peace. They brewed a kind of beer from barley. But they were manly men. Few of them succumbed to the disease of alcoholism. Most of them retained the power of choice. What, then, was the charm of strong drink to them? They wished to be at their best. This is usually the reason when men who are really men resort to the stimulus of drink. The victim of drink is the very opposite of the strong self-directing man. It was the exhilaration and the impetus that intoxicating liquor gives that induced the northern men to drink. Often they gambled. And sometimes in the days of drinking and playing the desire of winning amounted to frenzy. On a single casual throw players would stake all their earthly possessions, even the liberty of their own persons. Voluntarily the loser submitted to be bound and given to a neighboring tribe in exchange for merchandise. It was the German pride of keeping the word once pledged, of keeping one's troth. How shall we account for their gambling? It was not gambling chiefly for gain, though such gambling formed part of German life. It was the love of venture. It was the wish to heighten the interest of the struggle. The picture sometimes drawn of idle men who lived a life of sloth and gave themselves completely to play and drink is certainly wrong when presented as a general description of the Germans. Only a manly and efficient people could have conquered the world at the end of the Roman Empire in the West.

Individual freedom among the Germans. Insubordination was another vice of the Germans. It grew out of their extraordinary independence. Cæsar, in illuminating colors, describes their unrestrained individualism. The German knew of no discipline or subordination to another's will. He followed his own inclination in everything he did. Unlike the southern peoples, who crowded together and formed groups, the northern barbarian preferred to live by himself.

In Greece and Rome the community tended to absorb the individual; but in the uncivilized lands of the north the individual retained more of his autonomy. Stifled in the southern cities, individual freedom was developed in the northern forests. In the north the man was everything, the state nothing. In the earliest glimpse we get of them we see the Germans a race of landholders and tillers. Tacitus describes them as pasturing their cattle in the forest glades near their villages, and plowing their village fields. A feature which impressed him as distinguishing them from the civilized world to which he belonged was their intense dislike of cities, and their love, even within their little settlements, of a jealous independence. "They live apart", he says, "each by himself, as woodside, plain, or fresh spring attracts him". And as each dweller within the settlement was jealous of his isolation and independence, so each settlement was jealous of its independence among its fellow settlements. Seemingly there was not much social constraint of any kind.

Nobles and kings. What was their political organization and government? The Germanic states were based first and foremost upon a system of classes. Social inequality was their law. Tacitus tells us that the first appropriation of the soil of a new territory was not made with equal rights, but according to the prestige of the various individuals. He enables us to see striking differences within early German society. As far back as we can trace them there were nobles among the Germans. Their origin is obscure, but by the opening of our era their number was large. The aristocracy was composed of various elements. At its head were those who were noble by birth, from whom were chosen the priests and kings. But this nobility of blood was beginning to die out towards the end of our first century. Contrasted with it was the growing aristocracy of money and valor. Various privileges attached to nobility. The life of a noble was deemed more precious than that of a simple freeman. Nobles usually possessed more land than others; and their marriage

with persons of a lower rank was sometimes forbidden. Many nobles had formed a body of retainers, the *comitatus*, whom they maintained and equipped for war. It seems probable that not all these retainers were of noble birth or distinguished origin, but that some were selected because of personal qualifications for plundering expeditions and war. The *comitatus* had a decisive influence in the development of the German constitution. The long enduring struggles with the Romans and the Huns must have greatly affected the condition of things among the barbarians. They welded tribes together, and created community and common institutions. Retainers of the king, who led the armies, increased in numbers during the wars and migrations; and so too did the captives taken by them in war, and the amount of land they held as their own. All this exercised an important influence in the development of the single kingship. There can hardly be any doubt that from the very beginning the kingship existed in some of the Germanic tribes. The king was supreme in war, but in peace his authority was very limited. The general peace was not the king's peace, but the people's peace. It was not based upon the command of the king, but upon the will of the people.

Freemen. Although enjoying fewer privileges than the nobles, the simple freemen, whose honorable mark was their long hair, belonged to the same caste. The two orders, nobles and freemen, formed political society. They composed the people and the army; and together they exercised supreme authority in the assembly of the country. The quality of freeman was expressed in the right to bear arms and exercise personal vengeance. Each freeman had his share of the tribal lands. Very early the idea had been formed in some tribes that individual possession of land was necessary to full liberty. There were considerable differences of fortune among the Germans, especially in the matter of landed property, as early as the time of Tacitus. Many of them were comparatively poor, and this poverty

must have brought with it a great dislocation of their public duties. Economic inferiority must have resulted in social and political degradation. Such differentiation was to continue for many centuries until the various strata of society were more or less definitely fixed by feudalism.

Freedmen. Slaves who had been given freedom formed a special class. They held a subordinate position. They could not, apparently, marry women who were free. They seem to have taken no part in the affairs of the state. In several states some of them had gained considerable influence; but everywhere else their lot seems to have been unenviable and their manner of life much like that of the slaves. They lived under the tutelage of their former masters, cultivated their lands and rendered them service. Only members of the third generation came into the possession of full liberty.

Slaves. At the bottom of the social ladder were the slaves. War was the great provider of these human cattle, but some were criminals condemned to that condition, and others were freemen who had gambled away their liberty. Most of them tilled the soil. In most cases they did not work together under the strict supervision of a steward. Each had his own plot of ground and dwelling. He owed his master only a definite quantity of wheat, cattle, wool, or flax; that was the limit of his obligations and his obedience. The master had complete control of his slave. He could sell, chastise, or kill him; but as a matter of fact manners less cruel than those of the Roman Empire lightened the lot of the German slaves. Tacitus strongly emphasizes the milder and more humane treatment of slaves among the Germans. Especially he insists that deliberate killing of them hardly ever took place. The German slave again was not bound to the soil; the will of his master could emancipate him; he was not forbidden to aspire to freedom.

The family. The social hierarchy had a solid foundation. It rested on the family, which was established by the legitimate union of man and woman. Marriage was contracted

in the presence of parents and relatives under the symbol of a purchase. The husband bought possession of his wife and guardianship over her. He bought her from her parents. His authority over his family was complete and virtually sacred. He alone presided over the family worship and the invocation of the gods. He could sell his children, or even put them to death. When he died his wife became subject to his relatives. In no case could she dispose of herself, being incapable of inheriting or transmitting. Thus she lived in a state of dependence nothing could break. In some tribes a widow could not marry again. When the father grew old he was no longer counted an active member of society. His son took his place. The family was not merely a private association. In addition to father, wife, and children, it included kinsmen. This group took common part in all the important acts of private or public life. It had its place in the state. It could be formed into a court to try an adulterous wife. It could demand payment of wergild, as reparation for the murder of one of its members; and, in turn, it was held responsible for crimes committed by one of its members. Sometimes in a lawsuit the relatives of the defendant appeared before the judges to swear to his honor and to strengthen his oath with their own. Thus all the members of a family had a common interest, alike in their friendships and their hates. War united still more narrowly this bundle of wills and energies, for the fighting units were formed of "men of the same blood". The family was the constituent element of the army. The fighting men were grouped by families.

The clan. The clan was the next largest unit in the organization of the Germans. A clan was made up of people descended from a common ancestor. Its members kept close together; they were obliged to do certain work for the common welfare; and they maintained strict unity against attack from without. Just before the great migrations to the south, the clan began to give way to higher bonds, but it was still

the strictest bond known to the Germans. They settled on the soil in clans. Each village, usually located near a spring in a grove, was the dwelling place of a clan and the surrounding land belonged to it. Some parts of this land were cultivated; others, made up of pasture or forest, belonged to all, and there the members of the clan sent their sheep and cattle to graze and obtained wood for fuel and building. The divided arable land was distributed by lot among the members of the clan. Each village, or community, prescribed rigidly to all its members what land should lie fallow, what crops should be raised, and when and how the seed should be sown. Each community had its own assembly for the control of its local affairs. Usually there were from twelve to twenty houses in a village. Each was surrounded by a garden. The house with its garden was the personal property of the family that lived in it. This organization of families and clans determined the political system of the Germans. The state was hardly more than a federation of families. It was not a democracy. Power was concentrated in a small number of hands. In some tribes it belonged to an assembly of chiefs who alone decided all questions, even the division of the land. Commerce between village and village, and between tribe and tribe, must have been very restricted; perhaps it consisted of nothing more than exchange of animals and slaves.

The canton. The next highest unit above these village communities was the canton. Possibly the cantons were formed by the union of one hundred families, for the name *hundertschaft* was used by various German peoples to designate a small territorial division. The word "hundred" should not be taken literally. It may have meant only a large number. At the head of the hundred, or canton, was a chief. The canton was originally a personal association, and only at a later time did it become territorially significant.

The tribe. Many such hundreds formed a tribe. Only a few of the tribes had a king. Every one had a popular

assembly. It was called a *thing* among the Scandinavians, *gemot* among the Saxons, and *mall* among the Franks. It was composed of all freemen who had attained their majority, who were capable of bearing arms, and who were not excluded because of crime. It usually met on fixed days when the moon was new or at the full; for the Germans believed affairs could not be discussed under a more fortunate influence. The meeting was held on a hill, in a clearing, or near some locality consecrated to the gods. The priests maintained order. The king, or the noble most noted for ability or eloquence, presided. Sometimes the meeting was an army muster, sometimes a judicial assembly and deliberative body. The people themselves did not take an active part in the deliberations, but gave a more or less passive, yet not superfluous, assistance. It was mostly the elders and distinguished men who spoke there. The people accepted or refused the proposals laid before them. They sat around and expressed their approval or disapproval by waving their lances. This is only one of several things indicating a strong aristocratic strain among the early Germans. Only in the event of war was the tribe accustomed to place one man, chosen for his bravery, at the head as leader; for in war unity of command is necessary. The tribe, as a rule, had common priests and common forms of worship. But the clan everywhere formed the fundamental organization. The jurisdiction of the tribe, or the state if it is desired to use the term at such an early stage as the beginning of the great invasions, had not yet overpowered the tendency of the individual clan to redress its own wrongs. The clan was still a real and fairly independent organization. The tribe was, as yet, only a loose sort of structure, that easily got out of gear and often dissolved into its component parts.

Lack of national feeling. In the first centuries of our era there was no national feeling among the Germans. Absence of intellectual culture and rarity of economic relations

helped to keep them isolated from one another even more than did their marshes and forests. Germany always lacked the sentiment of national unity. Tacitus, it is true, thought he could recognize it in her legends, and he put it into the mouth of some of her chiefs, such as Arminius and Civilis. But were these ideas really those of the Germans? The war led by Arminius, which ended in 16, was not a national movement, since it involved only the tribe of the Cherusci and a few other peoples who fought under his banner. And then, too, whatever ideas of national unity that chieftain may have had were perhaps gained while he was an officer in the Roman armies. Perhaps only Claudius Civilis dreamed of uniting Germany. He was a great German leader, known to us only by his Roman name, a man of statesmanlike qualities, who also had seen much service in the Roman armies. In 69–70 he led a revolt of the Batavians against Rome and contemplated a new kingdom of Gaul; but disputes broke out among the different tribes and made a united effort impossible. No response was made to his appeal to the peoples beyond the Rhine. History shows us only a divided and anarchical Germany, groups of peoples who had neither the intention nor the means of uniting. The general name their country bore was given to it by Rome. We are not certain they had adopted it when they began to move in large numbers into the empire. At that time they styled themselves Barbarians. No federal bond was ever formed between their states; on the contrary, they furiously exhausted their strength in fighting one another. The vision of a common country, the feeling of national unity, never inspired them.

The army. Tacitus tells us that no German could bear arms until the tribal assembly had recognized him as capable of doing so. When a youth was so recognized, his father or some other relative gave him a shield and a javelin in the midst of the assembly. The army was led by a chief. At times there were two chiefs. The number depended upon the will of the army. There was little discipline. Priests

judged the offenders. Tactics were rarely used. Each body charged as it deemed best, and always with great impetuosity. The leaders inspired their followers. It was shameful for the chief to be outdone in courage; and it was shame that never could be effaced to survive one's chief and return from battle without him. The weapons varied with the several Germanic peoples. Swords, knives, axes, spears, and lances were used. Shields were ornamented with colors and designs. For a long time the helmet was rarely used. The Germans preferred to fight in the open country, and to assume the offensive rather than the defensive.

Public justice and private vengeance. Kings and chieftains defended the public peace, which was deemed "a gift of the gods". But in addition to public justice there was private vengeance. The latter was exercised by the family. The injured individual could exact retributive punishment and get his family to aid him. The defender could do the same. A similar lack of system used to be found among the mountaineers of Kentucky. Vengeance might be compounded for money or goods, if the adversaries in the case appeared before the tribal assembly. There the work was arbitration rather than judging. Sentence was passed by the entire assembly and was final. Punishment varied with the crime. Traitors and deserters were hanged to a tree. Cowards were drowned in a slough. Fines were paid in horses or cattle. Should a man fail to pay his fine he was outlawed, and he could be killed by anyone.

Religious ideas and practices. The Germans had prophetesses. In their childlike hearts they had a dim perception of the intuitive power of women. They also had priests. But there was nothing among them resembling an organized priesthood. They had no religious corporations to preach doctrines to them. And their pantheon was a poor one. They had a few great gods, and local and lesser deities of the forests and streams. They deified the forces of nature and worshiped them. The chief god was Woden, or Odin. He

was the sun, and his breath was the roaring tempest. His deeds and adventures are told in several groups of poems. He was the god of combat and victory. To him belonged the heroes who fell on the field of battle; and as a wild huntsman he passed on the wings of the storm through the forest and over the fields. At his side were two wolves and two crows that followed him to battle and fell upon the dead. Sometimes he would come to earth, disguised in rags, to see if men continued to practice hospitality. The path of his army, or his hunting retinue, was the Milky Way. It was he who had discovered the runes, or letters of the alphabet, by means of which priests and nobles could question fate and look into the future. He imparted secret instructions to his favorites, or gave them weapons with which victory was assured. In return he received the souls of the slain in his palace in the skies called Valhalla. There they lived a life of fighting, hunting, and feasting similar to that they had desired while on earth. Human sacrifices were frequently offered to him, especially of prisoners taken in war. His worship seems to have prevailed largely in military circles, among chieftains and their retinues. More than one princely family claimed descent from him. His name is perpetuated in Wednesday. Thor was another of the chief deities of the Germans. He was the son of Woden. He was the god of thunder, agriculture, marriage, and property. His beard was red, like the lightning; and all animals with red fur, such as the squirrel and the fox, were sacred to him. He was a favorite god, a patron, a friend, benevolent to men, an implacable foe to the sinister race of demons. His day is Thursday. Ziu was the god of the sky, and the actual god of war. He commanded the tempests. His day is Tuesday. Frey was the god of fruitfulness, the giver of sunshine and rain, the source of all prosperity. Freyia, his sister, was the northern Venus. Frigg was the wife of Woden. Her name still survives in Friday. Hertha was Mother Earth. She was the goddess of fertility. Tacitus

tells us that many tribes worshiped her with orgies and mysterious rites celebrated at night. Behind these and other leading gods floated dim shapes of an older mythology. And nearer to the hearts of the people were the lesser deities of wood and fell, of stream and lonely rock. Side by side, too, with these beneficent powers of light were gloomy forces of night and destruction. The earlier sanctuaries of the Germans seem always to have been groves. Those of later times were generally built of wood. The priests usually performed sacrifices in the forest glades and other open places. They sought to know the will of the gods by signs, by the flight of birds, the neighing of sacred horses, and the combination of runes. Legends of the gods were kept in memory and handed down in the form of epic songs; but it is only in broken fragments that these stories of early faith still live for us. In the last two centuries of the medieval period they were collected and written down. They were then, of course, greatly changed. Change in religious ideas and practices became pronounced with the migrations to the civilized lands of the south, when the heathen peoples first became vaguely acquainted with Christianity. That was the time of the twilight of the northern gods. The religion of the Germans was not cheerful. It lacked joyous festivals and songs and dances like those of the Greeks. It was grave and somber. The last word of the Germans before they entered the larger world of southern culture, their last independent solution of the secret of life, was an assertion of individual freedom in the face of all the temptations and terrors of the world. Trust in oneself was the cardinal creed of their leaders before they accepted Christianity.

Language and literature. We are not at all certain about the antiquity of writing among the Germans. In the first centuries of our era they had a type of writing known as Runic. "Rune" meant a secret thing, something mysterious, and its use helps us to realize the awe with which the heathen peoples regarded writing as a means of conveying the

thoughts of men. There were two principal Runic alphabets, but neither was satisfactory for the expanding life brought about by contact with Rome. Ulfilas (311?–383), an Arian missionary to the Goths, probably the easternmost of the Germans, translated for them certain parts of the *Bible*. He found the Runic alphabet of those people inadequate for his purpose, so he supplied the deficiencies with Greek and Latin letters. He was the first to raise the heathen tongue to the dignity of a literary language. Our knowledge of the early Gothic language is obtained almost entirely from the fragments of his translation that have come down to us. But we must not think that these fragments represent the type of language common, in the fourth century, to all the Germans. Probably it differed very much from the languages of the more northerly and westerly peoples, while the differences among the latter were perhaps only slight. In these fragments of Ulfilas's translation we find many Gothic words that indicate a fair degree of civilization. "Smith" is distinguished from "carpenter", "buildings" from "tents"; and jars, kettles, dishes, chests, baskets, threshing-flails, and mill-stones seem to have been in common use. Spring, summer, and winter are German words; but autumn is a Latin word and a Latin idea. These heathen tribes were not without poetic literature in the period lying between the migrations and the age of Charlemagne. But it was not put into writing, or, at least, no record of such a written literature has come down to us.

Life among the Germans. The Germans were not essentially nomadic, though they loved combats and distant hunting expeditions. They had fixed habitations. Each house was inclosed and separate from its neighbors. The northern folk raised many flocks and herds, which were their riches. They cultivated fields of grain. Tacitus says these fields did not actually belong to the individuals. They seem to have been allotted to each village according to the number of laborers, and subdivided every year among the

latter according to rank. The uncultivated lands were used for pasture. The German owned his house and its furnishings, his implements, and the little garden with which his house was surrounded. In some places, however, especially in the fertile regions, there seems to be no sign of an agrarian community of property. We find domains, like the Roman *latifundia,* among the Frisians and Batavians. There the patrimony was not broken up. No wills were made. Heredity was the rule. The land passed to the males, seemingly to the exclusion of the daughters. In certain tribes it even seems to have gone to the eldest son, the younger brothers having a share only of the arms, horses, and cattle. But it was a long time before land became a general source and mark of wealth. Every chief, as we have seen, had a retinue, a band of followers, who were called *comites* by Tacitus. In return for the services of a *comes* the chief rewarded him with treasure, arms, and horses. If the chief were rich and powerful, if he were virtually a king, the reward might be a grant of land, or jurisdiction over a group of the people subject to him. And as the grantees naturally sent their sons into the service of their own lords, many such grants gradually became hereditary. There were few settlements that could be called towns; and the roads, most of them only tracks along the rivers and through the forests, were often impassable. Hence there was little or no industry or commerce. Most of the Germans did not use money. A few tribes near the Rhine or the Danube may have known its value and received it from Roman merchants, but gold and silver did not circulate in the interior. For centuries slaves were the only form of wealth that Roman generals and merchants derived from Germany. And in those heathen lands there were, of course, no schools. In the life of those peoples, made up of work, hunting, eating and drinking, and war, we look in vain for any traces of intellectual activity. Their writing was so poor that virtually they lacked that golden key which opens the treasures of the mind.

Lack of literary records of early Germanic life. It is much to be regretted that no adequate literary record has come down to us of the secular life of the Germans. All that we have was done at a later time either by Romanic writers or by clergy of the medieval church. And the capacity of these writers was very far from being equal to the importance of the subject. What have their emaciated heroes of asceticism to do with those wild warriors of the north? The fearful struggle of the old with the new, of the imperial system with the tribal, of heathenism with Christianity, the period of elementary passions, powerful characters, and tireless energy side by side with weary decay, is visible to us now only in vague outline and dim color. What we have lost may be realized from such poems as *Beowulf* and the sagas of Scandinavia.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for this subject are given in the bibliography for chapter seven of the first volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History* and that for the third section of the fifteenth chapter of the second volume. An authentic picture of early Germanic society is to be found in *Beowulf*, which may be read in the translation by Sir Archibald Strong. A good edition of Cornelius Tacitus's *Germania* is that by Duane Reed Stuart; and among the translations of that book the one by Ramsay may be recommended.

Alfons Dopsch's *Wirtschaftliche und Soziale Grundlagen der Europaischen Kulturentwicklung* is a powerful attack upon the belief that the Germans were primitive barbarians when they made their way across the Roman frontier. It makes use of the recent findings of archæology and numismatics. Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Empire.* There is much good material relating to this subject in the second volume of N. D. Fustel de Coulanges's *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France,* and also in his *Recherches* and his *Nouvelles recherches.* Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* chapter nine. Francis B. Gummere, *Germanic Origins.*

Thomas Hodgkin, *The Dynasty of Theodosius.* Knut Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People.* F. E. A. Meitzen's *Siedelung und agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen* is a great work that was long regarded as epoch-making. The introduction to William Stubbs's *Select Charters* is of much value. H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind.* Ernst Wahle, *Vorgeschichte des deutschen volkes.*

CHAPTER 6

THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

The border conflict. The southern lands were not quickly subdued by an overpowering advance of northern peoples who swept away the remains of an outworn civilization and replaced it rapidly with a spirit and institutions of an entirely different character. Many cities and regions said to have been desolated and ravaged reappear after the barbarian invasions with few traces of catastrophe. A terrible shock was given to the civilized peoples of the south by the capture of Rome. Yet it was only a transitory feeling. Confidence soon returned. Why did the invasions of the fifth century fail to produce a panic among the Romans? They were nothing new. For centuries such inroads had been made. As early as the second century before our era the invasion of the Cimbri, and in the following century that of the Suevi, had warned Rome of this peril. And from a remoter time there had been constant intercourse between Germans and Romans along the northern boundaries of the empire. The Germans had no common purpose; they were not animated by a common hatred of Rome; they were, indeed, hopelessly divided; and often many of them fought in the imperial armies.

Germans as slaves among the Romans. The gradual infiltration increased incessantly in many forms. As early as the first century Roman markets were filled with German slaves. Many of them had been brought from their homelands for gladiatorial shows; but some of these killed one another, or committed suicide, before the day of contest in the arena arrived. Others were used as house servants. Wealthy households were full of German slaves, serving as stewards, butlers, and personal attendants of every grade.

In the third century large numbers of prisoners were taken by the imperial forces, and then the country districts of the empire were flooded with new tillers of the soil. Enslaved barbarians plowed, sowed, and reaped for their new masters.

Germans as tenant farmers among the Romans. Many Germans were settled within the empire as *coloni*, or tenant farmers. Great numbers of them, captured in war, were distributed as *coloni* throughout Italy by Marcus Aurelius. He compelled them to settle as tenant farmers. In this way he tried to repopulate the deserted farm lands. Later rulers did the same. Many other barbarians went to live within the empire voluntarily. They were given grants of land on condition that they render military service; and, on the same condition, these grants passed to their sons. Germans were seldom unwilling to live under the *Pax Romana*. Then they found themselves enslaved on the great *latifundia* with the other agricultural workers. In a last attempt to stop the flight of the peasants from the country to the towns the emperors resorted to the desperate remedy of a rigidly coercive system. The *coloni*, whom the great landowners were already trying to keep by violent means on their lands after the expiry of their lease, were now bound hereditarily to the soil, whatever their original condition may have been. The *colonus* became virtually a slave instead of a freeman, because he was deprived of the only manifestation of his freedom,—liberty to choose and shift his abode. Not to exterminate the barbarian tribes, but to bring them within the empire as farmers and soldiers, was the aim of all the later emperors.

Germans as soldiers and officers among the Romans. Germans were employed as soldiers in the imperial armies from the earliest days of the empire. Cæsar was struck by their military virtues and enrolled many of them in his ranks. They were found in the body-guard of Augustus. Several corps of them were employed by Marcus Aurelius.

They outnumbered all others in the conquering army of Constantine. Many of them, known as *læti*, were settled on the soil, especially in Gaul. They were given the hereditary usufruct of those lands in return for military service. These new allies were fond of fighting; Rome never had better soldiers. To them was entrusted the defense of the Rhine, and they guarded it well. Many of them rose to high military rank and command in the empire. In the third century several of them commanded entire corps under Valerian. Argobastes was master of all the military forces under Valentinian II. Some of these barbarian officers were men of brilliant talents, fascinating address, and noble bearing. To military skill they added the charm of southern culture and a social tact that gained admission even to the inner circle of Roman aristocracy. Germans also rose to the highest administrative positions, a process that increased rapidly after Constantine. Bauto was elevated to the consulship under the younger Valentinian; and his daughter became the Empress Eudoxia. There are a great many such examples. One of the imperial generals, in addressing certain Gallic tribes that had revolted from Rome, was able to say: "All is common between us. You often command our legions. You govern these and other provinces. There is no privilege, no exclusion."

Romans among the Germans. Military infiltration was supplemented by that of commerce. Romans went north into the lands of the barbarians. Some of them went as traders, a few as missionaries. Slave traders and dealers in wines, arms, and grain made their way before the opening of our era into the very heart of Gaul. Later on merchants went from the border provinces of the empire across the Rhine and the Danube into the interior of Germany, and sometimes, for amber, as far as the shores of the Baltic. Clothing, ornaments, and even iron were then carried into the northern lands. This commerce never had much effect upon the life of the tribes in the interior, but to the peoples

who lived near the frontier the merchants, as well as the soldiers, were the harbingers of Latinism, the disseminators alike of the money and the language of Rome.

Beginning of the fusion of races and civilizations. By and by we shall have to turn our attention to the fusion of the races and civilizations that took place in the Romano-Germanic states which, in the fifth century, arose in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Africa. We have here seen something of the beginning of that process. It went on for a thousand years. It took place on the broadest basis from below upwards. It began with the peasantry in the colonate and the employment of numerous barbarians as servants in the households of the Romans. It extended to the troops, and then spread to the officers and civil officials, ending with the establishment of barbarian states in the erstwhile provinces of the empire. There was no complete break in the development of Roman culture, however much may have collapsed and been destroyed here and there. The new wielders of political dominion were not uncultured barbarians or semi-nomads in a primitive state of development. For centuries they had been in connection with the Romans; they had enjoyed many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the civilization of the south and of realizing its superiority to their own; and they were, moreover, very clever and adaptive.

Causes of the invasions. The invasions were a great movement that went on for centuries. They were inevitable. Many of the northern peoples could no longer live on their own soil. The first cause of their migration was the need of subsistence, the lack of land, as their numbers incessantly increased. They were crowded together on a limited territory, yet they were unacquainted with intensive culture. The density of the inhabitants outran the production of the soil. Every increase in the population made it necessary to look for new lands. The overflow of this reservoir of men inevitably swamped the neighboring countries. They were attracted by the sunny southland. Tacitus occasionally

stops to describe the northern lands where the Germans lived. Naturally he tells of what must have most impressed an Italian exile. He speaks of the gloomy woods, the great marshes, the thick fogs, the severity of the climate, the long nights and the dark days. In the colder countries of the continent a stark climate had bred in the inhabitants a longing for the sunnier and more fruitful south. Especially did Italy appeal to these northern folk, with its sun and warmth, its transparent skies, its sleeping seas. Then, too, the Germans were not a dull people. Besides their economic motives for roving, they had an appetite for seeing the world and learning the ways of foreigners. They were fascinated by the civilization of the south, glimpses of which they caught in churches, convents, and towns. They were also animated by love of adventure. In a society in which arms were a mark of freedom, and courage a title to power, fighting was at once a pleasure and a career. Brigandage and rapine in enemy lands were not looked upon as crimes. They were even encouraged as desirable training for the young men. There was still another cause of the migrations. Suddenly the sound of horses' hoofs was heard in the eastern lands of the continent. A hitherto unknown tribe from the steppes appeared on the scene, the Huns. These Mongolians swarmed from the vast solitudes of central Asia to the steppes of Eastern Europe. There they threw themselves mercilessly on the East Germans. They were wild oriental hordes, entirely nomadic in their manner of life, whose very appearance was appalling. Their manner of fighting on their nimble little horses, which they rode with unparalleled skill, their long spears and unerring arrows, their savagery and cruelty, terrified all their opponents. Their coming greatly increased the movement of the barbarian invasions, giving to it suddenly, at the end of the fourth century, an extent hitherto unknown.

Separation of eastern and western Germans. From the mouth of the Oder to the mountains that afterwards formed

the northern boundary of Bohemia there extended at this time a wide and uninhabitable region. Marshes, deep and impenetrable woods, and high mountains, formed a barrier, that divided eastern and western Germans. The destiny of these two groups of peoples was very different. The eastern group included the Goths and Vandals. The Goths lived in the steppes of southern Russia and the lands bordering the Black Sea for more than two hundred years and then in the course of their wanderings, they became divided into Ostrogoths and Visigoths. Among the important groups of the western Germans were the Suevi, the Alemani, the Franks, the Saxons, the Burgundians, and the Langobards.

The Visigoths. As the last quarter of the fourth century opened a fearful storm was let loose by the coming of the Huns. The Ostrogoths submitted to them; but the Visigoths fled in terror and begged asylum in the empire. Their prayer was granted; and, in 376, a large number of them crossed the Danube. They might have been of the greatest use to the empire. But fate willed it otherwise. Seething discontent was caused by the incapacity and unscrupulousness of imperial officials. War broke out between the Visigoths and the Eastern Empire. In 378 a desperate battle was fought at Adrianople in which the flower of the imperial army was destroyed, and among the dead was the Emperor Valens. In 395 the Visigoths marched still farther south under Alaric (370?–410), a bold and clever leader. His power grew. The glory of his exploits united the people under him. Late in 402 he invaded Italy and was made master-general of the imperial forces of at least a part of the prefecture of Illyricum. Misunderstandings arose. The ambitious chieftain invaded the peninsula a second time and, in 410, captured Rome. Long ago that great city had shown a deep disdain of the barbarians. Their death agony in the circus had served for its amusement. At last, however, the hour of vengeance had come. Nothing could have

more strikingly symbolized the depths to which the empire had fallen than the capture of its capital for the first time in eight hundred years by a barbarian leader. All its traditions of greatness were violated. The day of its imperial splendor was done. From this time on the city was gradually to sink into the lowest depths of desolation, for the secret of its wealth and its weakness had been revealed to swarms of succeeding invaders. The pagans saw in the fact a proof of the wrath of the gods, and it was in refutation of their claims that Augustine, as we have seen, wrote *The City of God*. Alaric then marched south with the intention of crossing the sea and seizing the grainfields of Africa, but he died in southern Italy. Two years later the Visigoths crossed the Alps into southern Gaul and fixed their capital at Toulouse. There, after endless wanderings, dangers, and conflicts, these much tried people at last found a home. It was the reward of the persistency with which they had held together. At the culmination of their power in that province, about 485, their territory extended from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and as far north as the Loire. Their kingdom was one of the most powerful of those established on the soil of the empire in the West.

The Vandals. In 405 a confederate host of barbarians, who had been living along the Danube, marched into Italy. Most of them were Vandals. They pillaged a number of towns in the northern part of the peninsula, but were at last defeated. Then, crossing the mountains, they made their way westward beyond the Rhine. They were again defeated in Gaul and so went on into Spain. For several years they reveled in the riches of that unhappy land, and then, owing to the pressure of the Visigoths, who began to extend their territory south of the Pyrenees, some eighty thousand of them passed over into the rich and much coveted Roman provinces of Africa. Under the leadership of Geiseric (390?–477), a man of superior military talent and mental power, given to daring and romantic adventure, they pros-

pered. A great stretch of territory was quickly overrun, and the capital of the new kingdom was established at Carthage. In this conquest the Vandals, who were Arians, were aided by Moors and heterodox Christians. A navy was then built, and soon the Vandal fleets claimed the empire of the Mediterranean. In 455 their victorious career culminated in the sack of Rome. That city had long ceased to be the center of the empire. It now began to lie desolate, a dumbly eloquent grave of vanished greatness. The true character of these maligned barbarians is revealed in their abstinence from murder and the wanton destruction of buildings and works of art. Their African kingdom, however, did not last long. Very soon, as we shall see, they succumbed to the temptations of their environment, then seemingly a fertile and populous garden of the world, and the soldiers of Justinian.

The Huns. In the meantime the Huns continued their advance into Europe. Their numbers, the rapidity of their movements, and their implacable cruelty had terrified the Goths and Vandals. They had shrill voices and uncouth gestures; broad shoulders, flat noses, straggling beards, prominent cheekbones, and small black eyes deeply buried in the head. Always in the saddle, always wandering in search of the grass and water necessary to the life of their herds of horses, oxen, and sheep, whose flesh they ate and whose skins they wore, their victorious hordes spread from the Volga to the Danube. Peasants fled before them. The country was deserted. But the military energy of these sinister horsemen was wasted in quarrels among themselves until, in 441, Attila (406?–453) became their chief. Then, with many German allies, they ravaged the eastern provinces up to the walls of Constantinople; invaded Gaul, where they were defeated by the Visigoths; and afterwards, pillaging and burning towns, made their way down the peninsula of Italy. As they went some of the terrified people fled to the sand-banks of the Adriatic, and gradually from the huts

of the fugitives there arose the city of Venice. Pope Leo I came forth to meet them before the walls of Rome. His eloquence and majestic appearance aroused the veneration of Attila. The king of the Huns evacuated Italy. The next year he died. After his death quarrels broke out among the Hunnish chiefs for the leadership. The disunited hordes were overwhelmed by a new torrent of barbarians, the Avars. Finally their empire was extinguished. Their great incursion was barren of any permanent result; yet it was destined to leave long memories of terror behind it.

The fall of the Roman Empire in the West. We have already seen something of the late history of the western part of the empire. It had long been in its death agony. For seventeen years after the murder of Valentinian III in 455 the actual wielder of the imperial scepter in the West was Ricimer. This Germanic leader, the highly gifted child of a degenerate age, warlike, violent, passionate, ambitious, made and unmade a series of phantom emperors at his will. Two years after his death his place was filled by Orestes, who proclaimed his own son, Romulus, as emperor. In mockery men named the hapless boy Augustulus. He did not reign long. The barbarian troops demanded a third of the land in Italy. When, in 476, Orestes refused they rose in revolt, defeated him, and declared Odoacer (434?–493), their own leader, king of Italy. In the same year Romulus Augustulus, who readily resigned his imperial dignity, was sent to live in a villa by the sea, and from that time forward there was no Roman emperor in the West. The Roman senate accepted Odoacer as patrician and administrator of the peninsula, and with this confession of its helplessness the corporation that once ruled the world disappeared, for all practical purposes, from the stage. The new king of Italy formally recognized the supremacy of the emperor at Constantinople; but the imperial shadows had vanished in Rome and in Ravenna. The Roman Empire no longer had any actual existence in the West. Politically the future of all

the western part of the continent belonged to the sons of the north. A Germanic kingdom had been set up in Italy similar to those in Gaul, Spain, and Africa. The establishment of such a barbarian state had been made possible, very largely, by the ruin of the small farmers of the peninsula, by their replacement by great *latifundia* tilled by slaves. Decay had also taken place in the towns. Municipal organization was now no more than a means for assessment; and civic honors had become burdens from which men vainly sought to escape. Population had everywhere decreased, and civilization had declined. A vacuum had been created into which poured the fresh and vigorous races of the north. In all the barbarian kingdoms, however, the language and the administration remained Roman. There was, as we shall see, a very considerable continuity of civilization. But the beginning of a new epoch is marked by the disappearance of the imperial power in the West. It was to be a period of Romano-German civilization; new states, and later on new nations, were to arise; and the most influential representative of civilization in the West was to be the bishop of Rome.

Odoacer. The first Germanic king of Italy gave a good deal of the land held by the richer proprietors to his troops, but otherwise he left things much as he found them. The senate continued to sit at Rome, though it had no real power; and religious matters were not interfered with, though the new ruler was an Arian. Odoacer governed in peace until his sway was disputed by the Ostrogoths.

Theodoric the Great. The Ostrogoths were vassals of the Huns; but they regained their freedom after the death of Attila. They were an improvident people, begging allies of the empire, until, in 476, Theodoric became their prince. He was an illegitimate son of the former leader, and had been educated at the court of Constantinople. Fourteen years he had lived in that school of diplomacy and center of culture, and to the manly virtues of his northern blood he added not a little of the refinements of Byzantium. With

the imperial sanction he gathered his people about him, invaded Italy, and defeated Odoacer. Then, from his palace at Ravenna, he ruled for thirty-three years over a large kingdom that included a great deal of territory outside Italy. This new Germanic kingdom was much stronger than the one under Odoacer. Theodoric was an able military leader, a statesman, the wisest and most far-seeing of all the Germanic rulers of the fifth and sixth centuries. He restored some of the old roads, aqueducts, and drainage canals; and he drew the substance of his legislation from the Roman law. The division of land between his followers and those who were already settled on it was entrusted to Liberius, a Roman of distinguished descent. Theodoric was a man of wide and deep thought. He took steps to deal with the oppression of the free peasant class by the great landlords. Under the rule of this barbarian and heretic the peninsula, so long distracted, enjoyed a generation of peace and gradually approached prosperity. Theodoric was interested in other than material things. He strove to make the ancient civilization tributary to the life of his own time. To this end he encouraged scholars. His dearest wish was to bring about a reconciliation between his Arian followers and the Italian Catholics, but the latter failed to rise to the opportunity. Persistently they viewed him with hostility. Yet he did not resort to force. He was a prophet and a practitioner of religious tolerance. The world waited a thousand years for another king to echo his noble saying that "Religion is a thing which the king cannot command, because no man can be compelled to believe against his will". He realized that no interference can touch thought. He knew that thought is the "inner citadel", within which even the humblest thinker owns no lord. The most that intolerance armed with material power can do is to achieve a superficial and illusory success. Theodoric did his best, though without avail, to promote good relations between his Arian Goths and the Catholic inhabitants of Italy. Even the Jews got justice

in his dominions when every other state dealt harshly with them. Procopius tells us that he was "an extraordinary lover of justice, and adhered rigorously to the laws; that he guarded the country from barbarian invasions, and that he displayed the greatest intelligence and prudence". He reigned for thirty-three years, and left a deep regret for his loss in the hearts of his subjects.

Boethius. One of Theodoric's most intimate friends and trusted counselors was Boethius (480?–524), a senator, a man of noble birth and lofty character. He was a scholar who summed up ancient knowledge for the Middle Ages. He wrote commentaries on the works of several classical authors, and translated into Latin some of the works of Aristotle. These translations were the principal sources from which the medieval age obtained its knowledge of that great master of thought. They were the foundation of medieval logic, and the basis of the principal scholastic disputations. Then he wrote several independent books on logic. He compiled manuals on arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy; and he was very influential in the establishment of the course of study, the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, in the medieval schools. All these writings were more or less impersonal. Far otherwise is it with the book he wrote in prison. Theodoric had become despondent and mistrustful in his old age. Malicious whispers filled his ears. He was led to believe the senate despised him as a barbarian, that the Italian provincials were weary of his rule, and that men were intriguing with the emperor at Constantinople to send an army to reclaim the kingdom of Italy. Boethius was accused of treason, with what justification we are uncertain, and cast into prison. There, awaiting the sentence of death, he wrote *The Consolation of Philosophy*. In the book the prisoner holds a conversation with Philosophy, who shows him the mutability of all earthly fortune, and the insecurity of everything save virtue. Boethius felt that a new epoch was opening, but he was deeply attached to the classical

past. He was a transmitter of the vanishing pagan thought and culture to the approaching medieval world. So in his book he summarized pagan moralizing on the problems of life and death. In a very readable manner he set forth the generally accepted conclusions regarding the uncertainty of fortune and the emptiness of its favors. Yet the work is more than a mere summary. Its author's literary gift, his power of thought, his ardent feeling, and the pathos and peril of his situation combined to fuse the contents into a veritable and deeply moving creation. The book is not a product of Christianity. It is the work of a subtle thinker, rather than an impassioned believer, and it must be classed in religion with the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius. Yet throughout the medieval centuries it was, above all other writings, the most consoling to men who suffered vicissitudes of fortune, enabling them to retain their self-control and to acquiesce in the ways of Providence. The untimely death of Boethius is the greatest stain upon the fame of Theodoric.

Cassiodorus. Another of Theodoric's counselors was Cassiodorus (490?–585), who became chief of the civil service. He was even a greater transmitter than Boethius, whom he outlived by half a century, of the pagan learning of the past to the Middle Ages. It is, indeed, not too much to say that the continuity of the thought and civilization of the classical world with that of the medieval epoch was due to him more than to any other man. By his birth, his education, his long official career, and his adaptability he belonged to both Ostrogoths and Romans. He did all he could to further the assimilation of the two peoples and the reconciliation of Arians and Catholics. Some years after the death of Theodoric he retired to Squillace, his birthplace, in Calabria, where he founded the monastery of Vivarium. There, in the thirty years of his retirement, he gathered a large number of manuscripts of classical and patristic writings, rescued from the ruins of Italian libraries, and taught the monks to read and copy them. He was the first man in the West

to recognize the possibilities of the monastery as a school of liberal culture. In that barbarous and destructive age he made his convent an asylum for the humanities. "Of all the works that can be accomplished by manual labor", he said, "none other pleases me so much as the work of the copyists,—if only they will copy correctly". He may justly be considered as the beginner of the copying, compiling, and commenting activity of the medieval monks. His own writings reveal the intellectual interests of western monasteries in the last half of the sixth century. He wished above all else to wake the clergy from ignorance and to enable them to educate the people. As far as we know he was the first Christian to use the term "seven liberal arts". He deemed it necessary to study the liberal arts, of which he gave brief and rather vague accounts, as a preparation for sacred studies. Thus he held the Christian utilitarian view of secular learning, yet not narrowly, for he was quite without that intolerance of all that does not bear directly upon salvation that is so characteristic of Gregory the Great. He declared secular learning to be good and profitable in itself; but the apology reveals the discredit into which learning had fallen. He prepared textbooks on grammar, arithmetic, logic, geometry, rhetoric, music, and astronomy; and his inadequate treatment of these subjects discloses to us the low plane to which learning had fallen in Italy in the sixth century. Yet his textbooks were esteemed as the standard treatises in their fields of study all through the Middle Ages. They were the first inclusive attempt to deal with education from the point of veiw of Christianity.

The Visigoths in southern Gaul and Spain. It will be remembered that after the death of Alaric the Visigoths left Italy and established a kingdom in southern Gaul with its capital at Toulouse, on the sunny banks of the Garonne. Soon they extended their rule into Spain. Other Germans who had preceded them gave way. The Suevi retreated into the mountains of the northwest of the peninsula; while the

Vandals crossed into Africa. Under Euric (466–485) their kingdom reached its greatest extent. It included nearly all Gaul south of the Loire and most of Spain. Euric surrounded himself with the flower of Gallo-Romano culture. He was almost as refined as the emperor at Constantinople and far more dignified. His Latin prose won admiration for its purity and grace even in Rome. For ninety years the Visigothic kings reigned at Toulouse. But their desire for peace, their equitable treatment of their subjects, and their patronage of culture were all in vain. They were Arians, and so they never won the gratitude and loyalty of their subjects, who were Catholics. Then they were conquered by the Franks, and after that their only possession north of the Pyrenees was a narrow strip called Septimania. Their chief territory was now in Spain.

The Burgundians. In 411 the Burgundians, another Germanic people, entered Gaul. They came as allies of the Romans, settled among them, and carried on the work of agriculture in coöperation with them. Their law was soon deeply influenced by that of Rome. In the course of history the name of Burgundy has been applied to several very different geographical districts. The first kingdom of Burgundy extended southward from Lake Geneva almost to the mouth of the Rhone. Gundobad (474–516) was the most distinguished of its rulers. He was more of a legislator and a political administrator than a soldier, a man of culture, moderation, and reserve. The period of his rule was the zenith of the kingdom's prosperity. From that time forward it gradually declined, until, in 534, after having existed for nearly a century, it was seized by the sons of Clovis. The Burgundians retained more of the old traditions and songs of their ancestors than any other Germanic people.

Clovis and the Franks. The Franks, one of the most powerful, yet backward, of the Germanic peoples, now invaded Gaul. They were still heathen; they did not use armor, or fight on horseback; and they obeyed many chiefs.

About 457 Childeric became the most important of their chiefs. He belonged to the family of the Merovingians. He won a good deal of additional territory, and attempted to extend his dominion still farther into Gaul. Thus he indicated their lines of expansion to the Franks. He died in 481 and was succeeded by his son Clovis (481–511), who, by conquering his enemies and murdering his rivals, made himself supreme over all the Franks west of the Rhine. His youth has disappeared in the mist of legend; but from the beginning of his history he reveals himself as a skillful, brave, sly, treacherous, and ruthless chieftain. He conquered most of Gaul north of the Loire; and then, in 493, he married a Burgundian princess, Clotilda. She was a devout Catholic, and in 496 he was baptized into that religion. This baptism had momentous consequences. His wife's persuasion may have had something to do with it, but political considerations certainly decided his adoption of Catholicism rather than Arianism. Neither dogma nor worship interested Clovis. What did interest him was the political exploitation of his change of faith. He knew that Arianism was not widespread and deeply rooted in Gaul. He knew that the great majority of the population was Catholic; and he was probably not unaware of the great power of the Catholic episcopate in the cities and their surrounding districts. His prognostications proved correct. The Catholic population in the kingdom of the Burgundians and in that of the Visigoths looked to him to deliver them from their rulers, who were Arians. He promised to furnish poor churches with ample possessions, to turn over the property of the Arian churches taken from the Visigoths to the Catholics, to assure immunity to ecclesiastical property obtained by royal gift, to recognize the supremacy of the bishops over the country churches, and to admit the right of sanctuary. All these promises, and others of a similar nature, were confirmed in 511 by a church council at Orléans. In 507 he made war on the Visigoths. "I cannot bear", he said, according

to Gregory of Tours, "that those Arians should own any part of Gaul. With God's aid we will go against them and subdue their land beneath our sway". After a decisive victory he added all their territory north of the Pyrenees to his kingdom, with the exception of Septimania and Provence. The successful issue of the war was greatly facilitated by the Catholic clergy living within the Visigothic frontiers. Clovis spent his last years in Paris, which he made the capital of his kingdom. His merits have been greatly exaggerated. He was a traitor, and a remorseless murderer of every rival prince of Meroving blood who fell into his hands. He is a barbarian compared with Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, or with Euric, the Visigoth; and he remains on a lower plane than Geiseric, the Vandal. Yet of all the Germanic kingdoms established in Gaul, Spain, Italy, and Africa, only his was destined to endure. This was not due to his ability, but to the fact that he and his successors were of the same faith as the majority of their subjects. The Ostrogothic, Visigothic, and Vandal kings were Arians; only the Frankish kings were Catholics. This fact had a far-reaching effect upon the history of the Middle Ages.

The successors of Clovis. The restless sons and grandsons of Clovis conquered Burgundy, Thuringia, and Bavaria. Their history is one of incessant civil war. It was the custom to divide this great realm at the death of the ruler among his sons, and then for the ablest to hunt and kill the others and thus again unite it. This practice, however, was not the only thing that impeded unity and progress. Differences of race, language, and civilization were all disrupting forces. The terrible fratricidal struggles and the fearful corruption of the Merovingian royal house helped to bring about a thorough change in governmental affairs. They lessened the power of the kings and increased that of the secular and ecclesiastical nobility. Even when a prince was able to restore the unity of the kingdom he was obliged to purchase the support of the nobles by granting them additional priv-

ileges and power. When in 613 the sole sovereignty was acquired by Lothair II the power of the aristocracy was finally assured. For in the following year he was obliged to issue an edict in which the nobles and prelates appear side by side as a powerful body of landowners. The estates of some of them are already immune from the visitations of the judicial officials of the king, and the owners have also gained the right to represent their tenants in the law courts in all legal disputes with outsiders. This immunity was granted by the king in order to secure trusty supporters. All the concessions enumerated in the edict were the harvest of seed sown in the troublous times that prevailed almost without intermission in the century following the death of Clovis. More and more, as the years went by, the nobility succeeded in emancipating their estates from the royal administration, in placing themselves between the kingship and the great mass of the people, and thus bringing into existence the characteristic medieval condition of feudalism. Bishops and abbots shared in this work with the lay nobility. They had become great landowners through large donations to the church. They were allied to the secular aristocracy, whose interests they shared, whose customs they had adopted, and from whose ranks their own numbers were constantly recruited.

The Visigoths in Spain. When the Visigoths retreated into Spain before the advance of the Franks under Clovis they maintained a precarious kingdom there for two hundred years. They had been much Romanized during their stay in Gaul; they desired to improve the condition of the people; but they were weakened by the elective kingship and by the fact that, as we have seen, they were Arians while their Roman subjects were Catholics. Spanish culture at this time was far superior to that of Gaul. The peninsula had been thoroughly Romanized in the days of the empire; it had become an integral part of the Roman world, only slightly inferior in culture even to Italy. The continuity of

this culture was not seriously disturbed by the Visigoths. The reign of Leovigild (568–586) was the period of their greatest power in the peninsula. He and some of his successors tried to make the crown hereditary, while the nobles strove to keep it elective, and in this struggle the aristocracy won. In 587 the Visigothic king went over to Catholicism. Spain then became dominated very largely by the bishops; and feudalism increased its pace. Ecclesiastical and secular nobles alike claimed and secured immunity and made the free population dependent upon them. They defeated every effort to make the crown hereditary. How utterly weak the royal power became is seen in its collapse when, in 711, it was attacked by a feeble invading force of Moslems.

The drift toward feudalism. This feudalization of the public authority by the great landowners began long before Germanic kingdoms were established in the West. In the third and fourth centuries the mass of the Roman population was not under the direct authority and immediate rule of the emperor. Even freemen had to endure oppression at the hands of the owners of the great *latifundia*. Many of them, therefore, seeking a guarantee of liberty and hoping for better treatment, took refuge with the Germans. But the Germanic kings were not able to check the steady drift towards feudalism.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for this study are given in the bibliographies for chapters seven to fifteen inclusive of the first volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History* and in those for chapters four and six of the second volume. Gregory of Tours is the chief source of knowledge of the Frankish occupation of Gaul. His *History of the Franks* has been translated into English by O. M. Dalton, who has written an admirable and useful introduction. C. C. Mierow has translated the *Origin and Deeds of the Goths* by Jordanes. And many of the letters of one of the most important men of this time will be found in Thomas Hodgkin's *Letters of Cassiodorus*.

Henry Bradley, *The Goths*. John B. Bury, *The Later Roman*

Empire, and see also his recent book on *The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians*. R. W. Church's *Miscellaneous Essays* contains an article on Cassiodorus. Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Empire*. Edward A. Freeman, *Western Europe in the Fifth Century*. Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Thomas Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* is especially useful for this period. Its lucid style and sound scholarship make it very attractive and dependable. This is also true of his *Theodoric the Goth*, and his *Dynasty of Theodosius*. J. E. Sandys's *History of Classical Scholarship* indicates the importance of Cassiodorus in the transmission of Greek and Latin learning to the Middle Ages. Hugh F. Stewart's *Boethius* contains a good summary of the *Consolation* and gives all the biographical information about its author we are ever likely to know. Pasquale Villari, *The Barbarian Invasions of Italy*.

CHAPTER 7

THE EMPIRE AND THE WEST

Contrast of the Roman Empire with the western kingdoms. Europe was now very distinctly divided. In the East was the Roman Empire, still so entitled in all its official documents, with its capital at Constantinople; while in the West were the Germanic kingdoms established in Gaul, Spain, Italy, and Africa. These two divisions of the continent traveled along diverging roads. They developed separately. The western kingdoms, where most of the people lived in the country, were becoming feudalized; the landed aristocracy were becoming virtually independent. But in the empire, where a large proportion of the populace lived in cities, landownership was retiring into the background, and the governmental bureaucracy became increasingly important. The emperor was absolute over a servile aristocracy, over a cringing episcopate, and over the mass of the people who were rapidly being reduced to the condition of mere slaves of the imperial treasury.

Justinian. For about seventy-five years the empire had been recovering its strength and storing up energy for an outburst of vigor. Peace prevailed, save for intermittent inroads of some barbarians on the Danube and lingering hostilities with the Persians. The outburst was made under an able, restless, and ambitious ruler. Justinian (527–565) came to the imperial throne the year after the death of Theodoric in Italy. Despite his vain and vacillating character he was a man of much ability, versatile, cultivated, and crafty, and his policy was imperialistic in all its consequences. His outstanding characteristic was his unusual industry and assiduity. He hardly ever took an active part himself, but his thoughts and plans embraced all the known world as he sat in his quiet room in the palace gleaming with marble and

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ATLANTIC OCEAN
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Oder R.
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THURINGIANS
Bavaria
DENMARK
Soissons
Rheims
Treves
Metz
Seine R.
Orleans
Troyes
Loire R.
Aire R.
Poitiers
Tours
Autun
BURGUNDIANS
Garonne R.
KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS
Lyons
Vienne
Rhone R.
Bordeaux
BASQUES
KINGDOM OF
Milan
Pavia
Verona
Ravenna
Toulouse
Nimes
Arles
PROVENCE
Narbonne
Marseilles
EAST
Pisa
SUEVI
Douro R.
Ebro R.
KINGDOM
Salamanca
Saragossa
OF THE
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Toledo
WEST GOTHS
Barcelona
CORSICA
Rome
Naples
Valencia
Cordova
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
Cadiz
Seville
Cartagena
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Palermo
SICILY
Hippo
Carthage
The
GERMANIC KINGDOMS
and the
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
SCALE OF MILES
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Peoples
Vistula R.
Dniester R.
Dnieper R.
Don R.
mbards
Gepidae
HE
HS
BLACK SEA
Danube R.
Adrianople
Constantinople
Nicaea
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Ephesus
Iconium
Tarsus
Edessa
Antioch
Euphrates R.
Athens
CYPRUS
CRETE
Damascus
E
AN SEA
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Nile R.

gold. Restless and unwearied, he seemed to live for work. His chief aim was the restoration of the old power and splendor of the empire.

Theodora. A year before he ascended the throne Justinian married Theodora. That beautiful and beguiling woman, daughter of a bear-keeper in the amphitheater, was a pantomimist and ballerina in the shining city of the Bosphorus. Her private amours had become a byword in all the thronging cities of the East; but everywhere her eloquent eyes, her wit, and her remarkable power of repartee won the favor of the people. Justinian fell in love with her. Her married life was without reproach. Her character changed very much in all but energy, and her influence was unbounded. Courageous, clear minded, strong willed, and politically sagacious, she became the colleague, quite as much as the wife, of Justinian. She remained luxurious and cruel; but she bought slaves and set them free, and founded many charitable institutions.

The civil service and taxation. A very efficient civil service managed the internal affairs of the empire. It consisted of trained officials systematically organized into bureaus, with headquarters in Constantinople. Justinian improved this organization, and made its members still more the instruments and slaves of the crown. The most important function of the administration was the collection of taxes. Justinian spent great sums in wars, and he had a lust for building churches, fortifications, and other public structures. He was therefore in chronic need of gold. Heavy as was taxation before his time, he made it still more oppressive. All his brilliant accomplishments were dearly bought. The people were mercilessly subjected to the heaviest fiscal burdens. Flourishing cities were impoverished, provinces were bled white, millions of men and women were reduced to destitution.

Justinian and orthodoxy. Justinian prided himself upon his orthodoxy. He esteemed himself highly as a theologian.

No other ruler of the empire came so near to assuming the position of a temporal pope. No preceding sovereign had arrogated to himself so great a right of interference in theological disputes. He took an active part in all the religious controversies of the time. He succeeded in putting an end to a schism, which had lasted thirty-five years, between Constantinople and Rome. Then he set about to maintain the doctrines promulgated by the first four œcumenical councils of the church. He did not shrink from persecution, and he was afforded many opportunities to use it, because heresies abounded in the East. In 553 an imperial summons caused the Fifth General Council to meet in Constantinople in spite of the protest of the pope. The council was utterly subservient to Justinian. It created a schism, lasting half a century, between the East and the West. Not only heretics were persecuted by him. Severe laws were proclaimed against paganism. They forbade all pagan public worship, required all persons to be baptized, and made apostasy punishable with death. Despite these harsh measures paganism lingered in unfrequented rural districts, among the cultivated and wealthy classes of the larger cities, and in the University at Athens. Some of the university professors were speculative moralists and mystics, rather than worshipers of the ancient pagan gods. They made philosophy their rule of life. Yet their influence made against Christianity. So Justinian forbade all "persons persisting in the madness of Hellenism to teach any branch of knowledge". He stopped the teaching of philosophy at Athens, and he seized and appropriated to public purposes all the property remaining to the Platonic Academy. This put an end to the University of Athens. The last seven professors, no longer able to earn their living in the city, fled to Persia where they were received hospitably by King Chosroes. Justinian's theological zeal cost the lives of a hundred thousand of his subjects, turned fertile provinces into deserts, and extinguished much of the learning and culture of Greece and Rome.

Conquest of the Vandal kingdom in Africa. Ever since the disappearance of the last western emperor, in 476, Justinian's imperial predecessors had deemed themselves to be, the *de jure* sovereigns of the entire West. They looked upon the Germanic kings either as their lieutenants or as mere usurpers. Justinian was eager to recover the lost lands, to reëstablish the broken unity of the empire by conquering the West. He knew the essential weakness of the barbarian kingdoms, their frequent internal strife, and their utter inability to combine against a common foe. He began his ambitious task by attacking the Vandal kingdom in Africa. In little more than three months his soldiers reduced it to submission. In doing this they were aided by the Catholic populace, who welcomed invaders of their own faith, and by the fact that the Vandals, never very numerous, were scattered throughout their wide dominions and had been effeminated by ease and luxury. The surviving northerners seem to have disappeared by intermarriage with the Africans. Severe laws were passed against heretics in the reconquered kingdom; but orthodox and heterodox alike were soon to be engulfed by the Mohammedan flood.

Conditions in Italy. Then Justinian, flushed with success, turned to Italy. Circumstances favored his designs. Almost ten years had gone by since the death of Theodoric. In the long reign of that wise ruler two peoples, differing in manners, language, and religion, had lived side by side in peace on the soil of Italy. Each was ruled according to its own law by the king, who was the common sovereign of both. All the forms of the Roman administration survived, and the ancient civilization had greatly influenced the Ostrogoths. Theodoric had done his utmost to conciliate the Catholic clergy and the Italian nobility. He confirmed the clergy in all their rights, and gave no preference to those of his own faith. He upheld and fostered Roman laws and political institutions as carefully as any conqueror could. Romans had retained all the official posts; not one had been

given to an Ostrogoth. But all in vain. Tolerance, justice, and more than a generation of peace failed to win them. Their defeat of the broad-minded ruler's attempt at rapprochement pronounced the doom of Italy. It was her last chance of unity. Soon she was to be divided again and again, and to remain for thirteen centuries the battlefield of numerous contending forces. When Theodoric died, no ruler of great ability succeeded him. The Ostrogoths were only a small minority of the population, and they were scattered up and down the peninsula. The Italian clergy and nobles, unmindful of benefits received, regarded them with suspicion, and disliked them as invaders and heretics.

Defeat and disappearance of the Ostrogoths. In 535 a small imperial army landed in Sicily, captured the island, and crossed to the mainland. They were welcomed by the clergy and the great senatorial families, who everywhere threw open the city gates to them. Naples was taken after some resistance, and then siege was laid to Rome. For more than a year the Ostrogoths defended the city successfully, but finally it was taken, and in the meantime imperial troops had seized Ravenna and shipped the golden stores of the Ostrogothic kings to Constantinople. In 541 the Goths chose a new ruler, Baduila, called by the Byzantine historians Totila. He was a man of fine character, and an able warrior. From the moment of his election he began to reconquer the peninsula. He took the free peasants under his protection, for their lands were being seized by the Italian nobles. In four years he regained all Italy except Ravenna. Then the imperial forces were greatly increased, the Goths were defeated, and Baduila was killed. A month later the jeweled hat and blood-stained robe of this "noble champion of a fallen cause and an oppressed people" were laid at the feet of Justinian. All was now over with the Ostrogoths. Several times they gave battle again, but each time they were defeated. Then they disappeared. No one can say what became of them. Perhaps they crossed the mountains

to mingle with other Germans in Gaul and Spain, or maybe they were lost among the Roman population of Italy. Their memory, however, will never fade from the pages of history, for they left behind them the great name of Theodoric.

Italy under imperial rule. Once more the peninsula had become a province of the empire. The imperial rule was represented by an exarch who resided at Ravenna. For more than two centuries that place was the seat of those rulers, after having been for almost as long the capital of the western half of the empire and of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths. Throughout the early medieval centuries it was the first city in Italy. It had been a naval station in the first years of the empire. Galleys of Augustus rode at anchor in its broad lagoons; while merchant ships discharged their cargoes in its very streets. Ravenna took from Rome the fading glories of the empire in the West. For a time it was lit by the splendor of that mighty sunset. In the very years when pagan temples were falling into ruin in other towns in the peninsula, magnificent churches were built there in the Byzantine style radiating from Constantinople. The miraculous mosaics of those buildings may still be seen, housed in rough walls, through which the damp creeps, staining the marbles with the strange and lovely colors of decay. They have a quality hardly known elsewhere, soft and silvery, almost translucent. But the town is now an inland place. The soil-laden rivers are continually depositing the wearings of the mountains at their mouths, the sea is forever receding, the lowlands ceaselessly growing broader and broader, until to-day ten miles of rice fields and marshes separate the town from the green waters of the Adriatic. In the sixth century it was a place easy of defense, and easy of access to ships from the East. A causeway crossed the wide alluvial plain, finding its way through dreary marshes, and ending at a fortified gate in the strong encircling walls. These defenses, natural and artificial, made it impregnable. Its population must have been dense for those times. There were numerous

civil officials and a large military garrison. Merchants and artisans were organized in schools, or corporations, forerunners of the medieval gilds. The frontiers of the Exarchate varied according to the fortunes of the imperial authority in its struggle with a new set of invaders, the Lombards. For a time the peninsula was restored to peace; but peace had come only after twenty years of war and desolation. Justinian issued an edict in 554 declaring Italy to be reunited to the empire, and indirectly giving a share in the government of every episcopal city in the peninsula to the pope. The imperial agents introduced into the peninsula the whole oppressive system of taxation prevailing in the eastern part of the empire. The people, reduced to beggary by the long wars, relieved only by the breathing spell under Theodoric, found themselves in all respects far worse off than they had been under the Ostrogoths. It was impossible to establish a highly centralized and bureaucratic government at Ravenna similar to the one at Constantinople. The influences leading to feudalism, yearly becoming more powerful in central and western Europe, could not be withstood.

Justinians's further conquests. Justinian refused to be satisfied with Africa and Italy. Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles had been taken from the Vandals. They were stepping-stones to Spain. Dynastic disputes among the Visigoths made it possible for his soldiers, with the help of the Catholic provincials, to reconquer a considerable stretch of territory in that country, including the great city of Cordova. Thus it might seem that he had been brilliantly successful in his policy of restoration in the West. But the resources of the empire had been strained to the utmost, problems on the Persian frontier clamoring for solution were neglected, Avars and Slavs became ever bolder in their penetration of the Balkan peninsula, while the conditions of the tax-ridden populace grew worse year by year. Exhausted by the immense efforts it had made, the imperial

government could neither complete nor even maintain this territorial restoration in the West.

Condition of the Roman Law. Justinian was thoroughly imperialistic in all his policies. There was to be only one empire, one emperor, and one church. So, too, there was to be only one law. Roman law was a vast body, truly "a load for many camels". Through many centuries it had grown by legislation by the emperors and by interpretations by eminent lawyers. The general name for a law issued by an emperor was a *constitutio*. It is easy to realize that all the utterances of the emperors on legal matters, in whatever shape they were given, became law. But how was the body of law increased from time to time by the interpretations of eminent lawyers? Augustus established the custom of giving to certain distinguished jurists the right of rendering responses to legal questions that should be binding upon the judges. These responses, or interpretations, were therefore laws. Among the leading authorized jurists were Gaius, who wrote between 130 and 180, and whose manual was for three hundred years the familiar textbook of all students of law; Papinian, one of the greatest juristic minds the world has ever known, whose death in 212 was as great as his life; Paulus, who lived at the beginning of the third century; Ulpian, whose period of literary activity was between 211 and 222; and Modestinus, who flourished about 250. By this time the imperial constitutions, issued during five hundred years, were very numerous. And they contradicted one another in hopeless confusion. They had been issued from time to time, without any general system. Changes in economic and social conditions, in customs and ideas, had taken place; and above all else the great change from paganism to Christianity had produced many inconsistencies and repugnancies in them. Yet they were few and simple compared with the vast labyrinth of illustrations and principles built up by generation after generation of authorized jurists. These interpretations were far more numerous than the

constitutions; and they were more confused. They presented an innumerable variety of legal opinions. This twofold mass of subsisting and effective law filled many thousand volumes. Nobody was rich enough to buy them all. No one official library even seems to have contained a complete set. And nobody was able to digest all these laws. An imperative need existed for reduction and harmony. Such a reform had been attempted by Theodosius II. But the Theodosian Code, published in 438, dealt only with the later constitutions, and not at all with the writings of the jurists; and now, nearly a century after that emperor's time, the old evils were as serious as ever.

The Code. Justinian wisely began the easier task first. In 528 he appointed a commission of ten men to deal with the imperial constitutions. All of practical value were to be retained and arranged in a single volume. The others were to be discarded. The work was done in fourteen months. The volume in which the constitutions were collected was called the *Codex Constitutionum*, or *The Code*. In 529 it was enacted into law; and by another single stroke all imperial constitutions not included in it were repealed. Copies were sent into every province with instructions that it should supersede all other constitutions previously in force. The volume was revised in 534, and it is this improved edition that has come down to us.

The Pandects, or Digest. The next step was to deal with the interpretations of the authorized jurists. For this purpose Justinian appointed a commission of sixteen men under the presidency of Tribonian, a noted lawyer, who had been a member of the first commission. All the interpretations which the commission deemed it desirable to retain were arranged in a single volume, called indifferently the *Digesta*, or *Pandectæ*. In 533 the volume was enacted into law, and at the same time all other such writings were canceled. It contains interpretations of thirty-nine jurists; but nearly a third of the opinions are taken from the writings

of Ulpian. It is the finest monument of the legal genius of the Romans; and whether we regard it for its own merits, or for the great influence it has exerted and still exerts, it is in some respects, the most remarkable law book the world has seen.

The Institutes. Tribonian conceived, while the *Digest* was in progress, the need of an elementary textbook for beginners which should present an outline of the law in a clear and simple manner. So Justinian directed him and two others to prepare such a manual. They did so, and it was published as a law. The *Institutes* was modeled upon the older manual of the same name by Gaius. Ever since its publication it has been the book with which students usually begin their study of Roman law. At the same time a course of study was prescribed and law schools were sanctioned at Constantinople, Ravenna, and Beirut.

The Novels. Justinian reigned thirty-one years after the revision of the *Code*. In that time he issued many new constitutions. These were called *Novellæ Constitutiones post Codicem*. Most of them were originally written in Greek, which was now the language of the great majority of the people in the territory actually controlled by the empire. There were three collections of the *Novels*, all made by private persons. None is official.

The Civil Law. The entire legal work of Justinian was published in one book, called the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. That monumental work was then the sole law of the Roman Empire. We must remember that the four parts of the *Civil Law* were written and compiled in the East after the West had been overrun by the Germans. In character the *Civil Law* is largely, though not predominantly, Byzantine. Its Byzantine quality is clearly seen in the constitutions issued by the emperors who lived at Constantinople; and it is equally perceptible in many of the alterations of older constitutions and of the interpretations of the great jurists made by the commissioners appointed by Justinian. For about

three centuries the *Civil Law* held its own as the supreme law book of the empire. Then the condition of society had so greatly changed, the level of legal learning and ability had so sadly fallen, that a briefer and more elementary compilation was needed to meet the exigencies and capacities of the time. So about 890 a new book was issued called the *Basilica*. This new *Imperial Code* is much less bulky than the *Civil Law*, and it is all in Greek.

The coming of the Lombards. In 565 Justinian died. Three years later, and only fifteen years after the final defeat of the Ostrogoths, another horde of barbarians poured into Italy. The new invaders were the Lombards, accompanied by some other Germans among whom were Saxons. They were the least touched with civilization of all the Germans. They were few in numbers, but they were of independent and warlike temper. While the Byzantine exarch skulked in Ravenna they took one town after another, left a garrison in every strategic place, spread over the rich plain, watered by the Po and its tributaries, which, later on, was to receive its name from them, and, storming on their way to plunder and possess, they crossed the Apennines and founded, in the midst of foes, the outlying dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento. The kings fixed their capital at Pavia; but their government was by no means as centralized as that of Theodoric. They succeeded one another in the devious manner of the time, sometimes by inheritance, sometimes by election, sometimes by violence; and they strove fitfully to extend their frontiers and to curtail the power of the dukes. There were more than thirty dukes, and they remained very isolated in their little principalities. They were weakened in their struggles with the crown, but they were always able to embarrass it and to check the unity of the nation. The Lombard kingdom lasted two centuries in Italy. In that period we can plainly see the development of feudalism in the peninsula. The old nobility of birth, which held the military offices, and the new nobility of serv-

ice, which filled the civil administrative posts, succeeded in acquiring extensive landed estates, especially from the church; and they made the mass of the smaller free landowners, who had been reduced to great distress by the long wars and the heavy imperial taxation, dependent upon them. The free population was unable to defend itself effectively against the numerous predatory forays of the time, and the crown was too weak to protect it, so it put itself under the protection of the great landed proprietors, especially the military nobles, and consented to occupy a position of partial or even complete dependence.

Effects of Justinian's imperialism. For more than fifty years after his death the empire paid a heavy penalty for the exaggerated imperialism of Justinian. Financial impoverishment and military exhaustion compelled the abandonment of westward expansion. The life of the empire depended upon the security of the frontiers along the Euphrates and the Danube. After nearly thirty years of war, with varying fortune, Persia was defeated; but in the meantime many Slavs had made their way southward and largely replaced the native population of the peninsula even in the Peloponnese. The racial consequences of this displacement were permanent. To-day all the Balkan countries are largely Slavic.

State control of economic activity in the empire. Despite the great strain to which the empire had been subjected its economic development and the civilization resting thereon far surpassed that of any of the new kingdoms created by the Germans. Feudal organization of landownership never became so prevalent there as elsewhere in Europe. City life was far more advanced than in the West. Trade with foreign countries went on, consisting chiefly of costly luxuries brought from the Far East. Three main routes, one coming over the Black Sea, another up the Red Sea to Alexandria, and one through Persia to Antioch, converged at Constantinople. The power and influence of the crown made its way,

by means of the highly developed bureaucracy, into the remotest districts and into every stratum of society. Intervention of the state in economic life was never manifested in any country more completely and intensely than in the Byzantine Empire. Industrial corporations were strictly closed and subjected to rigid surveillance on the part of the prefect of every city; the work of the artisan and the profits of the master were limited by government tariffs; prices, times, and places for selling were all fixed by public authorities. Direct purchase of raw materials was forbidden to the manufacturer, who had to receive them from his corporation or through the agents of the state. But above all else the state intervened directly in production, both through its numerous monopolies, and through the successful competition which the imperial workshops carried on with private industries, which however received compensation in the very strict measures limiting or suppressing foreign competition. For all these reasons Constantinople rightly has been called the paradise of monopoly, privilege, and protection.

Development of agriculture and manufacture in the empire. But notwithstanding such a bureaucratization of economic activity, which in the long run was bound to hamper all individual initiative, periods of great splendor, especially in the sixth century, were enjoyed by the Eastern Empire. The empire included the only Roman provinces that had to a large extent retained their old wealth and productive activity,—Egypt and Syria. Egypt was always the granary of the empire, the exporter of glass, papyrus, and textiles, and it was the commercial highway between the Mediterranean and the countries of the Indian Ocean. Syria, densely peopled, was very rich in grain, wine, and oil; but its greatest importance was due to the development of its industries. To its famous production of linen, purple dyes, and glass was now added that of silk. About 552 some missionaries secretly brought some silkworm eggs

from China and taught the means of taking care of them to the Greeks. Gradually the culture of the cocoons and the spinning of the silk spread in several provinces, especially Syria. Extensive plantations of mulberry trees were made. Silk became one of the most important articles of Byzantine commerce and one of the chief causes of its prosperity. It was a powerful factor in attracting to the market of Constantinople merchants from all parts of the known world, and in making it the largest city in Christendom, where every language could be heard. But it was not only silk that made that city a great center of consumption and exchange. Grain was distributed there gratuitously, as had formerly been the custom at Rome. Great numbers of people, almost or wholly unemployed, lived there at the expense of the state. Large quantities of grain had therefore to be imported from various provinces, especially from Egypt. Sometimes meat, oil, and wine were added to the grain. And so thanks to the luxury of the upper classes and the necessities of the lower, there flowed to the capital a very great quantity of products. The city had the good fortune to be situated in a marvelous position. It was the natural bridge between Asia and Europe, between the still civilized East and the still barbarous or rebarbarized West, and between the Mediterranean lands and the Slavic countries of the North. All the great commercial routes, which then traversed the known world by sea and land, met at the Bosphorus.

Byzantine civilization and influence. Byzantium! The bewitching name of that metropolis of fabulous wealth was repeated in legends which passed from mouth to mouth from the foggy marshes of the Baltic to the wide sunny plains of Africa. Like a burning mirror, she attracted adventurers from everywhere, who sought her sumptuous presents, her incredible booty. With the beauty of her women, her refinements, her luxury, her voluptuousness, her vice, she summed up all the pleasures of the East, as a

barbarous idol is adorned with the innumerable jewels brought to it as offerings. Her diplomats, theologians, philosophers, craftsmen and artists made her the metropolis of subtlety, of science, of art. She took the place of imperial Rome that had fallen again and again into the hands of the barbarians. More and more as the years went by she acquired the color of the East. She became effeminated by luxury, enervated by debauchery; and yet for eight hundred years she was the eastern bulwark of Christendom against the Moslem.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for this study are enumerated in the bibliographies of chapters 1, 2, 3, 7, and 8 of the second volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*. The best edition of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* is that published in Berlin and edited by Kruger, Mommsen, Schoell, and Kroll.

John B. Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire*, in several volumes published at different times, is the work of the greatest master of this subject in the English-speaking world. Among the several chapters in the second volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History* special attention may be called to the summary of the contents of the Roman law by H. J. Roby. All the works of Charles Diehl are of great value for this study. Several of them have been translated into English. His *History of the Byzantine Empire* contains a very readable summary of the reign of Justinian. See also his *Justinien et la civilization byzantine au VIe siècle* and his *Theodora*. Joseph Declareuil's *Rome the Law-Giver* is a clear and concise account of the development and organization of the Roman law from the classical period to its decline in the Middle Ages. William W. Buckland, *A Textbook of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian*. A brief survey of the Roman law will be found in *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, edited by C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob. Edward A. Foord, *The Byzantine Empire*. The third series of Edward A. Freeman's *Historical Essays* contains an article on "The Byzantine Empire". There is a fine article on Justinian by James Bryce in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography;* and another by him in the *Encyclopædia*

Britannica. The latter work also contains an excellent survey of the entire field of the Roman law. Edward Gibbon, in chapters 40–43 of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* has given a full and brilliant picture of Justinian's times; and chapter 44 deals with the Roman law. The first volume of Ferdinand Gregorovius's *Rome in the Middle Ages* contains much information and is interestingly written. Frederic Harrison, *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages.* Thomas Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* deals adequately with the Lombards. W. G. Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora.* Rudolph Sohm, *Institutes of the Roman Law.* H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind.* Pasquale Villari, *The Barbarian Invasions of Italy.* Paul Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Medieval Europe.*

CHAPTER 8

THE GERMANS AND CHRISTIANITY

How Christianity was taken to the Germans. It is city people who are always ready to take up new faiths. The country folk (the heathen, the dwellers on the heath; and the pagans, the dwellers in the villages) are always the last to change. The names "heathen" and "pagan" for worshipers of the old gods are one among many indications that the cities, the centers of commercial and intellectual activity, were the first to be conquered by Christianity. Only gradually and slowly did the new faith make its way, carried by slaves, travelers, merchants, and missionaries into the country, into the lonely valleys, the unfrequented pasture lands, the dark forests, to make the dwellers there bow before the Cross. Perhaps some tidings of the Christian story had found their way to the homes of the Germans far away in the forests of the north; but it was not until they began to wander to the south that they came to have any definite knowledge of it.

What did the Germans think of the new religion as they traveled southward? The German had always known that other peoples had their own gods; and he believed that the gods belonged to their own localities. So, when he went to new places, was it not necessary to get the help of the new gods? And there was much to make him believe that the new gods were more powerful than his own, especially when he met defeat. When he was a wanderer he was often homesick. He loved his home. In the new country the voice of the birds and even the rustle of the leaves were different. Few could interpret the new world satisfactorily, the world where men lived in marble houses, surrounded by costly luxuries, where they paid homage to Bacchus, the jovial

god of wine. There was much to disturb the German, to make him think. It may be that such a state of mind and heart prepared him to receive the new faith, some tidings of which had reached him across the Rhine and the Danube.

The old religion of the Germans. The religion of the German was a nature faith, a local religion. Everywhere he looked he saw evidence of the gods, in the mountains, the forests, and the winds. In the dreams of the night he knew the gods swept his floor with brooms. His fields were consecrated to them. So, too, was his marriage. He sowed and reaped as they directed. There was no custom of his life that was not hallowed by association with the gods. If he were defeated in war, he knew it was their desire. He asked of them success in his struggles with nature and with men. They were to give him good cheer, to elevate his heart, to put words into his mouth when he spoke in public, to fill his heart with song at the banquets. He believed in a future life. Far away in the clouds was Valhalla.

Contrast of the old religion with the new. Yet this old faith seemed meager, poor, and thin when compared with Christianity. The perfumes, the incense, the purple, the linen, the silk, the gems from the Orient, the chanting of the voices, and the sounding of the bells, all these impressed him deeply. And this new faith was proclaimed aloud and everywhere. Its most secret thoughts were made articulate, were communicated to all. For the most part his own faith had been whispered in leafy groves, in moonlit glades; and it was a rude faith that had nothing to do with logic and abstract thought. So Christianity made a profound appeal to the German. Still there was much in the new religion that sadly repelled the instinct of the barbarian. Independence and revenge were not encouraged. Whenever loyalty to one's chief meant plunder and war it was frowned upon by the new God. Self-control, self-denial, self-surrender, even the sacrifice of self-respect, were all demanded of him by the new faith. And this new God was born in the lowest

rank. He came to an ignominious end. And he bade his followers endure, not torture, which the Germans were proud to endure, and hardship in suffering and war, but insults. He saw his friends affronted and failed to avenge them. All this was repugnant to the barbarian. When Clovis yielded to his wife so far as to let one of his children be baptized in the new faith and it died, he cried out that the new God was not even born in the rank of a God. Yet the German felt there was in the new faith much that his own faith lacked. His own was a nature faith. It reflected his own emotions. It had been enriched by poets and story-tellers. It was the childlike faith of a youthful people; and it had been filled unthinkingly with what the people wished to be there. But with growth, with the broadening love of family and nation, he grew dissatisfied with much of his old religion. Some of the deeds of his old gods were immoral. And he had learned no figurative way in interpreting such stories of his gods as had the Greek with his myths and the Christian with his *Bible*. So Clotilda was able to reply to Clovis that his gods were not good. And then the stately ceremonial, the logical arguments, the authority that would not stoop to argument, the absolute certainty of life beyond the grave, all these things came with a welcome assurance to the German.

Germanic influence upon the new religion. Do not think these barbarians from the north were irreligious, that they easily turned their backs upon the faith of their fathers. It is easy to assume that the heathen had nothing to lose and everything to gain by adopting Christianity. It has been said that one of the greatest problems of history is the adoption of Christianity by the Germans. At scarcely any point could there have been a possibility of a deep understanding of its doctrines and a corresponding impulse derived from inner conviction. Yet the new religion, sprung from a foreign culture and imposed from without, became organically related to the life of the northern peoples which hitherto

had been completely opposed to its teachings. Nay, more! It was gradually developed by them into its most effective living power. How is this to be explained? No permanent change takes place in the religious beliefs and usages of a race which is not rooted in the existing beliefs and usages of that people. All teaching in order to be successful must be based upon what is previously known to the person being taught. This is true of a race as well as of the individual. Such a religious change as the one we are now studying is always brought about by the adoption and assimilation of the religious elements already existing in the life of the barbarians. The old faith did not altogether vanish. Into the new faith the German took himself. His old faith had been the reflection of himself. The German did not find the new faith just as it had been left by the peasant reformer of Galilee. It had been profoundly modified by the civilizations of Greece and Rome. An equally potent influence was now to be exercised upon it by the Germans. Still further was Christianity to be changed from what it had been in the lifetime of the crucified Nazarene.

The first missionaries to the Germans. The first to take the new faith to the Germans were not the clever teachers in the schools, nor the priests who preached in the pulpits. They were hermits and wandering monks. The hermits lived all along the imperial frontier. Sometimes they lived far in the German forests. Owing to their activity it became impossible to find any sharp geographical boundary between Heathendom and Christendom. Throughout wide territories the practices of the two faiths mingled. The story of these hermits is very shadowy, dimmed with myths, legends, and miracles. They play an important part in old romances and ballads. Scattered in the forests, in the lonely valleys, and on the mountain sides they put forth a power that was generally for good. Ulfilas (311?–383) was the first great missionary to the Germans. He was born among the Goths, a child perhaps of Christian captives. He was sent either

as an envoy or a hostage for his people to Constantinople. Then he returned to them as an Arian missionary bishop, and lived and worked among them during the remaining thirty-three years of his life. It was he who first raised the speech of the northern barbarians to the level of a literary language. Then there was Martin of Tours (316?–400) who, so it is said, while serving as an officer with the imperial forces at Amiens, cut his military cloak in two with his sword and gave half to a shivering beggar by the wayside. Then in the dreams of the night he saw Jesus clad in the divided cloak. He became a cleric and the people of Tours chose him for their bishop. Then he did much to convert the heathen and to extend monasticism. In 385 he entreated that the lives of certain heretics be spared, and ever afterwards he refused to hold ecclesiastical fellowship with the bishops who had approved their execution. His influence was far-reaching, extending through all Gaul.

Irish monks in the British Isles. The most important name connected with the conversion of the Irish is that of Patrick (389?–461) who was born somewhere near the river Severn. In his youth he was carried off to Ireland by a band of pirates. His bondage lasted six years. He returned thither in 431, as a missionary monk, and succeeded in converting many of the natives to Christianity. He established cloisters all over the country, and that work was continued after his death. Ireland became known as the Island of Saints. When it was cut off from the continent for two hundred years by the wedge of heathenism, by the invasion of England by the northern barbarians, the Christian faith continued to blossom there. The monks copied manuscripts, carried on manual labor, and maintained churches and hospitals. One of the most famous of the Irish missionary monks after Patrick is Columba (521–597), who in 563 founded a monastery on the little isle of Iona off the west coast of Scotland. Iona has been called the Nursery of

Saints, and also the Oracle of the West. For nearly two hundred years it was a center of learning and religion from which light radiated through the darkness of surrounding Heathendom. After a time Columba crossed to the mainland; and it was largely due to his efforts that Christianity spread throughout the whole of northern Scotland. Hermits planted themselves everywhere, in lonely caves of barren rocks, in solitary valleys. It was a wonderful life, this of the missionary monks, alone or in communion, in their little huts looking out on the eternal seas, though to us it is almost an inconceivable life. We have to read from their poems to guess how they loved those lonely isles and pensive citadels of theirs. These lines are said to have been written by Columba:

Beloved are Durrow and Derry,
Beloved is pure Raphoe;
Beloved is Drumholme, the fruitful;
Beloved are Swords and Kells;
But sweeter and lovelier far
The salt sea where the sea-gulls fly.

Irish monks on the continent. Irish monks found their way to the continent. About 585 Columbanus (543–615), with twelve other monks, established himself in the Vosges. At that time Gallic monasticism was not much more than a passive asceticism. Gallic monks confined themselves for the most part to fasting, prayer, manual labor, and pious conversation. Few of them were missionaries and reformers. All this was changed when, at the close of the sixth century, Irish monks began to gain a footing on Frankish soil. To the austere moral idealism of Columbanus such quietism seemed a mere veneer. He was a man of iron will, with an unquenchable faith in his mission, of incorruptible honesty, with a pitiless sense of duty. Men flocked to him in crowds and venerated him as a miracle. Court and nobles sought him. They intrusted him with the education of their children. Prelates honored him as their adviser. Men felt the

need of confessing to him, to lay bare to him the heart with its sins, to confide to him the care of their souls. Quickly he became a popular personage, and promptly he made use of this popularity. He began the fight against sin with the weapons he had been wont to use in the Celtic West. He began a strict discipline of penance founded on the so-called penance books, in which not only the open sins, as heretofore, but also all the secret sins of thought found their place. There, too, the priests found the special rule by which every separate sin was to be treated. Sins of thought could be ascertained only by confession, and the introduction of private confession, whereby the dominion of the priest over souls committed to his charge was for the first time firmly established, was a most eventful innovation. For this innovation the religious life of the following centuries was indebted to the ardent monk from Ireland. Starting from Luxeuil the austere Celtic piety penetrated, by means of new monasteries and traveling missionaries, far into the lands of Heathendom. And there, too, began the fateful tendency to make the monasteries fully independent of the bishops. The missionary activity of the Irish was extended far and wide. In the sixth and seventh centuries they founded monasteries in Allemania, Austrasia, Burgundy, Bavaria, Switzerland, and Italy. The monastery of Saint Gall, in Switzerland, and that of Bobbio, in Italy, became famous as centers of Latin education as well as of Christianity. One of the richest of all collections of manuscripts was gathered and housed at Bobbio in the Apennines. Yet it was not the Irish monks, profound as was their sincerity and contagious as was their enthusiasm, who converted the Germans. They were clever, facile, ardent, and energetic. They did much for the dissemination of religion and letters; but their influence was purely personal. They deepened the conception of religion, and worked with true and honest devotion in its spread; but their ideas remained centered in their cloister cells. They had little capacity for ordered discipline;

they were deficient in the power of organization. They could not organize a church, nor form a secular clergy, nor even maintain and extend what they had won. The work of converting the Germans required steadier persistence. It was the Benedictine monks who did this.

Benedict. By a strange coincidence almost in the very years in which Justinian's commissioners were consolidating the results of ten centuries of Roman secular legislation under which men had lived, Benedict of Nursia (480?–544?) was composing on his mountain top his code for the monks, who were to be the custodians of civilization for almost as many centuries to come. The end of the fifth century was a critical time for Europe. The imperial power had disappeared in the West. There were sharp divisions within the church. Civilization seemed to be giving way before the invading barbarians. Amid such general disorder and darkness Benedict began his work. He was born at Nursia, the modern name of which is Norcia, not far from Spoleto. His family was not of the patrician or senatorial rank, but of the prosperous country gentry of Umbria. He was sent to be educated in the schools at Rome, but becoming disgusted with the dissolute and licentious life of the metropolis he fled secretly to a mountain cave at Subiaco. After three years of solitude he gradually became known to the shepherds and country folk of the neighborhood. Then disciples gathered about him, men who wished to live under his guidance, and for them he established several small monasteries in the valley below. We are not sure how long he remained at Subiaco. Somewhere about 525, taking a number of monks with him, he went to Monte Cassino, nearly half way between Rome and Naples. On top of the rocky hill he found a pagan temple in which the country people still worshiped Apollo. There he built his monastery. And there he lived some twenty-five years, working in the fields with his monks, or reading to them in the cloister, and there he drew up his famous Rule.

The Benedictine Rule. His *Regula* gave undying fame to Benedict. The problem confronting him was to give law and order to a demoralized and brutal society. Invasion had done much to desolate the West, while theological controversy had dismembered and worn out the East. Everywhere war had ruined and laid waste the rural districts. The Rule was written for laymen, not for clerics. Thus far all monks, except those who had been ordained before they took up the monastic life, were laymen. Not until later was the clerical state imposed upon them by the church. The Rule is an elementary guide for beginners, a set of regulations for the daily life of such laymen as wished to live as fully as possible the type of life presented in the *New Testament.* Work was the first requirement. "Idleness is the enemy of the soul." Never before had indolence been decried in a monastic rule. True some monks had labored, but many had tried to get away from earthly toil. Benedict said *Laborare est orare.* His monks were to engage in any work for which they were fitted, any work dictated by their needs. But there was to be no undue severity in this, or in anything else. Benedict understood human nature. He had taken the measure of human strength. He turned his back upon his own austere life as a hermit. At the beginning of the Rule he tells us he is going to "establish a school of God's service, in which there is to be nothing harsh, nothing burdensome". There was to be no bitter zeal. Moderation is the keynote of the Rule. At first work consisted chiefly of manual labor, reading, and writing performed in the hours of the day not spent in the church. Manual labor was carried on in the fields, the garden, the kitchen, the bakehouse, in combing and carding wool, in spinning and weaving, in blacksmithing, in carpentering, in draining marshes, building roads, bridges, and convents, in all things necessary for the life of a large community. Of special interest to us is the copying of manuscripts. The scriptorium soon became a regular part of every monastery.

Cassiodorus was the first to urge upon the monks the copying of books. In and out of season, by rational and irrational means, he preached it. The reading of the great majority of the monks was doubtless confined to the *Bible* and the works of the fathers. It was devotional in scope and character, rather than intellectual. Yet by the end of the sixth century a few of them seem to have known the keen struggle that men like Jerome had felt going on within them between the Ciceronian and the Christian.

Acquisition of property by the monasteries. Personal poverty is not one of the vows required by the Rule, but nevertheless it was one of the fundamental ideas of Benedict. No monk was to have anything of his own. All necessities, his robe, shoes, stockings, belt, knife, needle, pen, tablets, were to be given him by the abbot. In this matter of having no personal property Benedict was uncompromising. "More than anything else", he said, "is this special vice to be cut off root and branch from the monastery, that one should presume to give or receive anything without the order of the abbot, or should have anything of his own. He should have absolutely nothing, neither a book, nor tablets, nor a pen, nothing at all." But there was no hostility to the idea of a general welfare, by which all the monks collectively would benefit, provided each one carefully abstained from regarding as his own the shirt, or spade, or book intrusted him for his use by the abbot. From the beginning the monasteries acquired property. Lands were bestowed on them by kings and nobles; others they reclaimed from forest and fen by their own work. Wild lands and malarious marshes were changed into green pastures and waving fields of grain. Always, however, according to the Rule, there was to be absolute communism of possessions. Numerous and great were the gifts to the monasteries, so that soon the abbots became great landlords. In time they were inevitably drawn into feudalism. Great numbers of peasants who were not monks lived on the monastic estates. They

represented every stratum of the tillers of the soil,—freemen, villeins, and serfs. And then, too, members of the nobility lived on the monastic lands. They were tenants and retainers, the vassals, of the abbot. Many monasteries came into possession of estates that were widely scattered. The abbot of such a monastery had, therefore, to be absent frequently from the convent and for long periods at a time. So it came about that the second in command, the prior or provost, became the actual director of the daily life of the community. Abbots became feudal lords, carrying out the functions, claiming the privileges, sharing the ranks of the secular nobility.

Public prayer in the monasteries. Public prayer was to be short, and it was to be said at midnight and at seven stipulated times in the day. Very early the custom of saying prayers at certain stated hours in the day was adopted by the Christians. It became obligatory for some classes of persons by virtue of canons published by the church. Benedict's Rule is one of the oldest documents in which mention is made of the "canonical hours". At first the night office was called Vigils; but gradually the custom of saying prayers at midnight was allowed to lapse. The prayers of the night were postponed to the dawn, and then they were called, not inappropriately, Matins. The next canonical hour was Laud. It came at dawn, immediately after the conclusion of Matins. More than any other hour, it was the office of praise. The interval between sunrise and sunset was divided into twelve equal parts, known as "temporary hours". Their length, of course, varied with the season of the year. Prime came at the end of the first of these hours. Terce was the office of the third hour. It came halfway between sunrise and noon. Sext came at noon, when the sun is at its full, a culminating point in the day. Nones was the office of the ninth temporary hour, about three o'clock in the afternoon. Vespers had formerly come in the evening, and the church had been illuminated

with lamps and candles. It was then the most solemn office of the day. But Benedict caused it to be celebrated at the hour of sunset, when artificial light is not needed. It is the only one of the canonical hours that retains its popularity to-day. Complin is the last of the canonical hours, the completion of the public prayers of the day. At first it was said immediately after Vespers. The convent bells that announced the canonical hours were very welcome to the common people. They were the only means they had, aside from the sun, of telling the time of day. It is not likely many peasants had water-clocks, or even dials. The earliest Latin word for bell is *campana*, and it belongs to the fifth or fourth century. Campanili with peals of bells became abundant in the later medieval centuries. They called the countryfolk and the men of the towns to duty, warned them of peril, and consoled them in sorrow. Benedict believed that the chief business of the monk is not work in the fields, or quarries, or smithies, or scriptoria. All that his followers have contributed to the improvement of secular life, to the development of civilization, has been subordinate to their religious activity, an incidental result of monasticism. Their primary and essential work is what he calls "the work of God". To the work of private and public prayer, to the daily chanting of the canonical office in the choir, nothing is to be preferred. The Rule begins with the declaration that its primary purpose is "to found a school for the service of God". That is Benedict's definition of a monastery. The one thing he required from the novice was that "in very deed he seek God". Throughout the ages this has been the keynote of the life of the Benedictines.

The monastic vows. In the course of the medieval centuries there came to be a general recognition in monastic life of the three vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience. But only one of them, obedience, is explicitly required by the Benedictine Rule. Poverty and celibacy are contained

in it implicitly. It is impossible to live according to the Rule without fulfilling these vows. The monk vowed to live in obedience to the Rule. Obedience was imposed by the abbot, the living embodiment of the Rule. It was to be regarded as a blessing, even as a source of pleasure. Novices were trained to bear affronts. They were to be "zealous for reproach", every evening they were to ask in their prayers "the grace of tears". Obedience was to be directed towards work, in carrying out the tasks assigned by the abbot. The two other vows required by the Rule are stability and moral reformation. Up to this time monks were not tied to a single monastery or community. It was easy for them to move from one convent to another. Benedict made a definite and important contribution to the development of monasticism when he required the vow of stability. With it he tied the monk to his first monastery. With it he bound together the monks of every monastery that accepted the Rule in a permanent family that lasted until death. The vow of moral reformation required unremitting attention to the conduct of one's life. The monk took upon himself the solemn obligation of conducting his life in accordance with the principles and practices set forth in the Rule.

The Benedictines were not a monastic Order. Benedict intended his Rule only for single communities. He had no idea of a federation of monasteries, of a centralization of monastic organization, of a monastic Order. He was concerned only with the government of a single monastery. For many centuries this continued to be the practice of the Benedictines. Their convents lived in isolation from one another, each self-governed and self-contained. Each lived as though it were the only monastery in existence. A monastic Order was foreign to the spirit of the age. The Rule contemplates nothing more than an organized community living a fully common life under its prescriptions, having common prayer, common work, common meals, a

common dormitory; a simple life, lived as far as possible within the boundaries of the monastic estate, made up of a round of simple duties.

Character and duties of the Monks. In Benedict's lifetime, and for long after, most of the monks were recruited from the Italian peasantry, or from the common folk of the Ostrogoths and Lombards. But every community contained members of the other classes. Many had been slaves, others had been nobles. Yet all were to be treated alike. There was rigorous suppression of all differences of worldly rank. Social democracy prevailed. Princes, chieftains, peasants, slaves,—all were equal within the convent walls. The Rule adapted itself marvelously to every variety of rank, temperament, and aptitude. This adaptation was the work of the abbot, who was instructed "to temper it, while observing it, in so discreet a way that the brave would desire more and the weak would not rebel". At this time, as we have seen, very few monks were priests. Most of them did not belong even to the minor orders of the clergy; they were laymen. Usually there were only two or three priests, sometimes only one, in the community, to say mass and give the sacraments. Later on the church imposed the priestly state upon the Benedictines. Their duties then became chiefly clerical and sacerdotal. But the impress of their lay origin has remained and is doubtless the cause of some of their distinguishing characteristics.

Character of Benedict's Rule. Benedict wrote his Rule in the vernacular Latin of the fifth century, when Latin was beginning to change into the Romance languages, in the dialect spoken by the monks in their daily life. He owed some of his ideas to Basil; but he was not deeply indebted to any previous monastic legislator. Not one of the rules with which his own had to compete was a systematic and practical code of laws controlling and directing the life of a monastery. His own life is in his Rule, the best of what he had lived and become. Moderation, genial human

tolerance, gentle courtesy, and a deep understanding of men are not less marked in it than a lofty spirituality. It proved to be eminently practical and satisfying. It is not a work of learning, but of sound common sense. It answered the needs of the time; it supplied a great want; it adapted monasticism to the western temperament and western ideas; it eliminated the eastern element of fanatical austerity; and these, doubtless, are the reasons why it supplanted all its competitors. Its precepts are strikingly positive. It prescribes rather than forbids. The great abbot knew that vices are best eradicated by cultivation of the opposite virtues. It is a monument of legislative art, remarkable alike for its completeness, its simplicity, its moderation, its adaptability. It is one of the last and most characteristic achievements of the genius of the Roman people for government. Its formation is one of the most important facts in the history of the Middle Ages.

Monasteries and monks. Monte Cassino soon became a center of influence in its thickly populated district. And before long its influence was widely extended. It is situated on one of the great highways to southern Italy. It was therefore in frequent communication with the outside world. Many visitors of all kinds were entertained in its refectory. For centuries, as yet, the only inns were the monasteries. One might stop at a different convent every night and not travel very fast. Innkeeping was not profitable. Guests were not required to pay at the monasteries. If they paid at all, it was only what they wished. Abbots came to see and advise with Benedict. A Benedictine monastery was not a mere refuge for broken hearts, a haven of spiritual tranquillity. It was more truly a place of power. Skillful workmen and successful organizers were to be found there. In that age of anarchy and abandonment of land, the monastic estates were oases in which agricultural development and an effective association of labor were kept alive. They are the only estates in regard to which a large number of

documents has come down to us, and this seems to be additional proof that they were more peaceful, orderly, and progressive than the estates of the other landowners. In time the outward appearance of the convents gave evidence of their wealth; and then art was born again in those monastic sanctuaries. Many Benedictine monks kept a wide and keen outlook on the world beyond their convent walls. They were on the watch for poverty, near or far. They fed the poor and often lodged them. They did what they could to avert or alleviate crime. In no sphere was their influence unfelt. Very soon they became the best organized of all the ecclesiastical forces at the disposal of the pope. They became a papal militia. They proved the most thoughtful and systematic missionaries. Benedictine abbeys multiplied thickly in the midst of the barbarian peoples beyond the Alps. Everywhere they set an example of disciplined and ordered life. Everywhere they inculcated the ideals of peace and work, no less than those of religion. Everywhere they acknowledged the supreme power of the pope. What the military colonies had been to the Roman Empire the monasteries became to the fast developing Papal Empire.

The priests and the Germans. Not only hermits and monks helped to civilize the barbarians, to give them a tincture of Latin culture, and to convert them to Christianity. Priests, too, were active. At first their work proceeded from the urban churches. The first Christian communities were founded in cities. The new members of the new faith who lived in the country went to the city for religious services, or were visited from time to time by itinerant clerics from the towns. In the fourth century groups of converts were sufficiently large in many villages to be served by resident priests. As the western country districts were converted in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries churches were built in the hamlets and villages. Then the parish priest in our sense began to come into existence. With the diminution of the ascendancy of town over country, resulting from the

barbarian invasions, the parochial system in the country rose into importance. But, whether in town or country, the priests did much to help to convert the Germans.

Lingering heathenism. The missionary activity of hermits, monks, and priests did not exterminate heathenism. Heathen beliefs and practices continued to exist in many places side by side with Christianity, and in a certain sense they continued to exist even within the church. Christianity reconciled itself with comparative ease to the poetical and symbolical elements of the Germanic religion. Often there was need only of slight changes and transformations. Heathen beliefs and superstitions were sanctioned in Christian forms. There was a repetition of that which always takes place when a higher culture comes into contact with a lower one. The inferior race takes over the deity of the victorious or intellectually superior one and gives him the highest place in its religious veneration, without however breaking with its former gods. So without giving up their heathen deities the northern peoples humbly accepted the powerful Christ of the now imperial Catholic Church. And that church, according to her custom, made this transition easy. Was she not herself a compromise between primitive Christianity and the pagan polytheism that flourished on the soil of the widespread Roman Empire? The heathen northerners found in the church essentially what they already possessed in their own religion, only in a more logical, beautiful, and splendid form, invested with a higher mysteriousness, a higher sanctity, a greater miraculous power, and the charm of that culture which many of them were eagerly striving to assimilate. Christian chapels were built in the places where the heathen worship had been carried on. New saints inherited the legends, popular traditions, and ceremonial observances connected with the ancient local deities. Such a religious compromise was made possible by the catholicity of the Catholic Church. She offered the old amulets, charms, exorcisms, vows, pilgrimages, and

sacrifices in the old familiar forms, but colored with Christianity.

Clash of Christian and German morality. There was a collision, however, between Christian and German morality. Christianity met obstinate resistance when it attempted to interfere with the natural morality of everyday life, when it asserted a claim to lay down the only ethical rules of conduct. Yet the substitution of a higher morality for a lower one, not the exchange of one set of doctrines for another, constituted the advance made by the northern peoples through Christianity. The barbarians learned a new ideal of life. They were told that moral conduct is not dependent upon the caprice of the individual, nor upon the dictates of public opinion, nor upon the customs and institutions of the clan, the tribe, the state. They were told that it cannot be determined either by general tradition or by mere adaptation of means to ends. They were told it derives its motive power, its direction and aim, from the revelation of the will of God. They were told that only the man who dedicates himself to the service of this divine will is holy. They were told that the source and standard of all moral conduct is religion. A long and bitter struggle took place between the morality that receives its sanction from the other world and that which receives its direction from this, between the one derived from supernatural belief and the one arising out of natural conditions, between the one deeply colored by asceticism and the one toned and tempered by practical self-criticism.

The bishops and the Germans. Very important in converting and civilizing the barbarians was the work of the bishops. Each lived in the chief city of his diocese. Everywhere in the West much of the business of what we now call the state had fallen into his hands. The door of his palace was always open. In the early morning hours he received all comers, heard complaints, composed differences, and performed many other duties of a civil magistrate. He had

important functions in connection with the municipal council. If his episcopal city was also the capital of a Germanic prince, he had the task of conciliating the new barbarian power and of maintaining good relations between the Roman provincials and the German invaders. For almost two hundred years the synods of the bishops were the only legislatures known to the Goths. The kings took counsel with the bishops. Things of common interest were decided in these discussions. Some matters were delegated to the bishop to carry out, others to the kings and their representatives. Everywhere the bishops were responsible for law and order. Then, too, the bishop had to superintend the cultivation of the lands given him or his predecessors. He could not always manage these lands in person. Sometimes these bequests were widely scattered, and often in small parcels. Thus much ecclesiastical land had to be managed by others. Bishops granted fiefs to vassals. Through the possessions of abbots and bishops the church entered the ranks of the great landowners. Soon she was bound up with their interests. The scanty leisure left by active occupations would, if the bishop were something of a scholar and a thinker, be devoted to the theological and philosophical discussions of the time. He represented civil government, Latin culture, and Christianity.

The popes and the Germans: Gregory I. In the work of converting and civilizing the Germans a great part was played by the popes. Gregory I (590–604) drew into his hands the threads of administration. For more than a century there had been no emperor in the West. What western territory remained under the imperial sway was governed in the name of the emperor at Constantinople by the exarch of Italy who lived at Ravenna. But the imperial hold on Italy was very precarious. Much of the peninsula had been conquered by the Lombards. They were regarded with more terror and aversion than any previous invaders. Gregory the Great was not, at first, a temporal

ruler. Theoretically he possessed only spiritual jurisdiction. But because of the anarchic condition of the time, his position as bishop in the ancient imperial capital, his commanding character, and his indefatigable zeal, he came to exercise great political power. With him begin the temporal possessions and secular power of the papacy. The city of Rome was a desolate and melancholy spectacle. Once it could boast more than a million inhabitants; now it held less than fifty thousand. Its pleasure-seeking and self-indulgent life had burned itself out. All who sought pleasure or advancement had flocked to Constantinople, where the Roman world was fast becoming Byzantine, or had gone to the court of the exarch at Ravenna. Most of those who remained were not much better than beggars. Scarcely is it possible to conceive a greater contrast than that between the new capital, the shining and wealthy city on the Bosphorus, and the ancient seat of empire now slowly falling into ruins on the banks of the Tiber. Italy had been plundered unmercifully for years by the tax-gatherers, common soldiers, and military officials of Justinian and his successors; and the whole of the central and northern part of the peninsula had been stricken and desolated by plague, famine, and the Lombards. Gregory lost no time. Sprung from a distinguished senatorial family, he had at first been prætor, but had suddenly left his palace for a monastery. Firmly he seized the reins of government, and in a new way he made Rome the capital of the western world. A born ruler, he did much to restore law, order, and justice in the land. He made himself, as none of his predecessors had succeeded in doing, the real master of Rome and its surrounding territory. He provided food for its famishing populace, directed defensive operations in time of siege, issued orders to military officials in several fortified places, and then concluded treaties with Italian nobles and the Lombards. His court became the center of political plans and diplomatic intrigue like that of Ravenna

or Constantinople. He made himself a political power, a temporal prince. He was a man of unusual tact and courtesy. He revealed himself as a peacemaker and a patriot in his dealings with the Lombards, and as a sympathetic guide in his communications with the rulers of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. In those relations we can see quite plainly the growth of the temporal power of the papacy.

Gregory I as an ecclesiastical leader. But the exercise of political power was the least of Gregory's activities. Far more important was his ecclesiastical leadership. Frankly and boldly he adopted the position of head of the church. In his dealings with bishops in all countries, especially with those of the West, he assumed that all were completely subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman See. By a series of regulations he made the monks as independent as possible of episcopal authority. No bishop was to interfere in the affairs of a monastery without securing special papal permission. Thus he won the support of the rapidly increasing army of monks. He then undertook the conversion of all the West, of heathens and Arians. It was he who sent a band of forty monks to England. The instructions he gave them are significant. They were to destroy the heathen idols, but not their temples. The latter were to be kept and used as Christian churches. Heathen customs, whenever possible, were to be retained and included in Christianity. We still have many relics of heathenism. To the missionary enterprises set on foot by Gregory and carried out by the Benedictines is largely due the fact that the new Germanic kingdoms in the West came into the fold of the Catholic Church.

Gregory I as a statesman. Gregory I was not a profound thinker, but as a practical statesman he stands out distinctly as the most important personage of his time. Though he originated no new conception of papal authority, he gave practical and energetic expression to ideas already existing. Tactfully and effectively he strove to unite and

extend the power already widely acknowledged, and thus laid the foundation of the system, half-spiritual and half-political, of the medieval papacy.

Summary. In such wise did Christianity meet the Germans. It won its triumphs, not by the edicts of Constantine, still less by the sword of Charlemagne. It was most successful when it was preached in meekness and spiritual power, when the missionaries carried it abroad and the charm of its civilizing spirit drew barbarians to learn from its teachers and to worship in its sanctuaries. When primitive Christianity left its native Jewish soil and entered the wider imperial world, it underwent a profound change. It took to itself something of the spirit of Greek science and more of the love of those artistic people for stately and beautiful ceremony, something of the Roman law, and something of Oriental mysticism. All these pagan elements continued to hold their own in the garb of Christianity. So, too, from the heathenism of the young and vigorous northern peoples did a new element enter into Christianity. Above all else the Germans brought themselves into it. Their deep feeling of individual independence, their restless activity, acted as a powerful counterpoise to the quietistic tendency of monasticism. All the elements were now gathered together for the development of medieval life.

References for Further Reading

The original sources of this topic are listed in the bibliography for chapter 18 of the first volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History* and those for chapters 8 and 16 of the second volume. There is a good translation of the *Life of Columban* in the series of historical reprints published by the University of Pennsylvania. Dom Edward Cuthbert Butler's *Sancti Benedicti Regula Monachorum* is a good and easily obtainable edition of the famous rule in its original language. A good translation of it is that by Dom Justin McCann, with commentary by Dom Paul Delatte.

F. H. Dudden's *Gregory the Great* is the best study of the great pope in English. Dom Paul Delatte's *Commentaire sur la Règle*

de Saint Benôit is the best modern study of the Rule. Ferdinand Gregorovius's *Rome in the Middle Ages* contains much matter relating to Benedict and to Gregory. The second edition, in three volumes, of Max Heimbucher's *Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche* is the outstanding work on the subject. Abbot Herwegen's *Der heilige Benedikt* is the best modern biography of the great monastic organizer. Thomas Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* has admirable accounts of Benedict, Columban, and Gregory the Great. The first volume of Horace K. Mann's *Lives of the Popes* is devoted to Gregory. Charles F. Montalembert's enthusiastic *Monks of the West* should be read cautiously. H. von Schubert's *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter*, admirably derived from the original sources, is one of the best histories of the period. Herbert B. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal.*

CHAPTER 9

THE FUSION OF THE RACES AND CIVILIZATIONS

Latinized peoples as transmitters of Roman culture to the Germans. We are now to study the fusion of the Latins and the Germans, their blood and their civilizations, upon the soil of the fallen empire. We have to see how they mingled their blood, languages, laws, and customs. Out of this fusion rose new peoples, new tongues, new institutions, a new life. In the first place we should remember that when the Roman civilization was extended into northern Italy, Spain, Gaul, and southern Germany it was imposed upon peoples who were not Romans. Those peoples gave up their own customs and languages for those of Rome. They were Latinized. Yet many of their old traits survived. They were therefore fitted to act as mediators between the Romans and the Germans. They did much to transmit the southern culture to the northern conquerors, to bring about a fusion of the two peoples and civilizations.

Surviving Roman towns in the Romanic countries. At the beginning of the seventh century kingdoms existed in the West established by Visigoths, Franks, Burgundians, and Lombards. Most of the Germans in them lived in the country, but some lived in the towns. They were by no means uncultured barbarians when they first moved south across the Rhine and Danube. And by the time at which we have now arrived they had made a distinct advance in civilization. For more than two hundred years, in town and country, a fusion of races and civilizations had been going on, and it was to continue for a long time to come. Among the numerous surviving towns in northern Italy were Milan, Pavia, Venice, Verona, and Ravenna. Their life suffered little under the conservative and conciliatory Ostrogoths, and it continued even under the barbarous

Lombards. Ravenna remained through all this period an outpost of Byzantine culture. Even with these warlike invaders the towns were the centers of public life. They were the seats of industry, trade, and administration. In Spain there were Seville, Cordova, Toledo, and Saragossa; and the continuance of imperial municipal conditions in them is well marked under the dominion of the Visigoths. So vigorous did municipal life remain there that the towns continued to hold land of their own far beyond their walls. Gaul had many towns, especially in the valleys of the Rhone and the Loire, including Orléans, Soissons, Tours, Lyons, Toulouse, Arles, Marseilles, and Bordeaux. The intellectual capital of Gaul in the fourth century was Bordeaux. It had been a great commercial center for three centuries. And on the Danube and Rhine were Cologne, Bonn, Coblentz, Strasburg, Worms, Spires, Augsburg, and Ratisbon. Recent archeological investigation reveals the unbroken continuity of town life, even in these northern cities, from imperial to medieval times. There has been found, for instance, a continuity of inscriptions on the gravestones in Mayence and Worms.

Decline of town life in the West. But from the third century city life had been decaying in the West. Many of the ancient towns were no longer inhabited by people who lived exclusively by manufacture and commerce. Not a few of the townsfolk had to eke out their living by tilling the fields. Many of the buildings in these towns had been destroyed, or had fallen into ruin from neglect, and had not been replaced by new ones. In some cases a part of the land within their wide walls had been given over to meadows and fields of grain. The bishop, the count, the other nobles who lived in the city, received their rent in kind from their tenant farmers scattered over the lands in the immediate neighborhood of the city. Land, with its agricultural products and the flocks that pastured on it, was the chief source of wealth for such urban populations.

Industry in the towns. But even in cities that had suffered greatly in the times of the migrations, secular and ecclesiastical landowners with their tenant farmers did not make up the entire population. There were merchants of several kinds. Some went from castle to castle, from market to market, while others stayed at home and sold goods in their own shops. Then, too, there were freemen and artisans. So that even in the "ruined" towns something remained of the old urban life of Rome. The crafts never entirely disappeared. In every early medieval century we come upon mention of soapboilers, shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, armorers, minters, and goldsmiths; and we learn that the distinction between full-fledged workmen and apprentices continued to be made. Especially in the larger and more important towns there was a very considerable continuation of urban culture through all the years of the struggles between Germans and Romans. The Germans had abundant opportunity in many places of coming into contact with Roman culture. Much had been acquired in the centuries of peaceful penetration of the empire by the Germans. Much was now conveyed to the newcomers by ecclesiastics, teachers, artisans, and merchants in the towns. Above all else these instructors influenced the industrial activity of the newcomers. A common life quickly sprang up in the towns between the Germanic and the Romanic peoples. There was no war of extermination between the masses of the two peoples, no life and death struggle, which ended only with the downfall of all that had contributed to the welfare of Rome.

Attitude of the Germans towards Roman civilization. The Germans were political opponents of the Romans, but they were not enemies of the Roman civilization. On the contrary, they valued it highly and tried to assimilate it. There was no breach in culture. Continuity can be traced everywhere in town and country. The new masters had long known and appreciated the civilization of Rome. Why

should they, who, as *coloni* and *læti*, had been settled in many of the imperial provinces from the beginning of the third century, suddenly, when they obtained political dominion there in the fifth and sixth centuries, have relinquished all they had learned in agriculture, manufacture, and general social conditions? It was to their interest to maintain, as soon as peace permitted, as much material welfare and social culture as possible. This was not very difficult, especially where the Romanic population predominated in numbers. Such predominance prevailed in Italy, Spain, and Gaul. There was also a considerable Romanic population in the present-day south German territories and in the valley of the Rhine. It was in the towns that the cultural heritage of the ancient world was most completely preserved; and there, despite the tenacity of the Germanic customs, the barbarians first became imbued with the Latin civilization.

Commerce in the Romanic countries. Commerce was diminished but not destroyed in the time of the migrations. One of the most important consequences of the disappearance of the imperial power in the West was the separation between East and West. The two parts of the great empire had never been completely fused. There was always a dualism of language, customs, and, in part, of economic conditions in the empire. The two worlds now became completely separated. In the West there was a rapid decline in civilization and the most widely prevailing condition came to be that of the natural economy of the great *latifundia;* while civilization in the East became less and less Roman and more and more Byzantine. And so all that survived of the international maritime commerce was the importation of oriental products into the Romano-Germanic kingdoms of the West. In the cities of southern France commerce was carried on mainly by Greeks, Syrians, and Jews. Greek was spoken as the habitual language in the market at Arles; Syrian merchants were found not only in

the cities of the coast, but also in the interior, at Orléans, Tours, and Paris; the Jews were to be found everywhere. These merchants imported goods from their native countries, especially from Syria, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. They imported rich tissues of flax and silk, embroidered and damasked stuffs for the churches, and to a smaller extent for the owners of the manorial estates. They also imported spices, perfumes, and jewels from Arabia, Persia, and India, and papyrus from Egypt. And above all else they carried on a very widespread slave trade. In exchange for these things they took grain, ores, rock salt, honey, and wax. But the exports must have been far inferior in value to the imports, and the difference must have been paid for in coin or in articles of silver or gold.

The people of the towns. The streets of the towns were full of a varied life. In them could be seen provincials in Roman attire, the German with flashing axe in his girdle, the priest in woolen garb, the bishop in his splendid purple mantle, pilgrims with long staves, craftsmen with leather aprons, the retinue of a great lord, ladies in litters or on horseback, a troop of soldiers marching to the blare of trumpets, peasants from the country with baskets, asses, and carts, and, in strange oriental dress, chaffering Greeks, Jews, and Syrians. It has been said that to the great affluence of oriental merchants, especially Syrians, to the West there corresponded a parallel and converse current of western merchants to the marts of Syria. But as a matter of fact, if a current of this kind existed, it was one of pilgrims, among whom there were very seldom any merchants. Down to the time of the Mohammedan conquest the Byzantines retained a supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean never disputed by the westerners.

Germans as craftsmen. A great heritage of manual skill and mechanical arts had gradually been built up in Egypt, Phœnicia, Greece, and Carthage, which was acquired, developed, and diffused by the Romans. Perhaps none of

the industrial arts as known and carried on by the Romans was wholly lost in the West. They were now taught to the Germans. Many northerners who were formerly maintained in the retinue of some chief, or who lived by robbery or war, acquired the habit of regular work in their new homes in the south. There was far less place for the turbulent or the idle in these new lands than there had been in the fields and forests of Germany. A man had to produce something. Peace was to accustom him to the works of peace. And so, once deprived of the means of fighting, these energetic peoples turned their attention to agriculture and to industry. The newcomers soon grew accustomed to city life. Urban population increased. Metals, particularly iron, pottery, and fabrics became the favorite industries. New houses were built, and palaces and churches. Masons, carpenters, metal workers, glaziers, ivory carvers, and many other craftsmen were employed.

The Germans accept Latin. When the barbarians settled in the south they gradually renounced their languages. When they drew up their first sets of laws, from the last part of the fifth century onwards, they employed Latin. Only slight traces of the old tongues remain in these codes. And of all the official formulas, diplomas, and edicts issued by the barbarian kings there is not one written in a Germanic tongue. The Germans accepted Latin as the language of law, administration, study, and religion. Thus it alone served to express the needs, ideas, and beliefs that governed society. Every rich and powerful man who coveted local honors or the priesthood boasted of being able to speak it. What relations could he have had otherwise with the public authorities? And then, too, in their awakening to the life of the intelligence, to the delicate pleasures of the mind, to whom could the young barbarians have turned except to undisputed masters of eloquence or wisdom? Every intelligent barbarian knew he could not hold his own unless he thought, spoke, and wrote in the language of the ancient

lawyers, senators, orators, philosophers, and poets. The classic writings were accepted as the product of a greater time, a golden past. Very early the common people in the towns learned to express themselves in the language of Rome. The countryside held out longer; but eventually the rural districts of all the new kingdoms spoke Latin, though not without a host of Germanic words. Latin revealed to the Germans the genius of Rome. And it aroused in them an intellectual life. They began to read, to study, and to think.

Schools and books. Schools perpetuated something of the intellectual life of the ancient world. From the sixth to the eighth century there were many schools of all kinds in Italy,—monastic, cathedral, secular, public, and private. And they were by no means entirely lacking in Spain, Burgundy, Gaul, and the southern lands of Germania. In them were studied the textbooks, based upon the curriculum of the old pagan schools, compiled by Cassiodorus. These manuals for beginners gave a character never lost to the literature of western medieval Europe. They preserved out of classical times things that could most easily be assimilated by the barbarians. They simplified the results of ancient learning for simple scholars. They dealt with the elementary subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic, and catechetical and liturgical instruction; and then they took up the three studies of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, comprising the *Trivium*, and the four studies of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music which made up the *Quadrivium*. These subjects were not studied for their own sake. They were to further an understanding of the *Bible* and to make men abler defendants of the doctrines of orthodox Christianity. But at an early date the dangers of such studies were recognized, and so the study of the ancients, at least beyond the usual curriculum, was distrusted and denounced. Gregory I publicly opposed such reading. Yet the pagan authors never ceased to exert their charm. They continued to be read in the quietude of cloisters, and, though

it is true many monks erased classical writings in order to write the lives of saints on the same parchment, even to be transcribed in the *scriptoria*. The cultural heritage of the ancient world was never completely lost. More than a century after the death of Cassiodorus a new series of books presenting in encyclopedic form the knowledge of the past was compiled by Isidore of Seville (560?–636). For almost two hundred years the Visigoths had controlled Spain. It was a time of disintegration and change. The secular learning of classical times had to be condensed and adjusted to a lower level of thought and to the doctrines of Christianity. This was the task undertaken by Isidore. He had read widely in the Latin authors and in the Christian fathers. All his writings, but especially the encyclopedia known as the *Etymologies*, reveal the character of the intellectual culture of the time. That encyclopedia is far more inclusive than the compilations of any of his predecessors. This was possible because secular knowledge had diminished so greatly in the intervening years that one man could then summarize it in its entirety. Isidore did not observe life. He gained all his information from old books. He adapted that information to the lessened intellectual capacity of the time and the purposes of the church. His encyclopedia "was popular", says Charles Homer Haskins, "because it was compendious and succinct in an age which wanted all its learning in tabloid form, because it made use of allegorical and mystical interpretation". In his books we can see Latin culture and medieval Christianity making their way into the minds and hearts of the youthful and energetic people who had moved down from the north. Those two things were the directing forces of all medieval development.

The Germans encounter a better morality. Something, too, of a better morality the Germans learned in the literature of the classical past and the contemporary life of the southern lands. It is quite true that in the fields and

forests of the north they had practiced virtues only slightly known to the Romans. But it was possible to learn much from a society that had accepted Stoicism, inspired and promulgated humane laws, tried to make justice prevail among men, and could point to such noble examples of manhood as Marcus Aurelius. The Germans found a world acquainted with licentiousness, cruelty, the orgies of passion and desire; but it was also a world that could stigmatize those vices, one in which thousands of souls were strong enough to withdraw from their influence. If, in the darkest century of its history, it gave way to despair, it was also in itself that it found the flame of thought and feeling that was to change the aspect of life.

The Germans in the country. On entering the southern lands one thought was uppermost in the minds of the Germans. They dreamed of making themselves like the people whose primacy they recognized, before whom they called themselves barbarians. Love for the ancient city, the cradle of the alluring life that met their eyes, still lingered, even in its ruins, and again and again sprang into flame. Rome remained the city of the soul, the city to which the northern barbarians turned, the thought of which awed and overwhelmed them, even when as conquerors they brought fire and sword to its gates. Yet they took many things with them which they kept. Their native traits, their customs, became the great complementary factor to classical culture and Latin Christianity. From the interaction of these elements sprang all the characteristics of medieval life. When the Germans crossed the imperial frontiers they penetrated into countries in which, instead of their villages of huts, they found, though half depopulated and in a state of serious decay, many castles, market places, and towns. In place of their family communities and village communities, regulated by rude customs, they found precise rules and minute prescriptions governing property relations and contracts between private persons.

As long as they lived like an army encamped in an enemy's land they preserved intact their own customs; but when they began to disperse among the subjected people, and to have peaceful dealings with them, they were bound gradually to accept the customs and rules which governed many economic and legal relations, and which were unfamiliar to them. Yet in the conditions of agrarian economy, which had been spreading throughout the imperial world in the centuries of its decay, the newcomers found many elements of agreement with the agrarian life to which they had been accustomed in the north. The great *latifundium*, with the houses of the slaves and the *coloni* grouped round the villa like a village, with the little farms assigned to the *coloni*, and with the woods and pastures which the *coloni* had the right of using, presented many points of resemblance to the northern village and to the barbarian custom of dividing the land into arable land, parceled out among the different families, and undivided land reserved for the common use. To make the likeness more striking came the increasing depopulation of the countryside, owing to the invasions and the long period of turbulence that followed them, the death or flight of large numbers of the original landowners, the increasing use of pasturage, and the multiplication of great ecclesiastical and secular estates. Thus it came about that after the end of the sixth century, when the migratory movement had ceased in the western provinces and the new barbarian kingdoms were definitely established, the organization of large estates to which the name of the "manorial system" has been given, spread and prevailed in many parts of the West. The manor was directly derived from the Roman *latifundium*, but many of its customs were changed by the invading Germans.

Life on the great country estates. What were these manors, or domains? Let us look at them in the last years of the empire in the West. The domains of the great landowners were compact in some regions, while in others they

were made up of scattered properties. Part of the property was managed by the owner, chiefly the part that lay about his villa or castle, round which were grouped the farm buildings belonging to it. It was usually the best land of the entire estate. It was cultivated by the *familia*, the agricultural slaves of the owner, who were superintended by a steward. The other part of the estate consisted of the more distant parts, scattered here and there, which were let out, under various conditions, to *coloni* in parcels or small lots. All the varieties of tenure which we meet in medieval times sprang from those of the Roman *latifundium*. The *coloni* usually lived in a village near the villa. Thus we find here the same combination of self-managed and farmed-out property that we meet with all through the Middle Ages. The imperial estates had special officers, known as *procuratores*, to whom was given quasi-magisterial authority. At first no such power was possessed by any of the officers of the private estates, but as time went on a state of things came into existence that was similar in practice. More and more in the later years of the empire the administration of justice was everywhere assumed by officials of the private domains. This stimulated the transformation of the free peasants, unable any longer to meet the economic competition of the owners of large domains and finding themselves without adequate protection, into dependent *coloni*. The various kinds of personal services required of the peasants by the lord of the manor, such as labor in the fields, transportation of goods, repair of roads and bridges, and also the gifts of supplies, that we shall deal with later on when we come to study the manorial system, are all to be met with at the opening of the seventh century. They had all come down from the later years of the empire. But they were usually lighter than they had been before the invasions. And life continued to improve on the great domains.

Ability favored on large estates. The organization of these large agricultural estates rendered it possible to make better

use of the capacities of the individual, such as could not be effected within the framework of smaller farms. Many officials and supervisors were needed on them, steward, administrator, forester, huntsman, falconer, cellarer, ranger, master of the stud, keeper of the fisheries, and many others. Individual ability could find opportunity on the great domains. Peasants went over in large numbers to Germans who owned great estates. There they obtained more favorable conditions of life. They were better off than they had been under the Romans; and they were better off than the free peasants who cultivated little farms on their own account. They had a more generous supply of agricultural necessities, such as seed and farming implements, and they had a share in the baker's oven, the wine press, the smithy, and the mill. Their lord had secured the immunity of his land from the visitations of public officials, and so they were subject only to his disciplinary authority. Many of the landlords, secular as well as ecclesiastical, built not only churches on their estates, but also hospices and hospitals. They were able to take care of the sick and the poor. The union of these numerous tenants seems to have made possible a more effective resistance to abuse of power on the part of the landlords. Risings of the country folk, when they were oppressed by grievous duties and taxes, were by no means lacking at this time. It is incorrect to speak only of the depression of free peasants as the characteristic social phenomenon of those times. There was a great upward movement of the lower ranks, especially of those who had not been free. Only thus can we account for the large number of free peasants at the opening of the eighth century. In all this rearrangement and improvement an important part was played by the Germans.

National administration in the western kingdoms. What sort of royal government was set up in these new kingdoms established by the Germans? The rule of the new kings resembled the old power of the princes in the fields and

forests of the north. It was essentially military and judicial. The power of the king seems to have been enhanced by the frequent wars and the greater area of his new sphere of sovereignty, but the coöperation of the people was by no means completely set aside. In the administration of justice, the power of the popular court gradually passed over to the king, and he finally won an independent legislative power, which he exercised even without consulting the people. The self-determination of the people was gradually diminished. This was brought about very largely by economic and social conditions. Kings and army leaders secured possession of the rich landed possessions in Italy, Spain, Burgundy, and Gaul. They were able to reward their retainers and political adherents with landed property. Thus a great impetus was given to the development of feudalism. The greater the prestige of the lord and the stronger his power, the more abundantly were his servants and retainers rewarded and the higher were they exalted. Those who were in immediate attendance upon the king naturally received special distinction. The old German system of retainers formed the groundwork of this development, though something remained from the Roman system of patrons and clients. The aristocratic class obtained more property than that granted to them by the king. They got it as booty in war, or appropriated it wrongfully in peace, from prelates as well as secular landowners. Such usurpation was widespread, for instance, in the domestic quarrels that began immediately after the death of Clovis.

National laws. What laws did the Germans use in governing the kingdoms they founded on the soil of the empire? They came into contact with the Roman law. They did not know the books compiled by Justinian's commissioners. Those books were composed in Constantinople; they were put into force only within the shrunken limits of the empire. They were to be discovered by the West at the end of the eleventh century, and were then to begin to exert a far-

reaching influence upon the formation of modern law and the history of thought in western Europe, but in the meantime they were confined to the East. The barbarians came into contact with the Roman law in codes formed before the time of Justinian, and in an adulterated form. Its great periods of development were past. It had been adapting itself to the diminished intellectual capacity of the provincials in the western countries, to people who could not comprehend either metropolitan or imperial life. The changes it was undergoing were corruptions. This debased and adulterated law was recognized as valid for their new subjects, while for their own people they kept the Germanic law. The two sets of law affected one another. Germanic ideas and customs quite plainly affected the law of the Roman population of Spain, Burgundy, Gaul, and Lombardy; while, conversely, the Roman law influenced the formulating of the various codes, made at the command of barbarian kings, of Germanic law. Never before had these barbarian laws been grouped together in a written code. The first of these sets of laws drawn up by barbarians for barbarians was that compiled by the Visigoths, the most civilized at this time of all the Germans. It is the most learned of them, and the one in which the intention of bringing about a fusion of the two races and civilizations is most plainly visible. The code of the Franks, known as the Salic law, discloses indebtedness to that of their southern neighbors. Among the other barbarian codes are those of the Burgundians, Allemani, Bavarians, and Lombards. In all the new kingdoms the vanquished lived under the Roman law; but after a time it was not always easy to distinguish between descendants of the conquered and those of the conquerors, and so every man was permitted to choose in public which law he preferred. The substance of all these barbarian codes was affected by the fact that they were written in Latin. Still another thing helped to make Roman law familiar to the Germans. The clergy, no matter

what race they belonged to, continued to live under it. Their personal life and their property were governed by it. Eventually these rules of personal life passed into the canon law of the church. Roman law, then, modified, barbarized, corrupted by separate and occasional influences, was known and used. It is true the northerners preserved their own laws; and that those laws, or rather customs, were the chief element of culture they retained from their fatherland. But in the contact between barbarian and imperial legislation the former was the one most greatly changed.

Military affairs. It has been said that in this fusion of races and civilizations the military spirit was the chief contribution of the Germans. The statement is exaggeration. But yet their warlike spirit was a distinguishing characteristic of the northern race. It was a spirit that enabled them to conquer all the western part of the empire, and eventually to drive back the Arabs, Avars, and Slavs. Perhaps it was the youngest, most ardent, most adventurous, that migrated to the south. They took with them their women, slaves, and cattle, all their household goods, and they had to fight to defend them. In the northern lands all free men had been liable to war service. This practice seems to have continued in the new kingdoms down to the time of the Carolingians. Till then the armies were not mere professional armies of vassals. Universal duty of service in war still existed. This does not mean that all free men were obliged to render military service in person. Such service was still gratuitous. Not until later did it become compulsory. The man liable to service had to furnish his own equipment and provide for his own maintenance. And so it would have been impracticable to have demanded it of men who had no means. The less well-to-do, therefore, had to equip by groups one of their number for service in the field. The mass of the free peasants were not uniformly possessed of landed property. They were therefore variously graded for military service. Economic

differentiation paved the way for a gradual distinction in military law. The war lord seems to have preferred to gather professional soldiers instead of bands of burghers and peasants. More and more these professional soldiers came to consist exclusively of cavalry. Gradually those classes became more and more important that were economically capable of supporting the expensive cavalry service. They were the prosperous landowners, spiritual as well as temporal.

Rome as an example of unity. A powerful fusing influence was exerted upon the Germans by the remembrance and example of the empire. It was the only state they knew, for their tribes were not states at all. They had stood for subdivision, for individualism carried out to the length of anarchy. Rome revealed to them the advantages of sound discipline, of unity. They were greatly impressed by the mighty organization, which at first they did not understand; by the dominion exercised by the laws, with which they were unacquainted, for in their homelands only a narrowly common law had been developed. Even after Rome had been taken by Alaric they did not seriously entertain the idea of replacing the great state by another. They saw that Germans and Romans could supplement one another, that while the former lacked laws the latter could no longer successfully defend themselves. They wished to live as a supplementary factor within the empire. They wished to be its defenders and allies. And quite naturally they wished to be the actual rulers, and to acquire for themselves the blessings of civilization to be found only within the empire. The very tradition of imperial power fascinated them and exercised upon them great influence as a unifying idea.

Influence of the organization of the church. Still more powerful was the fusing influence of the church. This was due largely to its organization. For several centuries life had been ebbing from civil society and flowing into the church. The city of the Cæsars had become the capital of the popes. From the pope downward, through the arch-

bishops and bishops, to the parish priests in the remotest districts the papal power extended. Synods and councils issued canons which, augmented later on by papal decrees, formed a great body of ecclesiastical law. Civil jurisdiction had passed very largely into the hands of the bishops. Those prelates were chosen almost without exception from the Roman landed nobility. To the prestige of birth they added that accruing to them as princes of the church. Long ago a sense of the failing of the imperial power had made men turn for protection and guidance to the church. She had become the great restraining, organizing, civilizing force. Constantly she improved her organization. Inwardly and outwardly she strengthened the structure of her hierarchy. She grew. She bound the laity to herself by every kind of material and spiritual influence. She assimilated the principles of imperial government and law, applied them in creating her bishoprics, drew from them her methods of administration. Everywhere, through her bishops, she supported the monarchy, thus assisting the cause of unity. Thus law and organization, the great contributions of Rome, were passed on down to succeeding ages by the church.

Influence of the teaching of the church. Through her teaching, also, the church exercised a fusing influence. She converted the heathen to a catholic faith. Literature, education, all but the simpler arts of life, were in her hands. She gave to the barbarians the desire and the forms of settled life. Her doctrine of price, her condemnation of gain at the expense of another man, affected the medieval organization of town life, regulated commerce between towns, and served to unite men. Her ennoblement of work elevated the lot of the medieval villein far above that of the slave in the ancient empire. All men alike, she declared, are the children of God. The soul of a peasant is as immortal as that of a prince. These principles were not mere pious opinions. They were the practical maxims of daily life. The church erased something of the difference between men

and women. She attacked the abuses connected with marriage. Some of her rules, such as her theory of impediments to marriage caused by affinity or consanguinity, were sanctioned by legislation. She caused betrothal to be put on the same level as a contract. She declared the freeing of slaves to be an act singularly pleasing to God. Gregory I emphatically declared it to be so. Bishops preached it. In expiation of sins they directed powerful and penitent sinners to free a specified number of slaves. One of the noblest ideas of the medieval centuries, one of the ideas for which they keep their place in the history of humanity, is that of the universal brotherhood of man. The church, in theory at least, ignored all national feeling, all social and cultural differences, and sought to bring all men together in a single unity for the service of what she deemed to be holy and divine. "The world in our eyes is but one vast republic", said Tertullian, "the common country of the human race".

Influence of the daily life of the church. Again, through her daily life, the church exerted a fusing influence. Her charity was methodical and extensive, and knew no bounds of social rank or nationality. It introduced new factors in economic development and social relations that had widespread and far-reaching consequences. She protected widows and orphans who had no other defenders. The right of sanctuary which she claimed for her altars exercised a great power of attraction, especially upon the lower classes of the people. They saw in her a common friend and protector. Sometimes she punished the arbitrary killing of a slave by excommunication. The lot of slaves on her estates was universally better than that of secular slaves. A fourth of their dues and a part of their services were remitted. She did not try to bring about a general abolition of slavery. She did not even call into question the justice of the institution. The time was not ripe. But she recommended the liberation of slaves; and, as far as she could do

so without economic loss, she promoted it. She aided in ransoming captives. She intervened in behalf of accused persons, securing mitigation of their sentences, or helping them in other ways by her advocacy. She was able to carry on this work of social amelioration better than anyone else because she had a good deal of money at her disposal and because she owned extensive landed estates. This comprehensive activity in favor of the poor and oppressed greatly increased her influence, all the more so because the state at that time did not include these things in its legislation, or did so only gradually and then at the instigation of the church. In this work the church made herself a powerful factor in unifying and reshaping society.

Life at the courts in the sixth and seventh centuries. Let us now glance at the life of the western half of the continent in the sixth and seventh centuries when these fusing influences had made themselves felt. Let us look first at the life of the courts of the kings. In its last decades the empire did not deem it wise to count the barbarians foes. So it adopted them. It made their leaders believe they were Roman rulers. Odoacer, Theodoric, and other barbarian kings were nominally under the empire. Clovis was filled with pride when he was made a Roman patrician. At their courts in their new kingdoms these Germanic kings kept many of the customs of the courts of their ancestors in the north. Yet they learned a good deal from the Romans. The Merovingian kings, the successors of Clovis, had a palace, after the manner of the emperor. It was a "sacred palace", claiming to be like that of Ravenna or even Constantinople. But how different! These long-haired kings were lost in the immense imperial residences they found at Paris, Trèves, and Arles. They preferred a dwelling place in the midst of the woods, at Braine, Verberie, Attigny, Compiègne, where, as formerly, the barbarian chief, surrounded by his "comrade band", loved to give himself up to the pleasures of the table and the chase. Venantius

Fortunatus (530–609), bishop of Poitiers and chief Latin poet of the time, has described one of these royal villas for us. It was a huge building of stone and wood, furnished with hangings of skins of wild beasts, and containing the apartments of the king and queen, the banqueting and audience halls, the court of justice, and the treasury with its piles of money, jewels, and archives. All around were the offices, the quarters where the women worked, the workshops peopled by the slaves, stables, cellars, barns, bakery, and other buildings. Such was the palace of the Merovingians,—country farm, royal court, seat of government, a capital, but a moving and unstable capital, one that moved with its hosts.

Royal officials. There were innumerable courtiers, or "palatines", at the royal court. The mass of servants, clients, officials that formerly filled the imperial court meets us here again. They have changed little in the midst of all the social convulsions. Administrative officials and all those whose knowledge is useful to the king's moral or physical life are there,—clerks of the chapel, guardians of the relics, intrusted with the salvation of his soul; physicians who have charge of his health; and musicians, singers, and poets for the pleasures of the mind. Must not a few hours be reserved in the tumult of business, arms, the chase, banquets, for the recreation of literature, listening to an epithalamium or applauding a panegyric? These barbarian kings pride themselves on the culture they have acquired in the southern lands. Then there is the personal suite, the "king's companions", his retainers. They are members of his household, live beneath his roof, and eat at his table, and in return they act as a bodyguard, take part in public ceremonies, go with him on his travels, and accompany him to war. Lastly, distinguished by their golden baldric, come the highest dignitaries of the state, officials attached to domestic services or appropriated to political services, both classes intrusted with the most diverse duties. There

is the count of the stable, the seneschal, the chamberlains, the cupbearers, the officials charged with supervision of the royal domains, stewards, treasurers, referendaries, and notaries of the chancery. And at the head of all of them is the mayor of the palace.

Life in the towns in the sixth and seventh centuries. Now let us look at the life of the towns. It is by no means easy to form a picture of town life at this time and of the people who lived in the towns. The new towns were small, they were huddled about castles, abbeys, and churches. Many of the old cities had torn down their suburbs and restricted their limits so as to have less area to defend. This is true of Poitiers, Sens, Paris, and Bordeaux. All towns that could do so had encircled themselves with moats, palisades, and walls. Within the walls the population, though not numerous, must have lived crowded together. This is shown by the architecture of the houses. In the bygone days of the strong imperial government dwellings spread out in a comfortable way, but now they were several stories high and overhung the streets so as to occupy all the available space inside the walls. Here and there, at a street corner, was a niche with a statue where one doffed his cap or bowed in prayer. It was a motley crowd one found in the narrow streets. There were sons of the barbarian nobles, with bow and quiver, with hounds in leash and falcons on wrists, going to hunt. Often one saw a procession of priests, perhaps bearing the sacrament to the dying. Then there were the craftsmen in leather aprons; and their wives, scarcely less stalwart, who could also strike good blows. In the old days of the imperial peace smiths, carpenters, masons, butchers, weavers, boatmen, grain merchants, shipowners, bankers, architects, physicians, scholars, orators, lawyers, artists, and many others formed professional organizations. It was the beginning of the corporative system of government. The conditions of these corporations, or colleges, were now very different, but they continued to possess the

same rights. Each formed a "body corporate", a community, with its own laws and government. Each regulated its own activity. Each had its patron saint, and perhaps its own altar in the neighboring church. Then, creeping through the streets on his palfrey, one often saw a Jewish or a Syrian merchant. And at rare intervals, over the heads of a crowd, one might see a camel. Up to the time of Charlemagne camels were used as beasts of burden in Gaul. There was much debauchery. For the moment there ensued, as is ever the case where an overripe civilization comes into collision with one in its infancy, grave errors of instinct, unchecked selfishness, unbridled will, moral anarchy, of which we see many deplorable examples in the time of the Merovingians. But those who had to earn a living progressed. The fundamental processes of industry were the same then as now. The Germans learned them of the Romans. But centuries of gradual growth were necessary in order to enable medieval life to vie with that of the ancient world in the outward signs of material prosperity.

Life in the country in the sixth and seventh centuries. In the country a much larger number of people were of Germanic blood than in the towns. In the turbulent times of the invasions the only representatives of authority, the only protectors of the free, semi-free, and servile peasants were the great private landowners and the administrators of the extensive imperial domains. Round the owner or administrator of each great estate flocked the slaves and *coloni* of the domain, and also the free farmers gathered in the villages, whose patron the owner became. These domains formed economic and administrative units. Many of them became independent jurisdictional units. These great landed lordships, ecclesiastical as well as secular, increased in size, owing to the continual abandonment of farms and the diminution of the number of landowners. Gradually they became complete economic units. They included, as far as possible, land of every kind, fields, vine-

yards, meadows, and forests. They included men of every social condition, the slaves who worked in the house and the workshops, smiths, carpenters, bakers, shoemakers, weavers, dyers, tailors, and the men, some free and others not, who tilled the soil and tended the flocks. Each estate was divided into two parts, one assigned to small leaseholders, the other kept by the master and cultivated by slaves and, to a small extent, by the contract labor which the *coloni* were obliged to perform. The two parts mutually completed one another. From the lord's workshops the *coloni* obtained clothing, farm tools, and domestic utensils which they could not make for themselves. In the statute labor of the *coloni* the lord found not only the means of keeping in cultivation lands which otherwise must have been abandoned, but also a necessary complement to the labor of his slaves, which was often insufficient for the land he kept for himself. Within the lordship, and on the boundary between two or more domains, large tracts of abandoned land existed, natural pasture, and forest. Side by side with agriculture, therefore, and with the industry carried on in the workshops of the lord's villa, hunting, fishing, and cattle raising were carried on, in part for the lord, in part directly by the *coloni*, who had the right of using many of these pastures and forests. Roman money never disappeared altogether in the West; but much of it must have been hidden in those anarchic times; and later much of it must have gone to the East, because the rich classes of the West were almost without local products to pay for the eastern luxuries they desired and so had to pay for them chiefly in money. Thus for some centuries gold and silver flowed from the West to the East. This contributed to reduce many western regions to a natural form of economy. The barbarian invasions gave the last blow to a world that had been falling for a long time. The loss of life, the devastation of the countryside and destruction of cities, hastened the return of many districts to forms of economy beyond which

they had formerly advanced. Everywhere free men entered into a state of dependence upon powerful landlords. In many cases the protection of these lords was purchased with the surrender of the peasant's farm. In some cases this surrender was voluntary, in others compulsory. There were numerous instances of the enslavement and oppression of free men and a seizure of their lands, by royal officials as well as by the great nobles. Legislation for the protection of the peasants was passed long before the time of Charles the Great, but usually it was of little avail. There is much to be said, despite its abuses, in favor of this patronage. The lord defended his tenant against predatory enemies and against illegal exactions of the royal officials; he represented him in the courts in all legal disputes with outsiders, and he guaranteed him economic maintenance. The patronate afforded protection. It did not in itself involve the loss of personal freedom. The free man often kept his freedom. He could renounce the relationship into which he had entered and commend himself to another lord. Patronage met a deep need of the time. The truth that many persons commended themselves to a patron in order to save their lives is revealed in early Frankish and Visigothic documents, and also in the earliest assignment books of Bavaria.

Summary. Thus, in town and country, there was a fusion of the blood and civilization of Romans and Germans. It is difficult to follow the changes and reciprocal working of northern and southern customs and institutions and languages through these obscure centuries. They acted and reacted upon one another and in time became what neither had been before. This mutual interplay and amalgamation, this fusion, had begun long before the great migrations, and it was to continue for many centuries. Eventually it was to give rise to a common European civilization. As yet its beginnings were confined to the new kingdoms set up in Italy, Spain, Burgundy, and Gaul, and to the southern part of the lands now included in Germany

and Austria; but, favored by political power, it was to extend itself before the close of the medieval period to the shores of the Baltic. Yet fusion and development were not to continue untroubled through a long time of peace. The darkest hour of dissolution and decay had scarcely been passed when a new storm-cloud, from an unexpected quarter, overspread the heavens. The desert of Arabia began to overflow and spill its starving tribes. An aggressive and militant religion arose and assailed the most ancient seats of Christendom.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for this topic are very varied and scattered. They are listed in the bibliographies for chapters 19 and 20 of the first volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*, and those for chapters 3 and 20 of the second volume. Very important for the Frankish lands are the *History of the Franks* by Gregory of Tours, recently translated by O. M. Dalton, and the verses of Venantius Fortunatus. For Lombardy see the *Historia gentis Langobardorum* by Paulus Diaconus; and for the Spanish peninsula the writings of Isidore of Seville, whose *Etymologies*, translated by W. M. Lindsay, helps us to understand the entire civilization of the time.

P. Ableson, *The Seven Liberal Arts.* Ernest Brehaut, *An Encyclopædist of the Dark Ages.* Ormonde M. Dalton, *The Letters of Sidonius.* Percival R. Cole, *Later Roman Education.* Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age.* Much information on this subject, especially regarding the continuance of town life, is to be found in Alfons Dopsch's masterly *Wirtschaftliche und Soziale Grundlagen der Europaischen Kulturentwicklung.* Rudolf Kötzschke's *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters* deals with the economic history of all the European countries, though with chief emphasis upon Germanic lands, throughout the thousand years immediately following the fifth century. Henry Charles Lea, *Superstition and Force.* Maurice Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin.* John E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship.* Paul Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Medieval Europe.*

CHAPTER 10

MOHAMMED AND ISLAM

Arabia. The greater part of Arabia is a peninsula, bounded by the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the Persian Gulf; but a considerable part of it extends northward beyond the peninsula almost to the Euphrates. The total area is about 1,200,000 square miles. More than a third of it is desert; and of the remainder, owing to insufficient rain, only a small part is suited to settled life. A blue line of low and barren hills runs along the west coast; another barren range borders the south coast; while the east coast has a loftier range with some forests. The interior, as far as it is known, is a high table-land; a pathless desert of burning sand in the south; broken in character in the north and west, with undulating slopes rich in pasturage. Nowhere, however, is there a wide district of agricultural land unbroken by the desert. Here and there are a few deep valleys with fields and gardens and towns. In the south these valleys were spice-bearing regions, trading actively with East and West. Scattered throughout the peninsula are many small oases, islands of a strange archipelago, surrounded by the desert like a sea. They are in slight depressions of the surface, where a tolerable supply of water is to be found at no great depth in the sand. It was not a populous and teaming land, able to send forth millions to subdue and settle the surrounding countries by overwhelming force of numbers. It was for the most part a waterless wilderness, a land of famine, sparsely inhabited. Even today fully one half of the huge peninsula has never been seen by a European; and most of the other half has been seen only by poorly equipped or disguised travelers passing furtively along the main caravan routes.

BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Constantinople
Trebizond
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
ARMENIA
Tarsus
Antioch
Aleppo
Mosul
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Beirut
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Alexandria
Damietta
Jaffa
PALESTINE
Damascus
Jerusalem
Bagdad
Teheran
Nishapur
PERSIA
Ispahan
Cairo
EGYPT
Basra
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIA
RED SEA
Medina
Mecca
INDIAN OCEAN
GULF OF ADEN
ELEVATIONS IN FEET
Above 10,000
5,000 to 10,000
2,000 to 5,000
1,000 to 2,000
500 to 1,000
Sea Level to 500
Below Sea Level
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
40
35
30
25
20
15

The Arabs. Who were the Arabs? Their origin is uncertain. They were not a pure race. They were a branch of the Semites, the people who occupy the countries southwest of Persia, including Syria and extending into northern Africa; but ancestors of many of them had intermarried with Africans. Especially in the towns and smaller settlements along the western coast were there marked traces of negro blood, the blood of slaves brought thither to work.

Nomads and settled peoples. There are nomad and settled Arabs. The nomads, the tent dwellers, are the Bedouins. The conditions of nomadic life have remained the same throughout the centuries. Tents are pitched in one or another of the grassy basins. Horses are picketed, kneeling camels chew the cud; many sheep graze quietly; men, always armed, come and go, clothed in ample and flowing garments; women pound the barley and wheat, which in the form of browned cakes will be the daily food, with the milk of mares, camels, goats, and sheep. When the pasturage is exhausted the tents will be struck and loaded on the backs of the camels, the men will mount their horses and drive the herds to another favorable spot; and, amid the furious barking of the half-savage dogs, the women, bearing the babies in bundles on their backs, will tramp along in the dust, pricking the lagging beasts of burden with a pointed stick. It is the patriarchal life, almost self-sufficing, of the tribe. War is a favorite occupation, a special kind of war, full of snares and treachery. Bedouins seldom fight pitched battles. The aim of their expeditions is pillage; that of resistance is defense of their tents and herds. Expeditions are avoided whenever the enterprise is exposed to serious danger. This prudence is made necessary by the conditions of nomadic life. The nomads are not numerous. Grouped in small tribes, they fight to enrich themselves. But they must husband their blood. The settled dweller, fixed to the soil, must defend himself to the end and on the spot. If he gives way, he and his fortune are lost; if he escapes, how can he

live, deprived of resources in a sterile land? He must conquer or submit. Not so the nomad. He is mobile. His tents and herds are rapidly shifted. He can hide in the depths of the desert, where the enemy, uncertain of the watering places, cannot easily pursue him. Settled peoples require numbers to get the better of nomads. But armies cannot be sent into the desert; the scanty water, even when found, is insufficient. Hence the numerous raids of adventurous horsemen, who seek to gain from the settled districts, and from commercial caravans, things lacking to their tribe. What do the nomads need? Food is assured by their herds; their women weave the wool of the sheep and the hair of the goats and camels for clothing, carpets, and tents. But some things, such as arms, jewels, pottery, spices, dyes, dates, figs, cereals, the nomads cannot make or procure themselves. These they obtain by giving wool and other products of the pasture lands in exchange. Sometimes they obtain them by plundering caravans. More often they get them by barter with the settled populations of the fertile valleys, the scattered oases, and the towns. Commerce sprang up between the settlements, carried on by the caravans of the nomads, masters of the routes and the desert. There was not always a sharp separation of the nomads and the settled peoples, for some wanderers spent a part of the year within the walled enclosures of the oases.

Characteristics of the desert Arabs. What are the characteristics of this desert race? National unity is impossible in the desert. Feuds and forays are frequent. Each tiny oasis, each wandering tribe, has to fight for its life. The Arabs are constantly trained in wariness, endurance, and courage. The fighting mood is the chronic mental condition. Then, too, the air is pure, tonic, stimulating. It produces a thirst for exploits, for romantic adventure, a physical and emotional impetuosity, the desert *élan*. One other effect of that environment should be noted. The desert is a monotonous land of unalleviated light. There

is little to think about. In those wide spaces of tawny desolation there are no clouds, no forests, no lakes, no mingling of sunshine and shadow, few suggestions of human interests. The nerves are stimulated, but the intellect is starved. The fiery impetuosity of temperament there developed, revealing itself in fitful gusts, is altogether unsuited for settled life. It flags when the desert is left behind. It droops in the confinement and care of cities. It is hostile to all the qualities that give birth to social stability. Only among the Arabs of the towns, whose blood has been mingled with that of slaves, do we find social habit, routine, and industry.

Religion in the lives of the desert Arabs. There were poets among the Arabs. They sang of realistic details of their daily life, not of things born of the imagination, of the swift camel, the darling horse fleeter than the wind, of adventure, of hospitality, of love, of the fleeting nature of life that comes and goes as the waves of the desert sand. In their poems we learn something of their religion. They had many gods, but above all the others, so the more advanced believed, was Allah. In his name agreements and treaties were sealed, and by him the holiest vows were sworn. But the Arab did not lean heavily upon Allah. He set all his trust upon himself. The men of the desert were unimaginative. They were materialists, sensual and skeptical. They went through life splendid egotists, full of confidence in themselves. They remain materialists and skeptics. "Today there is little or no religion to be met with in the desert", says the most famous of recent travelers in Arabia; "no one troubles himself about the laws of the *Koran*". Their keen but narrow intelligence, ever alert in that land of famine and danger, has never been curious or credulous about supernatural things. Religion was only a slight thing in their lives before the time of Mohammed. Arabia, backwater in the flow of the world, had been missed by the tide of religious consciousness that swept over adjacent lands in the first centuries of our era.

Mohammed. Mohammed (571?–632) was born five or six years after the death of Justinian. Little is known of his youth. He shared the hardships of a poor family; herded sheep and gathered wild berries in the desert. When he was about twenty years old he entered the service of Kadijah, a rich widow, for whom he made journeys into Palestine and Syria. She fell in love with him, and later on married him. He was then a man of some importance in Mecca. He has been described by his followers as being of middle height, somewhat slender, with flowing dark hair, and oval face, large and restless eyes, a mild and pensive countenance, a presence dignified and imposing. In his habits he was very simple, though he bestowed great care upon his person. In eating and drinking he was abstemious, but he loved perfumes passionately. He was very affectionate. He would stop little children in the streets and pat their cheeks. One of his boys died on his breast, in the smoky house of the nurse, who was a blacksmith's wife.

Mohammed as a prophet. Mohammed was very different from most of his countrymen. He was a man of poetical and visionary temperament, given to high ideals and lofty enterprises. For some time he had been interested in religious questions. He had spoken with some of his countrymen who were ascetics, with Jews and Christians, and with others who were impregnated with the religious ideas of Greece and Persia. His fiery nomadic temperament rapidly developed in him the fixed idea of founding a new religion to replace the fetishism and rude practices of the Arabs. There can be no doubt of his sincerity at the opening of his prophetic career. His eloquence and his deep conviction were the primary causes of his ascendancy over men. In the early years of his mission, before he was compelled to adapt himself to the needs of the day under pressure of political affairs, he was a prophet assured of his sacred rôle. He declared that word came to him from God, whose envoy was the archangel Gabriel. He received his first revelation

in 611, on Mount Hirat. For a long time his preaching had but little effect. Then he began to threaten the unbelieving with the chastisement of heaven, and openly to attack the beliefs of his fellow citizens of Mecca. That town, situated in a barren valley, about fifty miles inland from the Red Sea, was a place of pilgrimage, and an annual fair was held there. A struggle therefore began between the prophet and the merchants enriched by trade and by pilgrims to the heathen shrines. Mohammed's personal ascendancy and the superiority of his teaching to the prevailing idolatrous rites brought increasing converts, even in the midst of persecution. Opposition became more threatening. Then, in 622, he fled to Medina, a town in a fertile plain, about two hundred miles north of Mecca. The flight, called the Hegira, marks the beginning of the Islamic era. With it began the year one, as time is reckoned by the Moslems. Mecca was chiefly a town of nomads, a community of Bedouins. Medina could boast a far better civic life. There the prophet began to realize the difference between the incoherence of the ancient tribal conditions and the association of men in an ordered communal life. Then, too, his religion spread faster than before. No longer did it carry along only single men, families, and clans. It included whole tribes and towns. So it changed. The needs of organization and administration were imperative. The codes of the new religion, its precepts relative to justice and administration, its civil prescriptions relative to marriage, divorce, guardianship, succession, and inheritance, all date from Medina. When he had grown powerful enough the prophet bade his followers take up the sword and impose the new religion upon unbelievers by force of arms. Eight years after his forced flight he reëntered Mecca with a victorious army and compelled it to accept the faith it once had scorned. Mecca, as a place of pilgrimage, was sacred to all the Arabs. Many of its heathen rites and customs were preserved in the new religion, and thus it became

preëminently the holy city of Islam. But this compromise with heathen habits and superstition destroyed the purity of the new religion. Mohammed, no longer the exile of the Hegira, then conceived the idea of Islam as a universal religion; but he died before the conquests of his followers were extended beyond Arabia. He was buried at Medina, which is known as the town of the prophet.

Mohammed's daily life. Though he married at least a dozen wives, Mohammed left no son. His life was always that of a nomad chief, living simply under his tent, without luxury. He despised the pomp of royalty. He used to kindle fires, sweep the floor, milk the goats, and mend his shoes and his woolen garment with his own hands. His ordinary food was dates and water. Sometimes he ate barley bread; and he was fond of milk and honey. Yet a strain of cunning, revenge, and self-indulgence appeared in his character, which in his years of poverty and trouble had been blameless.

How the Koran was written. From time to time Mohammed fell into trances, or pretended to do so, and upon his recovery he would recite to his eager listeners the messages he said he had received from heaven. These messages were eventually put together in the book called the *Koran*. All orthodox Moslems believe the book to be not the composition of Mohammed but the actual word of God. There is nothing human about it, they say; it is entirely divine. Its composition occupied more than twenty years. These years are embalmed in it with all their changes of fortune. It breathes the air of the desert; it reveals the mystical visions of its author, the working of his mind; it preserves his bulletins and field orders; it repeats the battle cries of his followers as they rushed to the onset; and it shows the gradual declension from the dreams of a sincere though visionary enthusiast to the enveloping and opportunist policy of a conscious imposter and open sensualist. The words of the prophet, spoken at various times, in various

places, before various persons, were often immediately recorded by his disciples on palm leaves, date leaves, bits of parchment, stone tablets, and the shoulder blades of sheep bleached in the desert sand; and then, without order or connection, they were thrown promiscuously into a chest, of which one of the prophet's wives had charge. But most frequently they were merely committed to memory by those who heard them. As far as Mohammed was indebted for his ideas to others than members of his own race, he was beholden to the religious thought of the Christians, still more to that of the Jews, and most of all to that of the Persians, who were Zoroastrians. But though he appropriated legends, rites, and ideas from several sources, the revelations are deeply stamped with his own personality, with his mystical rapture, his eloquence, his lack of order, his slight knowledge, his childish credulity, his unscrupulousness, his sensuality. When Mohammed died the *Koran* existed only in separate pieces, and the copies of these were scattered. He had never thought of an authentic collection. Usually he was concerned only with the object of the moment. It is an edition made about 650 that has come down to us. The book is a mixture of what the prophet must have thought for himself, together with what he heard in synagogue, church, and temple.

Arrangement of the Koran. The *Koran* is divided into one hundred and four suras, or chapters. Its heterogeneous material is not arranged chronologically. The longest parts are placed first, those of medium length come next, and lastly the shortest. There are many contradictory passages. These inconsistencies may be explained by the prophet's life; and with the story of his life we are able to make a rough chronological arrangement of the contents of the book. Three divisions may, with psychological truth, be established. The first corresponds to the period of early struggles, when the prophet was sincere. It is steeped in poetry, and often bursts into passionate denunciation and

pleading. The second is more prosaic and didactical in tone. It is made up of passages spoken in Medina, when the prophet had become a statesman, a leader of tribes, who had to solve pressing questions of the hour, who had to organize a temporal empire to enable the spiritual empire to exist. The third is characterized by dogmatizing, sermonizing, reiteration, and by the wish to excuse personal tendencies and passions in the eyes of the faithful. But these divisions are not to be relied upon too securely. Even in the last revelations there rings ever and anon the old wild cry of doubt and despair, dogmatic disquisitions resolve into poetic rhapsodies; while in the first utterances are traces of the theorizing tendencies of a later time.

The teaching of the Koran. The *Koran* is the foundation of Islam. It is the sacred book of more than a hundred million people, used in their schools, law courts, and places of worship. It is, perhaps, the most widely read book in the world. It is not a big book, being smaller than the *New Testament*. A passage in the second sura sums up, as well as any other single passage, the teaching of the book. "Verily righteousness is his who believes in God, in the day of judgment, in the angels, in the book, and in the prophets; who bestows his wealth, for God's sake, upon kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the homeless, and upon all who ask; and also upon delivering captives; he who is steadfast in prayer, giveth alms, who stands firmly by his covenants when he has once entered into them, and who is patient in adversity, and in hardship, and in times of trial. These are the righteous, and these are the God-fearing." Yet this passage, characteristic though it be, is not sufficient to give us all the teaching of Islam.

The sacred books of Islam. Islam, in the final analysis, means absolute submission to the will of God. How shall one know the will of God? It is contained in the revelations recorded in the *Koran*. But that book, created for nomads living under a patriarchal system, proved inadequate as

soon as rules and laws had to be applied to peoples of different and higher civilizations. New questions of legislation, administration, and dogma arose, and in order to solve them use was made of the traditions concerning the prophet. Mohammed's sayings and precepts, as distinguished from the direct commands of God communicated to him in the *Koran*, are also regarded as inspired. So, too, are his acts, practice, and example. They were all handed down orally, through a long series of the faithful, and then they were committed to writing. They are known as the *Sunna*. Different sects of the Moslems accept different collections of these traditions. A third sacred book is the *Ijma*. It contains the collective judgment of the prophet's companions, and decisions of certain leading doctors of Mohammedan law. Then there is the *Kias*, a body of information gained by employing deduction, or inference, in establishing rules of conduct. In this way, for example, it is learned that every true Mohammedan must abstain from all modern intoxicants not named in the *Koran*, because in that book wine is prohibited. These are the sources of the beliefs agreed upon by all orthodox Moslems.

The beliefs of Islam. What are the beliefs of Islam? There are six articles of faith. First, God is omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent, of perfect unity and of absolute indivisibility. Second, there are good and bad angels, the former being assistants and messengers of God, the latter being under the leadership of Satan. Third, all the various "scriptures" mentioned by Mohammed are sacred, but above all the others is the *Koran*. Fourth, God has manifested his will to man through a series of twenty-eight prophets, the first of whom was Adam, others being Abraham and Jesus, the last and most perfect being Mohammed. Fifth, the soul of man is immortal, there is a future life, death is followed by a sleep of the soul which will awake on the day of the last judgment. All unbelievers will then be consigned to perpetual damnation. Those of the faithful

who die in sin will be sent to purgatory, where the term of punishment varies according to their sinfulness; but eventually all the faithful will be saved. Sixth, whatever has happened in the world or shall take place in the future, whether good or bad, is determined and recorded by God. Mohammed was not a subtle theologian. He wished to enunciate simple dogmas that would be understood by the nomads he had to lead. He expressed some of these doctrines, especially the last, in a vague and ambiguous manner. Much of the theology and mysticism of Islam was acquired under foreign influence after his death.

The morality of Islam. Counterbalancing these six fundamental articles of faith are five basic moral duties. The first is a confession of faith, of belief that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammed is his prophet. The second duty is that of prayer. Five times a day, wherever he is, in the house, in the workshop, or on the street, the faithful believer must pray. Prayer may be said privately on any day of the week save Friday. On that day one must go for public prayer to the mosque. Prayer habitually consists of the recitation of a certain number of parts of the *Koran*, and while he prays the believer always turns his face in the direction of Mecca. In this way he keeps alive the memory of the birthplace of Islam. Cleanliness is the key to prayer. Before each prayer careful ablutions must be performed, and when no water is available use must be made of sand. In this respect a notable improvement was made in the conditions of the nomadic life. The third indispensable duty is the giving of alms. Mohammed dreamed of equality among men. In his eyes wealth was a source of corruption. It is all very well to grow rich, but riches are not a thing to be desired. In any case a man must forget his fortune and, by succoring the poor, draw near to God. The first suras of the *Koran* are full of allusions to the unhappy childhood of the prophet, who had lost his parents. That is why, from the beginning of his preaching,

he showed a lively sympathy with orphans. Alms were at first due solely to the poor and orphans, and to be valid they had to be given in secret. Afterwards they became a sort of tax, imposed by law, but even to-day voluntary charity is widely practiced by the Moslems. The profession of faith, the saying of prayers, and the giving of alms are indispensable duties. A fourth duty, not absolutely required, is that of fasting. Every year there is a fast throughout the month of Ramadan. From dawn to twilight no believer is entitled to eat, drink, smoke, use perfumes, or approach a woman. Then comes a meal that breaks the day's fast. By an abuse of the rule many Moslems now amuse themselves all night long. The mosques are continually open, and many prayers are offered up in them, during Ramadam. The fifth duty is that of pilgrimage to Mecca. Great political importance was attached to this by Mohammed. It was a means of rallying to Islam the idolatrous Arabs, who were attached to their holy city, and it was also the best means of securing the favor of the merchants of that town in his early days of need. Pilgrimage, like fasting, is not an indispensable duty, for some Moslem lands are far away from Arabia; but it is a strong and tangible bond between the different Moslem peoples which meet at Mecca.

The rites of Islam. There is no priesthood in Islam. There is no monopoly of religious knowledge, or special holiness to intervene between any man and God. Every man is his own priest; not one is higher than another. Muezzins, from the minarets, call to the faithful at the hours of prayer, and imams lead the prayers in the mosques; but both classes are laymen. Ritual is astonishingly meager and simple. There are no sacraments. Elaborate rites are performed by the pilgrims at Mecca, but otherwise Mohammed seems to have set his face sternly against ceremonial observances. There is even nothing to correspond to baptism, no initiatory rite introductory to his religion. Cir-

cumcision was already generally practiced by the Arabs, and its continuance was permitted. At first there were no mosques; but when the new religion expanded into settled lands it accommodated itself in many respects to its new environment and its new members. Islamic temples were then built. Their early style is reminiscent of the tents of the desert. Inside every mosque there is a niche in the wall to indicate the direction of Mecca, a fountain for ablutions near the entrance, and a tall pulpit from which prayers are read. Islam is above all else a simple and democratic religion, and its expansive force is derived to a great extent from these qualities.

The first conquests beyond Arabia. Mohammed uplifted a race. Where, in this, is his equal? He found an anarchy of tribes staining the desert sands with internecine blood; and from this lawless confusion he prepared the force which was to master half Africa, half Asia, and nearly all Spain. But he left no son, and appointed no successor. So a dispute at once arose. At last Abu Bekr (632–634), the oldest companion of the prophet, a man of simple life and implicit faith, was chosen, though much against the wishes of many, to be the leader of Islam. The title of caliph was bestowed upon him. It means successor of the prophet; and it has remained the designation of the supreme ruler of the faithful. Circumstances at once forced upon the new leader a continuance of the policy of expansion. An outlet had to be found for the restless fighting spirit of the Arabs. Their old intertribal feuds were ready to break out again. Their greed for booty had to be satisfied. And tribes along the northern border of Arabia were calling to them for assistance. Not much was to be feared from their neighbors. Persia and the Byzantine Empire had ceased an exhausting struggle only in 628. Their rivalry had lasted a century. They were ripe for conquest, depleted by war, enervated by slavery and all the vices of decadence. Persia was still further weakened by a series of revolutions,

while the Byzantine treasury was empty and the army disorganized. Numerous heretical Christian sects disputed with one another everywhere in the eastern Mediterranean lands, and all of them hated the imperial government that persecuted them in the name of orthodoxy. Heavy taxation had long made peasant and townsman alike weary of the Byzantine rule. So Abu Bekr resolved to conquer Syria. The Arabians met with no resistance. They did not persecute their racial brothers, the Syrians and other Semites. They freed them from the yoke of the Greeks of Byzantium. Their armies were not devastating hordes. They realized the need of law and order wherever they went, and their leaders accepted the administrative systems of the countries they conquered. They tolerated the Christians, whom they called "the people of the Book", but kept them in the state of inferiority provided for in the *Koran*. Multitudes of the unbelieving and vacillating were easily converted to Islam. There they found equality, the possibility of satisfying their needs, appetites, and passions. Conquests thus procured fresh conquerors at every forward step. The ease with which the native populations of the subjugated districts adapted themselves to the new rule is unmistakable. Economically and socially they were far better off than before, and in national feeling they were more closely allied to the Arabians than to the Greeks or Persians. In no case were they compelled to change their creed. They passed from Christianity, with which most of them had only a slight inward relation, to Islam merely to acquire the rights and privileges of Moslems.

The Caliph Omar. The second caliph was Omar (634–643), a man of great force of character, filled with the fiery desert spirit, counselor of the boldest steps in the lifetime of Mohammed, a proud and national Arab. He became the organizer of the Arabian Empire. He conquered Syria, the western part of Persia, and Egypt. This completed the circle of lands bordering on the wilderness of Arabia.

Within these limits annexation was practical and, in no small degree, natural. The capital of Islam continued for a while to be Medina. It would have been far better for Arabian interests if the new empire had been limited to those old Semitic lands. Omar, far-sighted statesman that he was, saw the danger of indefinite territorial expansion. He realized the desirability of promoting law and order, and of maintaining and strengthening the Arabian character of the new empire. But the Persians resisted. They despised the Arabs. So the conquests continued, and soon Arabia sank to the position of a mere province of the empire; and the character of the empire became less and less Arabian. As Islam spread beyond the desert it came to regions, climates, and customs where the usages of its early years were alien and unsuitable, where many things had to be accepted and assimilated that were directly opposed to the original intentions of the prophet and the legislation of the *Koran*. The temper of the desert nomads was more adapted to rapid conquest than to stable settlement. The virtues they had developed in their sandy solitudes were of little use to them in the fertile and densely populated plains. They were proud, impetuous, unstable; they were creatures of impulse, averse to fixed duties and responsibilities, inimical to law and order and to all else that goes to establish and maintain a coherent society. It was not they who continued the spread of Islam and the development of the wonderful civilization that for long was associated with it. Their first success, the overflow of impetuosity stored up and hitherto contained within the desert, an invasion incited chiefly by hunger and avarice, was an eruption of furious energy; but it was a barren energy, incapable of constructive results in the matter of civilization. Jews, Greeks, Persians, and Berbers, rather than Arabs, developed the civilization we call Saracenic.

Continued spread of Islam. Omar died at the zenith of his career, struck down by the dagger of a Persian slave.

Othman (643–656), his successor, was by no means a strong ruler. He seems, in fact, to have been chosen by rivals because he was weak and pliable. In his time the Moslems began the building of a great war fleet, which in a few years was able to dispute the command of the Mediterranean with the ships of the Byzantine Empire, and the territorial conquests were carried to the Caspian and the Indus. But he was powerless to quell the increasing quarrels in the ranks of the faithful. In the midst of this internal tumult he was assassinated, and then a savage civil war broke out among the Saracens. Ali (656–661) gained the caliphate, but many groups refused to recognize his authority. Two great parties developed, the Shiites and the Sunnites. Islam had lost its unity. Further changes took place. In 658 Damascus, the chief town of Syria, was made the capital of the caliphate. It replaced Medina. Arabia was then no longer the center of the empire, though it always remained important because of the two sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. Syria was now the most important province. Few other races have shown such an instinct for trade as the Syrians. From early times they were the chief carriers and shippers of the eastern Mediterranean. Their principal town lay in a fertile field, watered by many rivers and by irrigation canals. On every side were to be seen orchards, gardens, and vineyards, covering a circuit of at least sixty miles. It is situated at a spot where routes converged from every direction, and where the riches of every land of the old world could be exchanged. It was so placed on the lines of traffic that it was bound to be the central mart and exchange for all who traded in those regions. Minerals of the West were bartered there for the spices and silks of China and India. Syria was a middle country where for centuries two great powers, Rome and Persia, had met as friends or enemies. The second important change was the founding of the Ommiad dynasty. At first the caliphs were chosen by some of the faithful gathered at Medina;

but now the office was made hereditary in the family of the Ommiads. The change gave rise to widespread rebellion. Moawiya (661–670), a born ruler and a strict upholder of the precepts of Islam, succeeded in part in allaying the internal struggles, and then directed all his forces against the Byzantine Empire; but, after a long siege, he was obliged to abandon an attempt to capture Constantinople. His successors won astonishing victories, though once more the Islamic forces were repulsed at Constantinople. In the East they penetrated to the frontiers of China and gained the valley of the Indus; while in the West they overran all northern Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic, and then, in 711, with an army composed mainly of Berbers, or Moors, they crossed the narrow entrance to the Mediterranean and with lightning speed conquered Spain. After seven summers all the peninsula, save only the mountains of the northwest, was in the sway of the prophet. The victory of the Saracens in Spain was due to their military power, to the indifference of the enslaved classes, to the support of the Jews, and quarrels among the Visigoths. Saracen soldiers were soon reinforced by civilian immigrants from Africa. Many colonists went over into the peninsula, and before long the districts of Seville, Cordova, Toledo, and Granada became predominantly Moorish in dress and manners, Arabian in language, and Moslem in religion. Then the Saracenic forces crossed the Pyrenees and made their way to the Loire and the Rhone, but in 732 they were defeated by the Franks at a point between Poitiers and Tours.

Islam no longer predominantly Arabic. The hegemony of the empire had now definitely been lost by the Arabs. From this time on the armies of Islam were no longer composed chiefly of contingents of tribes that had come like a wind out of the desert. Many of the Arabs returned to Arabia. Some of them returned to the nomadic life of the desert and there lost much of what they had gained from

the new religion and from contact with the civilizations of the countries they had helped to conquer. There they lived the independent and democratic life of their forefathers, predatory tribesmen of a sparsely settled land. Others returned to the oases and towns of Arabia, remaining votaries of Islam and retaining something of the culture of the subdued peoples. Still others stayed in the conquered lands and in time became merged and lost by intermarriage with the indigenous populations. Their greatest leader had died more than a hundred years ago; their greatest era had now come to an end. Yet from time to time there have been renewals of the Arab strain in the inhabitants of Syria. There have been infiltrations of the desert folk whose homeland is ever increasing its population, but never increases its supply of food. By the end of the tenth century Arabia was completely disorganized, and was only nominally subject to the caliphate. Mohammed's attempt to unify his country had failed. The peninsula was again split up into small governments, more or less independent, and groups of wandering tribes often hostile to one another. The one important thing this military aristocracy had left behind it was the Arabian language. From the beginning of their conquests the Arabs had imposed it upon the vanquished peoples. It was the obligatory language of the *Koran*, which no one was at liberty to translate, of the book which regulated both secular and religious affairs. The subjugated peoples were obliged to employ that language, the more so because for a very long time the higher posts in the theocratic state were reserved to Arabs. The official language of the far-flung empire was Arabic. But when the vanquished peoples used Arabic they did not thereby become Arabs. So when we speak of the Moslems hereafter we shall call them Saracens. It is a word that means the People of the East.

Division of Islam. In 779 an important event took place in the Saracenic Empire. The Ommiad dynasty, which

had lasted about ninety years, had become corrupt and cruel. It relied for support upon the military party, the Arabs. Now it was overthrown and that of the Abbasids established. Many and bitter internal struggles accompanied the ruin of the old ruling family and the rise of the new one. The revolt against the Ommiads began in Persia, and it was supported by the Moslems who were not Arabs. The Ommiads were proscribed and murdered. Two or three of them, however, escaped. One was a youth named Abderrahman. He fled to Egypt, and from there made his way along the northern coast of Africa, where as yet no local ruler had recognized the authority of the Abbasids. He wandered in the sandy wastes, pursued by his implacable enemies, but everywhere he was guarded and hidden by the desert tribes, who had compassion upon his misfortunes and who respected his distinguished origin. A deputation from Spain found him and offered to make him the ruler of that country. He accepted, and in 755 established his capital at Cordova. Thus the Islamic world was rent in twain. Thereafter its original unity was no more than a memory.

The new capital and the new culture. When the Abbasids succeeded to the caliphate they refused to reign in Damascus. It was the city of the fallen sovereigns. So in 762 they fixed their capital at Bagdad, much nearer to Persia whence their power was chiefly derived. The great cities of the medieval centuries were not Rome, and Paris, and London. Rome ceased to be of great civil importance when Constantine moved the capital to Constantinople. One went to Rome for religious purposes, but for civilization one journeyed to Constantinople. And the great cities of Islam exceeded even Constantinople. Bagdad lies on the river Tigris, which at that point was connected by a canal, twenty-five miles long, with the Euphrates. Following the course of the river, it is about five hundred miles from the Persian Gulf. It lay on a natural trade route between Persia and the West; another caravan line led up the Euphrates to

Syria and the Mediterranean; while still another went up the Tigris to Armenia and the Black Sea. It was this situation at the center of the lines of communication between India and Persia and the West, both by land and water, that gave the city its great importance in those times. The period of the town's greatest prosperity was the first seventy-five years after it was made the capital of the caliphate. In that time it is said to have had a population of two million souls. Cordova was its rival in literature, art, and science; but Bagdad surpassed that western city in commerce and wealth. Tapering minarets and swelling domes tipped with golden crescents rose above the white walls and terraced roofs. Often these glittering tops appeared above the green foliage of the gardens. A new culture developed at Damascus and Bagdad. Islam was the heir of older civilizations. Within its frontiers the lingering civilization of Hellenism blossomed better than anywhere else. In Egypt were remains of the civilization of the Ptolemies. Then there was the rich civilization of Persia; and Persia had inherited and acquired much of the civilizations of the distant East. It was especially the Persian influence that affected Islam at this time. Of all the peoples who combined to build the many-colored dream of Saracenic civilization, the most important were the Persians. It was they who tempered the materialism of Islam with oriental mysticism. And this influenced literature, art, and life. Arabs live unthinkingly from hour to hour. They rush forward to meet each coming moment of their lives. Persians let life come to them. They believe life is eternal, not individual life, but life universal. They believe that under its changing forms the substance endures forever. And now that the Arab influence was no longer predominant, conquests were abandoned and attention was turned to consolidation and social improvement. Thus was created and developed that new civilization we style Saracenic. From the Arabs it received its unity of tongue and religion and its irresistible

tendency to expand; but at bottom it retained all the characteristics of the preëxisting oriental civilizations from which it was derived, characteristics now given fresh life by the infusion of a new energy.

Saracenic administration. Much was done for the organization of the vast empire. In the days of Omar the military Arabs were settled as garrisons in the newly founded standing camps, some of which developed into cities, and in the cities that were already in existence. Thus he cut them off from the subjects in accordance with his nationalist Arabian views. And so it became necessary to interpose a political administration between the subdued populations and the military caste they maintained. In doing this use was made of the administrative systems of Persia and the Byzantine Empire. The bureaucratic officials of Syria, trained in the service of Byzantium, were continued in their positions. The caliph was at the same time chief ruler, supreme judge, and high priest. The office of vizier, or prime minister, was established. A ministry of finance levied the tithe, a tax for the poor, required of every Moslem; a fifth of all booty taken in war; and a poll tax and land tax required of all subjects not Moslems. Justice was administered in every district by a cadi, from whose judgments appeals might be taken to a higher court. In the course of time a good deal of Roman law became embodied in the traditions of Islam, especially in Syria and Egypt. The governors of the provinces were known as prefects. They had the same unlimited power over their territories as that of the caliph for the empire. Some of them, in provinces remote from the capital, made use of their great power to enrich themselves and to become more and more independent of the caliph.

Saracenic commerce. By the eighth century the Saracens were masters of commerce. The wide extent of their empire and the high level of their civilization made an extensive commerce necessary. The history of Sindbad the

Sailor shows the activity of foreign commerce under the Abbasids. Saracen voyagers ventured eastward as far as China, westward into Spain, and southward along the eastern coast of Africa. They took with them dates, sugar, cotton fabrics, glass, and steel tools; and they brought back spices, camphor, incense, and silk from Asia, and ivory and negro slaves from Africa. The colored glass of Syria became famous, and in time suggested the beautiful windows of the cathedrals of western Europe. The steel of Damascus became celebrated all over the civilized world. The Saracens wove wool, cotton, and silk. They made gauze and muslin figured with gold, and satin and brocade. Their tapestry and rugs were famous, too, and likewise their jewelry. Paper mills were established in several provinces and at Bagdad.

Saracenic culture. The Saracenic civilization included the lingering thought and culture of Greece and the Orient. Greek culture had spread eastward into the fringe of oriental peoples whose vernacular speech was Syriac, or Aramaic, or Persian. There it had undergone change in the centuries immediately preceding the spread of Islam. But much remained and was incorporated in the civilization of the Saracens. Translations of many Greek books, especially those dealing with philosophy, had already been made into Syriac. They were now translated again into Arabic. The Saracens themselves contributed to thought and culture. They developed mathematics, carried the study of stars and planets to a point beyond that attained in the past, compiled astronomical tables, dictionaries and encyclopedias, reformed the calendar, and created the almanac. They resumed the study of medicine, which had been reduced since the time of antiquity to superstition and magical practices. They studied surgery, hitherto neglected, pharmacy, botany, and other forms of biology. Metals and fossils arrested their attention. And geography and history enjoyed such vogue that a number of their merchants who traversed the world left behind them interesting

and informing accounts of their often adventurous journeys. Under the enlightened patronage of the sovereigns, men of letters wrote numerous manuscripts that were kept in libraries.

The influence of Persia. Persian influence is seen in the literature and the architecture of the Saracens. In their poetry we find the rigid materialism of Arabia giving way to the mystic pantheism of the East. It is poetry at once sensuous and religious, perfumed with musk and melodious as the voice of nightingales in the gardens. Something of this is also seen in the stalactite architecture of the Saracens, in the arcaded galleries, the fountains, the domes glittering with enameled tiles, and the airy turrets capped with gold.

Western knowledge of the Saracenic East. Already this oriental fairyland was becoming known to the West. Haroun-al-Raschid (786–809), the fifth and most famous of the Abbasid caliphs, exchanged gifts and expressions of admiration with Charlemagne, masters respectively of the East and the West. From this time on these eastern lands and cities, this brilliant and turbulent oriental world, attracted the attention and aroused the interest of the West. Byzantium served only to increase the appetite of western travelers for the dream lands that lay beyond.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for the early history of the Moslem world are listed in the bibliographies for chapters 10, 11, and 12 of the second volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*. Of the English translations of the *Koran*, that by George Sale is very free, but its introduction is still useful; that by J. M. Rodwell attempts to arrange the suras, or chapters, in chronological order, and it has a helpful introduction and notes; while that by E. H. Palmer, the introduction to which is not entirely dependable, is quite literal and follows the traditional arrangement of the suras. Charles Lyall's *Ancient Arabian Poetry* is a book of masterly translations.

For Arabia the most fascinating and helpful book is Charles

M. Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, originally published in 1888 in two volumes and recently republished in a single volume. It is a remarkable record of travel and adventure, describing the landscape and the life of the wandering tribes with minuteness and color and in a style that has caught something of the august spirit of the desert. See also D. G. Hogarth's *Penetration of Arabia*, and S. M. Zwemer's *Arabia, the Cradle of Islam*, which contains a reliable description of the country with the exception of the unexplored land lying southwest of Muscat.

Thomas W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*. Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*. Carl H. Becker, *Christianity and Islam*. F. M. Dibble's *Mohammed* has profited by reading of the best books on the subject, and its vivacious style and knowledge of human nature make it interesting. A volume by E. Doutte on *Islam and Mahomet* has been announced and another by L. Barrau-Dihigo on *The Advance of Islam*. Claud Field's *Mystics and Saints of Islam* makes available in popular form the conclusions of several notable scholars relating to a number of Moslem saints and mystics. Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* has two notable chapters on the Arabian prophet and his religion. Ignatius Goldziher, *Mohammed and Islam*. A. Gilman, *The Story of the Saracens*. Joseph Hell, *Arab Civilization*. C. I. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*. C. S. Hurgronje's *Mohammedanism* is fair and scholarly; it is the work of a man who lived among Moslems of all classes and for a year was a university student at Mecca. F. A. Klein, *The Religion of Islam*. Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Speeches and Table-Talk of Mohammed*. Henri Lammens's *Le Berceau de l'Islam* is written by a Jesuit priest and deals very effectively with the physical environment and other elements that influenced the new religion. Edward W. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*. Guy le Strange, *Bagdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*. Duncan Black Macdonald's *Muslim Theology* deals with Islam as a formal theology and a code of jurisprudence; while his *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* deals with it as a personal religion and holds that its most vital force is mysticism. Both books are based upon long and careful research and are illuminated by original thought. Another useful book by the same author is *Aspects of Islam*. David S. Margoliouth's *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*, his *Mohammedanism*, his *Early Develop-*

ment of Mohammedanism, and his *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* are the work of a true scholar and are quite impartial in their judgments. Not so much can be said for William Muir's *Mahomet and Islam, The Koran*, and his *Life of Mohammed*, first published in four volumes and afterwards condensed into one. They are scholarly, but they are very perceptibly biased in favor of Christianity. See also his *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline, and Fall.* R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam.* De Lacy O'Leary's *Arabia before Muhammad* is one of the best and most accessible books on the subject. Winwood Reade's *The Martyrdom of Man*, of which some fifty pages deal with our present subject, is a thought-provoking book. Ernest Renan, *Études d'histoire religeuse.* R. B. Smith, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism.* G. Van Vloten's *Recherches sur la Domination Arabe sous le Khalifat des Omayades* is a useful pamphlet dealing with the causes of the overthrow of the Ommiads. A. S. N. Wadia's *The Message of Mohammed* is the work of a cultured native of India.

CHAPTER 11

THE FRANKISH KINGDOM AND THE CHURCH

Expansion of the Frankish kingdom. In the history of western Europe few centuries have been more troubled than those immediately following the death of Clovis. Society was shaken to its foundations. All was in the making, uncertain, chaotic. The work of Clovis was carried on by his successors, who were called Merovingians. The first task was to effect the unity of Gaul. Burgundy submitted without opposition and rapidly became one of the least agitated and most prosperous regions under the Frankish kings. Brittany resisted, and was successful in preserving its independence. Then came wars of expansion. In less than fifty years after the death of Clovis the frontiers of the kingdom were extended to the Weser, the Danube, and the Alps. The Italian kingdom of the Ostrogoths had fallen beneath the blows of Byzantium. The Visigothic power in Spain was declining. The rôle which the great Theodoric had attempted to fill passed to the Franks. It seemed as though the old Roman Empire was to be divided between them and Byzantium. But the rapidity of these conquests made for their weakness. More than half a century of internal wars imperiled the very existence of the kingdom. Then, in 613, Lothaire II (613–628), dripping with the blood of his kinsmen, restored its unity. The next twenty-five years were the least troubled of the Merovingian monarchy. The reign of Dagobert I (629–639), a vigorous and masterful man, marked the zenith of the dynasty. He traveled through his realm ruthlessly doing justice, a terror to the great, a joy to the poor; and his influence radiated to the center of the continent. In his palace at Clichy he received ambassadors from the Gothic

kings at Toledo and the imperial rulers at Byzantium. At his death the Frankish conquest was ended. A great kingdom had been formed. Let us see how it was governed, and how it lived.

Heterogeneity of the Frankish kingdom. The Merovingian kingdom was an aggregate of peoples brought together by the sword. There was no internal unity between the various disparate elements. There was no common desire to live together. Christianity was the religion of the kings and the majority of the Franks, but as yet it had hardly penetrated into the populations of Germany. Nor was there a bond of law between these distant races. There were many codes of law, for Romans, Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks. And as large numbers of these different peoples were scattered and mingled the one with the others, the laws were less territorial than personal. In one and the same city a judge might have to apply two or three kinds of legislation.

The kings. What was the political situation? The central part of the wide territory was Gaul, or Francia. In the outskirts were the conquered peoples, who kept their dukes and enjoyed actual autonomy, the Alamans, Frisians, Bavarians, and Thuringians. Further off still, in the country of the Weser and the Elbe, were the tributary Saxons. So the great kingdom was heterogeneous. A single institution held together, dominated, and directed this medley of races,—the kingship. The kingship was very strong. In this respect it was a continuation of the Roman Empire. The kings, indeed, assumed the imperial ensigns or titles. Behold them with the chlamys, the purple, the golden crown, and the scepter! Were it not for their long hair, their barbarous jargon, and their coarse manners, they might have been taken for Augustus or Constantine. There was no popular right opposed to the royal right. The king assumed his office. He was not elected. He called the assemblies when he was disposed to do so; and they were

made up, at his will, of bishops and secular nobles who owed allegiance to him. They were not representative bodies, bringing to him the grievances, the wishes, and the will of the nation. They were merely to assist him with their counsel. He disposed at will of taxes, property, the army, legislation, justice, and the lives of his subjects. The Merovingian kings copied everything from the imperial predecessors, their absolute power, their vices, their crimes. The people bowed their heads, passive and resigned. The hereditary principle had become so well established that the royal power could be exercised even by a child. But like any other patrimony, the kingship was subject to division among the sons of the king. The law of primogeniture did not yet prevail. All the sons of the same father were regarded as having equal claim. It was the repeated divisions of the kingdom that gave rise to the ruinous fratricidal wars. These dismemberments took no account of the wishes of the people, their interests, or their affinities. And then, again, like any other patrimony, the rights of the king could be alienated. The king believed himself free to cede his privileges, powers, and territories. He was a patron who did as he pleased.

The royal income and the army. The wealth of the Merovingian kings consisted, first of all, of their personal revenues. They were the greatest landowners in the kingdom. To the income from their lands was added the profits of war, booty, and the tribute levied on the vanquished. Annual gifts, presents "freely" offered, were another means of gain at the expense of the subjects. Wherever possible they did not hesitate to increase the land tax that had been imposed by the Romans. Other resources were found in indirect taxes and "services". Military aid was demanded as a public service. Every free man, so it had now been established, was bound to serve. No distinction was made on the score of race or wealth. There was no limit to the obligation. The army was indeed the whole population.

Contemporary writers speak of "the people" when they describe the army. Summons, recruiting, and concentration were carried out by the count within his district. When the war was over a royal order disbanded the army. Nothing more clearly shows the power of this barbarian kingship than that it obtained from the people what they had refused to give the empire,—the fulfillment of their duties as soldiers.

The counts. The kingdom was divided into countships. A count was appointed to each of these units. He was a military and civil official. In his district he had attributes as extensive as those of the king in the kingdom. He transmitted the king's orders, published his edicts, and superintended the execution of his wishes. He apportioned and levied the taxes and placed the proceeds in the royal treasury. He recruited, gathered together, and commanded the army. Above all else he was the representative of justice. This function of the count struck the minds of contemporaries so forcibly that they gave him the name of "judge", and it was undoubtedly as judge that he most often came into contact with the people. This variety of attributes made the count a very busy official. It compelled him to move frequently from place to place. He had as assistants a "vicar", chosen by himself, who sometimes judged in his place and saw that his orders were carried out, a " tribune" who looked after the prisons, and several " sergeants", whose duty it was to pursue and capture criminals. These men sufficed to administer a territory of considerable size. They were obeyed because they made themselves feared. The power of the counts in their districts was no less absolute than that of their royal master in the kingdom. Each county was divided into smaller districts, called hundreds in the Germanic part of the kingdom. Over each was placed a hundred-man, appointed by the count, who acted as the police magistrate in time of peace, who tried petty law cases, and who led the men of

the hundred in time of war. The great achievement of the Frankish kingdom in the matter of organization is the establishment of the county system. The office of count lasted longer than any other of its institutions and proved to be of great historical importance. No other was so well suited to further the authority of the state; and no other was so successful later on, when the central authority declined, in assuming so much of its power.

The duchies. The old imperial province had come to an end with the invasions. The conquerors had no intention of setting it up again. In exceptional cases they sometimes grouped a few counties together under a high command. But these dukedoms were not a regular institution. When they created them, the kings had mainly in mind the defense of a threatened frontier.

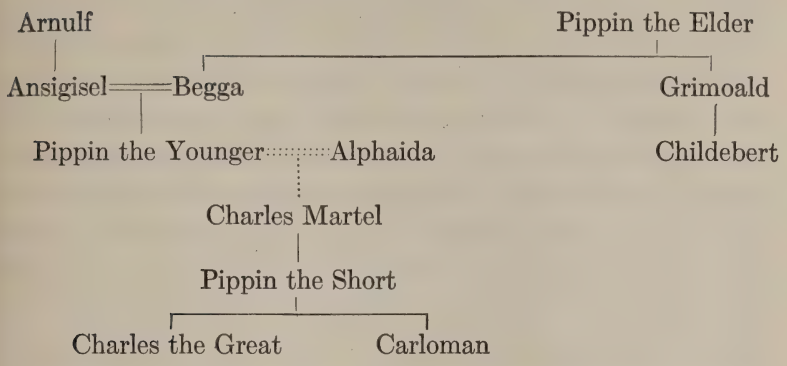
Disappearance of the old municipal governing bodies. Other than the kingship no institution had succeeded in surviving in this dissolved and pulverized society except the church. All others had disappeared in the storm. There were no longer any industrial bodies. There were trained workmen, of course, but no gilds. Free labor had given place more and more to servile; the little town workshop had become the workshop of the domain. Nor did any municipal organizations survive. The town councils had vanished. Everywhere towns were governed by royal officials. Even the church, subdued and tamed, was no longer a force of liberty. In this general collapse the kingship was everything.

Limitation of the royal absolutism. Gradually, however, the royal absolutism was tempered by an idea. Slowly the thought developed that it was the duty of the king to afford protection to the weak. He was a patron who had to take care of his clients. The manners and customs of patronage were not new. Romans and Germans had known and practiced them. But patronage as they knew it was only a form of domination. Those ancient societies did not under-

stand that the state should be the guardian and defender of the weak. At the end of the sixth century, however, this belief deepened and spread. This new ideal of government was due to Christianity. It was a spirit that had already revealed itself in the legislation of Constantine and Theodosius. It asserted itself, with increasing vigor, in a society in which the reign of force created the need and imposed the duty of organizing a defense for weakness. "We who hold our power by a divine delegation", said King Gontran in 585, "could not escape the wrath of God if we did not take care of the people entrusted to our rule. The royal power must protect those who need protection".

Palace and court. The Merovingians had their palace, which claimed to be like that of the emperor at Ravenna or even Byzantium. Yet it was very different. The huge palaces at Paris, Trèves, or Arles, where once the imperial representatives lived, were too large for these adventurous chieftains. They felt lost in them. They preferred, as we have seen, a dwelling in the midst of the forest, such as the one at Compiègne. The palace was itinerant. It often moved from place to place. It was less a dwelling place than an entity. It was, indeed, the king and the group of men who lived about him. Who comprised this ambulatory entity? There were the sons of the officials in the royal service. They were being trained to serve when they came of age. For their benefit the palace had a school where they learned Latin, something of religion, and the use of arms. Above them was a great body of attendants and officials, laymen and ecclesiastics, and at the head of all was the mayor, the actual representative of the king and in some sort his prime minister. From this governmental hierarchy the king chose officials to send into the provinces. With its advice he drew up his orders and decrees, deliberated upon public affairs, and administered justice. The palace was a supreme court of justice, open to all, and with a competence extending to all.

THE CHIEF MAYORS OF THE PALACE



Rise of the Palace-Mayors. The Merovingian kings were poorly educated, they lived immoral lives, they were overwhelmed with cares, and most of them died early. So the mayor of the palace relieved the king first of one burden and then of another, and at the same time acquired for himself first one governmental power and then another. Very early in their career the mayors seem to have gained control of the finances. They took charge of the collection of the taxes. They administered the royal domain, the lands held directly and personally by the king. The last mayor of the palace became king. This rise of the mayors and decline of the kings occupied about one hundred and seventy years. It did not go on without occasional struggles. Some kings tried to recover their lost power, but at best their successes were only temporary. Two men now appeared upon the scene who had much to do with the subsequent history of the kingdom. The first was Arnulf, afterwards bishop of Metz. Like many of the Frankish clergy he was married. One of his sons was Ansigisel. The other important personage was Pippin I, the Elder, sometimes called Pippen of Landen, who in 622 became mayor of the palace in Austrasia. These two men were friends, and their friendship was strengthened by the marriage of the son of Arnulf

to the daughter of Pippin. From this marriage sprang Pippin II, the Younger, sometimes called Pippin of Heristal. When Pippin I died in 639, Grimoald, his son, at once proclaimed himself mayor of the palace. Many nobles refused to acknowledge his right to the office. The king was only ten years old. So a fierce war of three years began. At last Grimoald conquered. Sigibert III, the youthful king, was devout but weak. During his reign of seventeen years the real ruler was Grimoald. When the king died he left a son, eight years old. Grimoald shaved off the lad's long locks, sent him away to a monastery, and there had him consecrated a monk. Then he had his own son proclaimed king of the Franks in Austrasia. The act was premature. The time was not ready for such an usurpation. The descendants of Clovis were still enveloped in the glamor of their great ancestor. Grimoald was seized and thrown into prison by the uncle of the little sovereign. There he died. A generation of anarchy and war followed this failure to seize the crown, and during that time the Merovingian monarchy moved swiftly to its doom. At last, as the result of a battle fought at Testri, in 687, supremacy was secured by Pippin II. The battle is important because it marks the fall of the Merovingians and the real accession of the new dynasty, which, from its ablest and most renowned representative, was to be known as the Carolingian. Thenceforward the feeble members of the ruling family were unable successfully to resist Pippin's claims. But, warned by the failure of Grimoald, he was content to be the real ruler without the regal name. He unified the kingdom, made himself mayor of the palace for the entire realm, and then, later on, assumed the title of Duke of the Franks. He sent to England for monks to help convert the heathen Germans, and they, together with continental missionaries, carried the cross far into the northern forests. Pippin II was a pioneer. He began all that his descendants afterwards carried through.

Decline of the royal power. During the time Pippin II held office a series of Merovingian kings succeeded one another. They were mere puppets, shadow kings, whose names are not worth recording. They are known as the *rois fainéants*, the do-nothing kings. Minorities were frequent, regencies long. The nobles made the most of the opportunity. They seized every chance to increase their possessions and their power. Their acquisition of power became notable in the last third of the sixth century. The first successors of Clovis had acted alone. They had made their decisions as absolute rulers. But in 596 a royal decree was debated in three public assemblies. It was the first victory won by the aristocracy in its contest with the crown. The nobles had succeeded in associating themselves with the government. And by a skillful policy they posed as protectors of the common weal. They set limits to a despotism that threatened all subjects. They forbade the king to give "orders" contrary to the laws. But then they began to look out for their own special interests. Ecclesiastical nobles made important gains. Bishops demanded freedom of election. The right of nomination to the episcopal office was gradually being limited to the clergy of the cathedral chapter; and no priest was to be taken into the royal service without the personal consent of his bishop. Lay nobles gained still more. The king renounced the right of resuming any land given as a benefice; and he agreed to choose his counts and dukes only from the ranks of the great landowners. Thus the kingship lost the first attribute of all strong governments, the right to choose its agents wherever it deemed best. Eventually it lost the right to dismiss them, for it was inevitable that officials who had behind them all the force derived from an organized band of clients, a powerful local influence, and possession of the soil, should gradually become independent. In this duel the kingship was defeated. The principle of irremovability became established. The king was disarmed. He could bestow offices, but only

upon members of the aristocracy. He was forbidden to take them away. They became the property of those who held them. And then, as an unpreventable consequence, they tended to be perpetuated in one and the same family. Bishoprics, abbacies, countships, dukedoms, and other offices and dignities were confined to the members of a privileged class, who transmitted them to their sons. A new state of things came into existence. The government was now in the hands of the ecclesiastical and lay grandees, under the nominal authority of the king. The Merovingian king was a nonentity. Shut up in his palace he watched, dumb and inert, the obscure death agony of his power and his race.

Increase of the power of the mayor of the palace. The development of the power of the aristocracy was temporarily hindered by the increase of the power of the mayor of the palace. A strange fortune was that of this domestic official who originally had been scarcely more than a steward. The palace had become the center of affairs. Its director became the actual head of the administration. As early as the end of the sixth century, during the royal minorities, the mayors governed together with the queens. They collected the taxes, kept the treasure, presided at the royal tribunal, and commanded the armies. This rise of the mayors and decline of the kings, we must remember, gave rise to occasional struggles. Some kings tried to recapture their lost power, but at best their successes were only fleeting. They disappeared in impotence and oblivion.

The rise of feudalism. Far more effective was the opposition of the self-seeking nobles. Whence came this insubordinate nobility? It had been formed by the dignitaries of the court, the provincial officials, the heads of the abbeys, the bishops, who, belonging to the palace and gravitating round the throne, obtained all their privileges and power from the king. The kingship had created this aristocracy. It had endowed it with lands. It had permitted it to grow

powerful without mistrust. Yet it was these nobles who formed the first political force with which the decaying dynasty came into collision. Eventually it was this aristocracy that overthrew the kingship. Many things conspired to favor its progress. The repeated divisions of the kingdom, the frequent minorities of the kings, the continual granting of lands, or bestowal of benefices, from the royal domain, and the granting of large sums of money from the royal treasury, all weakened the royal power and strengthened that of the secular and ecclesiastical grandees. The kings were helpless. When the kingdom was divided and they made war upon one another they were compelled to give money and land in order to gain adherents. They rewarded their own "liege men"; they bought over those of the enemy. Once the nobles had been an aristocracy of office; now they became an aristocracy of land. They enriched themselves at the expense of the church as well as that of the crown. They rooted themselves in the soil. Their power waxed; that of the kings waned. A movement long at work was under way. So insecure were life and property that, in increasing numbers, small freeholders gave their lands to secular and ecclesiastical nobles, and received it back again in usufruct, in order to gain the protection of the lord. They paid rent, rendered services, and sometimes even resigned their freedom, in order to make sure of protection in the midst of the general disorder. A growing part of the population became economically dependent upon the great landowning aristocracy. It was the rise of feudalism.

Charles the Hammer. Charles Martel (715–741) was fully aware of all this. He was an illegitimate son of Pippin II. He had not been designated by his father as the future mayor of the palace. Six years of civil war were necessary to end the anarchy then prevailing. It is his special merit that for a time he arrested the growing power of the great nobles. Autonomous dukes stood at the head of the people in Bavaria, Swabia, and Aquitaine; southern Burgundy was

making itself virtually independent; and the Frisians had thrown off the suzerainty of the Franks. Charles spent most of his life in struggling against these forces of disintegration. He defeated the rebellious provinces in many battles and again incorporated them in the kingdom. His smashing blows against them seem to have earned for him the epithet of "the Hammer".

Defeat of the Saracens. In the midst of these struggles Charles found himself faced with the necessity of defending the kingdom against a danger threatening it from without and menacing its very existence. In 711 the Saracens entered Spain and, with the greatest ease, overran the kingdom of the Visigoths. A decade later the disintegration of the Frankish kingdom invited them to cross the Pyrenees. Dissensions in their ranks and at home stopped their advance for a brief time; but in 731 a fresh wave flowed from the south and captured Bordeaux. From there the flood spread fanwise, reaching towards Poitiers and Autun. In 732 Charles defeated the invaders decisively in a battle fought somewhat to the north of Poitiers where the Clain falls into the Vienne. The day was decided by "the peoples of the north". But for a number of years violent struggles were carried on with the Saracens north of the Pyrenees. Finally the Lombards came to the assistance of the Franks. Then only a narrow stretch of land along the shore of the Mediterranean, with Narbonne as its capital, remained in the hands of the Saracens.

Development of the cavalry and of feudalism. The danger from the Saracens hastened and completed a change in the make-up of the Frankish army that must have been going on for a long time, and that was connected with the increasing transformation of medieval society in the direction of a feudal aristocracy. The Frankish military system was at first based upon the obligation of all freemen to bear arms, an obligation to which the Roman population was also subjected soon after the foundation of the kingdom. This

general levy *en masse* fought on foot. It was armed in various ways, was slow in movement, and technically inadequate because it came together only for the duration of the war and lacked systematic training. Side by side with it was a cavalry force made up of the royal retainers, some seven hundred in number, and the nobles who had received royal estates as benefices and who, in return, had to perform military services. The brunt of the conflicts must have been borne by these men in the wars carried on by the great mayors of the palace, while the general levy, it may be surmised, was mustered only for frontier wars and to meet foreign foes. The Saracenic peril, which made the lack of a sufficiently numerous cavalry doubly felt, compelled Charles Martel to develop this system further. In doing this he assisted the development of feudalism. Under his direction the king assigned landed property to persons whom he wished to lay under the obligation of rendering cavalry service in time of war. Such a grant of land was known as a *beneficium*, or, later on, a *feodum* or fief. It was not given absolutely. It was granted only for a period. The recipient became the vassal of the king. He was obliged to serve the king on horseback, to appear at court when required, to render personal service as an attendant upon the king, and to assist him as a counselor. The king protected himself against misuse of the fief and against ingratitude by a moral and a legal obligation. The vassal took an oath of fidelity and performed an act of homage. When Charles Martel proceeded to obtain vassals for cavalry service on a large scale there was not much royal land left to give. The crown estates had been well-nigh exhausted by grants, and also by usurpations on the part of the nobility. So he seized a great deal of ecclesiastical property.

Summary of the work of Charles. Charles the Hammer put an end to domestic discord and repelled the foreign foe. He was a great soldier and statesman, one of the heroic

figures of early medieval history, who made possible the triumphant careers of his son and grandson and thereby founded the dynasty of the Carolingians. In the last years of his life the direct line of descent of the Merovingians became extinct. Yet he did not assume the kingly title. He continued to be styled mayor, or duke of the Franks. Only the Byzantine Empire could compare in extent with the vast realm he ruled. He was the inaugurator of a new and better era in the history of Europe.

The work of Boniface. At this time the Frankish church was in need of thorough reform; and in the eastern part of the kingdom there were multitudes of heathen to convert and a need of systematic organization. Irish monks, energetic and ardent, had carried Christianity far and wide; but they lacked capacity for ordered discipline and had little power of organization. To meet these needs a Benedictine monk, with a pronounced sense of order, came from England. Boniface (680?–755) went to Rome, and from there, in 719, the pope sent him over the Alps into Thuringia. From that time forward he lived for thirty-five years in Germany, first as a simple priest, then as bishop, then as archbishop, and finally as the legate of the pope. His personality was distinguished neither by originality nor by depth, but he was of steadfast character, highly educated, could preach persuasively, understood men, and had an incomparable gift of ruling them. He preached his religion far and near, in field, and forest, and fen, oftentimes in the midst of privation and personal danger. He carried it where it was still unknown to the masses, as in Hesse; he cleansed it from heathen reminiscences, as in Thuringia; and he perfected its organization where it was already in existence, as in Bavaria. He sent to England for missionary helpers, both monks and nuns, and put them to work. Their better education and their nobler views of life enabled them to form centers of culture in these heathen lands. Under his direction a great monastery was established at

Fulda, modeled directly on Monte Cassino, and destined to be a home of learning and the pattern for all the other monasteries of Germany. In the spring of 745 the first ecclesiastical synod of the entire kingdom was held. Then the tireless missionary went to convert the heathen Frisians, and there his great life was crowned with the martyr's death for which he yearned. He had formed a new Christendom between the Rhine and the Weser.

The Byzantine Empire. We have now to turn our attention again to the Byzantine Empire. More and more it was becoming oriental in its character. From the reign of Justinian its official language was Greek. Suddenly the Saracens conquered all its territory far into the peninsula of Asia Minor. Then the empire found itself surrounded by Saracens, Germans, and Slavs. Within this shrunken territory the church was controlled very largely by the state. In the western part of the continent the bishop of Rome had gained importance all through the troubled centuries of the barbarian invasions. He had become pope. But the bishop of Constantinople was no more than a court patriarch, controlled completely by the emperor. Naturally the emperors did not look with favor upon the increasing power of the pope.

The iconoclastic policy and its consequences. The reign of the Emperor Leo III (717–740) began a new dynasty and opened a new era in the land of the Greeks. He strove to bring about many reforms. But we are here concerned chiefly with his iconoclastic policy, with his attack upon religious statues and pictures. In 726 he made an address in which he advocated the destruction of images in churches. This precipitated a controversy. His iconoclastic policy was opposed by many, especially by women. Riots resulted, even rebellion. As the years went by some rulers favored images, while others opposed them. In 842 their use was permanently restored. This iconoclastic struggle, which continued for a hundred and sixteen years, left a lasting

impression upon Greek Catholicism. No sculpture is used in that church to-day, and the pictures are very stiff and conventional. Another result was that the popes looked to the Frankish kings, instead of to the Byzantine emperors, for aid against the Lombards.

The pope and the Lombards. It was in 568 that the Lombards first entered Italy. Their principal place of settlement was the rich plain in the northern part of the peninsula now called Lombardy, but they had possessions far in the south. Their territory was not contiguous, and they never established themselves successfully on the sea. They were coarse and cruel. The Italians, intelligent, subtle, sensitive, surrounded by the remains and cherishing the memory of their great civilization, regarded their barbarian conquerors with fear and loathing. The Lombards changed from the Arian to the Catholic form of Christianity, and they lost their Germanic speech, but still they were disliked by the Italians. The later Lombard kings, already conquerors of most of the peninsula, aspired to subjugate it all. And who could tell what would happen to the popes when these ambitious rulers should establish their capital at Rome? True they were heretics no longer, but their orthodoxy was no sufficient guarantee that they would not eventually become dictatorial masters. So the popes became alarmed. They looked abroad for aid. Not from the emperor in Constantinople could help be expected, nor from his representative in the West, the exarch of Ravenna. The development of East and West was proceeding upon diverging lines. There was consciousness of different blood and speech. Sooner or later the connection would snap. And, too, the Saracens were making ever more dangerous the sea routes from Constantinople to Ravenna and Rome. So the popes looked westward, and in 739 appealed to Charles Martel for aid against the Lombards. Charles expressed his friendliness for the pope, but he declined to make war upon the people whose ruler was his kinsman, and who,

only seven years previously, had helped him to drive back the Saracens. Perhaps he interceded with the Lombards, for, at any rate, they ceased for a time to menace Rome.

The Merovingian dynasty gives way to the Carolingian. When Charles Martel died he left two sons, Pippin III, the Short, and Carloman, who, as mayors of the palace, ruled side by side until the latter retired, first to a monastery near Rome, and then to Monte Cassino. Pippin had still beside him a puppet king, an indirect descendant of the Merovingians. In a time of trouble he had dragged him forth from obscurity to give a royal sanction to his deeds. Was the time propitious for a step he wished to take? Should he assume the royal title? He knew of Grimoald's failure. Caution was necessary. The mass of the people were still imbued with the heathen idea of the priestly character of the kingship, even those who had been converted to Christianity. They clothed the Merovingian dynasty, even in the days of its deepest humiliation, with the charm of a mysterious legitimacy. To counteract so deep-rooted an idea Pippin sought the support of the church. In 751 he sent an embassy to ask the pope "whether it was good or ill that there should be kings in the Frankish realm who possessed no royal power"? The papal reply was in accordance with the meaning of the question. Then a national assembly, held at Soissons in 752, proclaimed Pippin king, and he was anointed by the hand of Boniface. The puppet king disappeared with his son into a monastery. Thus did the Merovingian dynasty give place to the Carolingian. It was a bloodless revolution that had long been preparing.

The quelling of the Lombards. In 751 the Lombards occupied Ravenna and so put an end to the exarchate. And in the following year, the very year Pippin was made king, they reached the greatest extent of their territorial possessions in Italy. Then Aistulf, their eager and tempestuous king, demanded an annual poll tax from the dwellers

in Rome and all the towns about it. After appealing in vain for aid to the emperor in Constantinople, Pope Stephen II (752–757), born in Rome and familiar from boyhood with all the papal aims and policies, crossed the Alps and appeared at the Frankish court. It was one of the most important meetings in history. Many things, says George Lincoln Burr, were to flow from the alliance of the popes with the rulers of Francia,—"the temporal sovereignty of the popes, the severance of Latin Christendom from Greek, the Frankish conquest of Italy, the Holy Roman Empire". Stephen crowned Pippin again, gave him the title of Patrician of the Romans, anointed his two sons, and announced to the lords that only persons of the new royal line were to inherit the throne. Then the pope won from the nobles of the newly crowned king a reluctant consent to help drive back the aggressive Lombards. Pippin made two expeditions into Italy, wrested the exarchate of Ravenna from Aistulf, and with a strip of territory connecting it with the city and duchy of Rome, gave it to the pope. Thus he created the Papal State, stretching across the peninsula from sea to sea, and destined to last until it was taken in 1870 by the Italians. The new state cut the Lombard possessions in two. The duchies of Spoleto and Benevento became independent of the Lombard king in Pavia; and in 756 the later became a vassal of the Franks. Thus did the establishment of the Carolingian monarchy and the founding of an independent State of the Church go hand in hand.

A famous forgery. Connected with the Papal State is the famous *Donation of Constantine.* It is a document alleged to be the grant by the Emperor Constantine to Pope Silvester I and his successors of the spiritual supremacy over all the other prelates of the church and of certain territorial possessions. The popes used it to support their claim to temporal power. It was forged, probably sometime in the second half of the eighth century in Rome; but all

through the medieval centuries both friends and enemies of the papal claims believed it genuine. Its authenticity was first disputed in a scholarly manner in 1440 by Lorenzo Valla, who published a pamphlet upon the subject.

Papal claim to the right to dispose of the kingship. The great political fact of the time is the alliance of the Carolingians and the papacy. Pippin applied to the papacy for support for his claims to the royal power and title. In order to settle a question of Frankish constitutional law, he appealed to the moral authority of the head of the church. In after years a great struggle took place between the successors of Stephen and Pippin. In that contest the popes claimed that the kingship had been transferred by one of their number from the Merovingians to the Carolingians. The claim was not in accordance with the facts, and such was not the intention of the step taken by Pippin. Yet the claim was not entirely a falsification of history.

Estimate of Pippin. Pippin died at the great Abbey of Saint Denis, the home of his childhood, now in the midst of a busy manufacturing town five miles north of Paris. "His life, though short", says George Lincoln Burr, "was fruitful. Modern scholars are at one in thinking his fame eclipsed unduly by that of his successor. Nearly everything the son accomplished, the father had begun. Vigorous, shrewd, persistent, practical, his own general and his own prime minister, relentless but not cruel, pious but never blindly so, able to plan but able too to wait, Pippin bequeathed to Charles more than a kingdom and a policy. Even for his bodily strength and presence, his power of passion and his length of life, Charlemagne perhaps owed something to the stainless self-control as husband and as father which was Pippin's alone of all his line".

References for Further Reading

The original sources for this topic are enumerated and some of them are discussed in the bibliographies for the fourth and eight-

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CHAPTER 12

CHARLES THE GREAT

Charles accedes to the throne. Pippin died in 768, having divided the kingdom between his two sons, Charles and Carloman. Three years later Carloman followed his father to the grave, and then Charles seized his brother's kingdom and became sole ruler.

Character of the time. It was still a wild time in western Europe. The fusion of the Romanic and Germanic races and civilizations was still going on, and it had done something to improve the conditions succeeding the fall of the Roman Empire in the West. Yet it was a rude and rough age. Even at the Frankish court the surroundings were so rough and the civilization so poor that the new ruler, whose life we are now to study, had grown to manhood almost completely ignorant of letters.

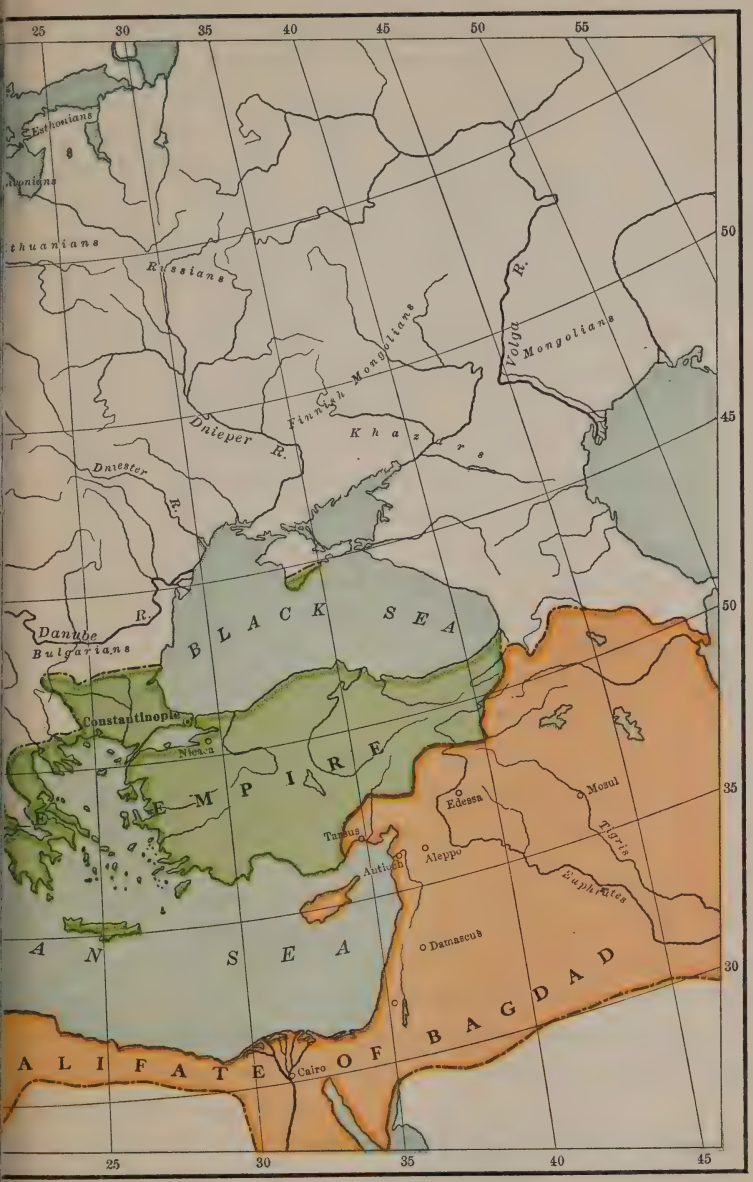
Character of the new king. Charles the Great (768–814) became known in romance as Charlemagne; but that is a name unfamiliar to his contemporaries. He was tall and strongly built, a martial and majestic man. Rest never meant idleness with him. When not engaged in a campaign he indulged in less arduous forms of exercise. Every day he rode on horseback, and there were few weeks in which he did not hunt wild boars and stags in the forests. Often when he came to a river he plunged in, challenging his companions to follow, and none could outstrip him. He indulged in all earthly pleasures, associated with his fellowmen on equal terms, took a generous and noble view of life, was fond of giving, easily formed friendships and loyally kept them, and the fearful harshness of which he was capable when he felt sure of his right and his mission did not impair his inborn power of sympathy. Such things speak

of the spontaneity of an original and decided nature; but modern inquiry finds in all he did the assurance that springs from systematic calculation. He developed a remarkable versatility; hardly a branch of human activity was foreign to him; but in all he did we find at work a mind to which method and order were a necessity. Nothing was left to chance or caprice. Essential and decisive points were determined; even the regulation of details was not disclaimed. Not all that was done in his name could have been his own creation. Much of it must be credited to his assistants. But his greatness is not lessened thereby. He knew how to learn from others, and he trusted men whose ideas and character fitted in with his own. What his contemporaries mostly admired in him was his undisputed superiority to circumstances and men alike, a greatness of character able to withstand changes of fortune and bearing in itself the guarantee of success.

Conquests in Italy. Charles, like his fathers, was a soldier. He extended the great kingdom they had conquered and greatly improved its organization. First he made war against the Lombards, who were seizing papal territory. He subdued them, shut up their king in a monastery, and placed on his own head their famous iron crown. Only the powerful duchy of Benevento in southern Italy remained as an independent reminder of the Lombard dominion. But though the rule of the Lombards came to an end, their blood and their traits continue even to-day in the life of northern Italy.

Conquests in Spain. Then Charles crossed the Pyrenees and attacked the Saracens in Spain. The domestic quarrels of the Moslems in the Iberian peninsula furnished him with an opportunity for success. But he was checked at Saragossa and had to return northward to deal with the rebellious Saxons. On his homeward way he dealt with the Basques as enemies and demolished the fortifications of Pamplona. The Basques retaliated for this injury to their capital.

EUROPE
at the death of
CHARLES THE GREAT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Bulgarians
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
Nicæa
EMPIRE
Edessa
Mosul
Tarsus
Antioch
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Tigris
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AN SEA
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ALIFATE OF BAGDAD
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While Charles was leading his army back over the Pyrenees they set upon the rear in the Pass of Roncevalles. Among those slain was Roland, warden of the March of Brittany. History knows nothing of this knight save his untimely death; but quickly he became the hero of many legends which ultimately took shape in the *Chanson de Roland*. In the epic he is second only to Charlemagne among the hosts of Christendom. Eighteen years later Charles returned and subdued all the country between the Pyrenees and the Ebro and incorporated it in his realm under the name of the Spanish March. Its capital was Barcelona.

Defeat of the Saxons. The most troublesome people with whom Charles had to deal were the Saxons. They were almost the only German tribe remaining heathen. They were wild and brave, and were defeated only to rise again and again. They fought for their freedom and religion. Four times they were subdued, yet still they put priests to death, burned churches, and washed off in mockery the marks of their compulsory baptism. Then Charles beheaded 4,500 captives and marched twice through their land with fire and sword. Still they held out in their forests and marshes, and not until ten years later was the fate of their independence and their faith finally settled.

Suzerainty over the Avars and Slavs. All the Germanic peoples of central Europe were now gathered under the scepter of Charles. But there were tribes living on the eastern frontiers who were strangers to his subjects in blood, language, and religion. They were Avars and Slavs. The former seem to have been a branch of the Huns and are not to be confused with the Avars now living in the Caucasian mountains. In a series of campaigns Charles broke the power of these turbulent tribes and reduced them to a tributary condition.

Extent of the Frankish realm. Charles was an incomparable soldier. There were few years in which he was not under arms. He hastened from one country to another,

from the Pyrenees to the Elbe, from the Rhine to Italy. The rapidity of his movements was surprising and disconcerting; and his infectious courage was equaled only by his calculating foresight. He established a realm whose extent on the continent was to be equaled and surpassed only by that of Napoleon. On the north and east it touched the Scandinavian and Slavic worlds, still wrapped in obscurity; on the south its frontier corresponded with that of the Saracenic Emirate of Cordova; while in the east and south it bordered the possessions of the Byzantine Empire. It included almost all the Christian peoples of the West, for outside it were only Britain, Ireland, southern Italy, and a part of Spain.

The counts. In the work of extending and consolidating his territory Charles was often cruel and unjust; but afterwards he ruled over the vast realm with the solicitude of a father. Even while extending his boundaries in almost continuous wars, he was no less busily occupied with the problems of peace. His two immediate predecessors, after severe struggles, had humbled the aristocracy, had checked for a time the disintegration of the kingdom, and had raised the church from a state of deep decadence. The great task now confronting him was to resume and complete this work. He continued the system of administrative districts employed in the days of the Merovingian kings and the mayors of the palace, and he extended it into Saxony. Over each district was placed a governor called a count. Usually these districts were smaller than before in order to enable the count to influence the population more intensively and at the same time to lessen his power to resist the central authority. Sometimes men not of free origin were made counts. They were chosen because of their ability and loyalty. The kingship found a weapon in the freedmen of which it made successful use in the struggle against the increasing power of the nobility. Each count was given a deputy, a viscount, whose business was to assist him in his

functions and to take his place in his absence. The count had other assistants. Over the cities in his district he appointed vicars who remained his subordinates. The counts had to hold their courts while fasting. They had to be well acquainted with the laws. But, being men devoted to the profession of arms, it sometimes happened they could neither read nor write.

The dukes. Over groups of some of these counties were placed dukes. The duchies were usually found on the frontiers. They were given unusual governmental powers in order to enable them to resist the enemy, and they were known as marches. Thus arose the Spanish March for the purpose of resisting the Saracens, the Breton March for keeping a watchful eye on the Celts of Brittany, and the March of Nordgau which defended that distant frontier against the Slavs.

The royal messengers. There was no permanent tribunal between the counts and the central administration. So Charles provided a periodical control of the courts exercised directly by the royal court. He developed an institution employed by the Merovingians. Every year he sent out royal messengers, called *missi dominici*, generally in pairs, a churchman and a layman, who together visited an appointed number of counties which formed a district known as a *missaticum*. In 802 the *missi* became general throughout the empire. They were sent "to do justice to churches, widows, orphans, the poor, and all the people". Their duties were enumerated quite specifically. They were to inquire into the needs of the people, watch over the maintenance of the royal domains, the bridges, the roads, to administer the oath of allegiance to subjects, to receive complaints and grievances, to send accused officials to the king's tribunal or to dismiss them. Such was their task. All the inhabitants of the neighborhood were summoned to the mall, or assembly, where they sat. The humblest could lodge an accusation and claim his right and due. The

missi were all-powerful. They had the power of the royal ban, as if the king were sitting in person in the midst of his people. After fulfilling their functions they returned to give a report to the king. In order to secure impartiality, and to prevent anyone from obtaining too great an influence in his district, no *missus* was to travel in the district of which he was a resident, no two *missi* were to travel together for more than one year, and all of them were sent to new districts every year. Thus every year they changed territories and companions.

The two assemblies. Every spring there was a general assembly, or Diet. It was not a legislative body. Its functions were limited to giving the king information and advice. There was merely an interchange of views between the sovereign and the assembled freemen of the realm. In the autumn a smaller assembly met. It was composed only of the great nobles and the royal advisers. It drew up proposals which the assembly of the people discussed in the following spring.

The smaller assembly. The king alone called these assemblies together. He fixed both time and place. Almost always the smaller assembly that met in the autumn was held at one of his villas. A letter was sent to those who were to appear, generally the bishops, counts, the royal vassals, and the dignitaries of the royal palace. They were the guests of the king. Their attendance was rather a duty than a right. They had no initiative. The great dignitaries of the palace explained to them the projects decided upon in the king's privy council. When that was done, churchmen and laymen conferred separately upon the program that had already been drawn up. The most they could do was to suggest amendments to the documents laid before them. Some of these public assemblies were employed as a national court. They were solemn assizes in which, in person, the king judged the most serious cases, such as crimes of high treason.

The capitularies. Out of the activity of these assemblies came the capitularies, which were not really laws but collections of instructions, decisions, and decrees. They assumed the most diverse forms. They related to matters of every kind, private and public, secular and ecclesiastical. Yet the spirit that animated them was identical. Some of them were drawn up with the concurrence of the Diet. A greater number consisted of the advice, suggestion, or command of Charles. All of them were inspired by him. They were the work of his will. He intended them to be permanent and universal. In them the western world saw a revival of the idea and forms of a public law that had been lacking since the fall of Rome. In 802 Charles revised the laws of all the peoples that obeyed him. He made an effort to improve and harmonize them. He wanted to make an entirely new and complete body of law, absorbing in one general legislation all the laws of the various peoples of his empire. But this he had not the time to accomplish. He could only revise and reënact the barbarian laws already in existence.

Improvement of the criminal law. Of all the legal innovations made by Charles, those affecting the criminal law struck deepest. They were directed first and foremost against family feuds and vendettas, the prevention of which had to be attempted by any state conscious of its duty. Certain forms of private redress of injuries were forbidden, even in the case of a justifiable feud. It was the beginning of the efforts of the medieval state, continued for centuries, to secure the public peace against those who justly claimed the right of feud as well as against criminals. Charles also attempted to introduce the process of investigation into the administration of justice. The procedure was no longer to be governed only by the parties at issue. If an outrage were committed and the perpetrator were unknown, a complaint on the part of the injured person was not to be waited for, as the existing law provided. One of the *missi*, or the count, was to call for denunciations. Men living in the

neighborhood were asked to tell, under oath, what they knew of the crime. This transferred the initiative in criminal prosecution from private persons to the state. In doing this the royal authority was venturing further than it had ever done before.

The capital and the court. The *missi* were the eyes of the government. Its brain was the palace. The seat of government was still itinerant, shifting from place to place with the king. Towards the end of his reign, however, Charles felt the need of settling down. Aachen, which centuries afterwards became known as Aix-la-Chapelle, became his capital. There he resided every winter, equally distant from the southern and eastern frontiers, which were the more directly menaced. He took special pains in reorganizing the central government. The office of mayor was abolished, and a new one created, that of the count of the palace. The agents and servants of the palace were divided into ministries or offices. Chamberlain, seneschal, cupbearer, and constable were at the head of the domestic functions. The count of the palace supervised the court and presided at the tribunal in the absence of the king. The archchancellor kept charge of the archives, and drew up acts and diplomas. The archchaplain controlled the royal chapel, the liturgy, and the singing; he judged on appeal the cases brought before the ecclesiastical tribunals; and donations, privileges, and requests, and the nominations of bishops and abbots, all passed through his hands.

Charles and religious affairs. Charles apparently believed religious unity to be an indispensable prerequisite to political stability. So he tried to bring this about. Regarding himself as both priest and king, he allowed no divergences in faith and worship. Relentlessly he compelled the baptism of the Saxons. Their old formulas were thrown into the fire. And then this proscription of heathenism was followed by that of heresy within the ranks of the Christians. Church government was no longer merely a moral discipline

molding the conscience. It became a public authority dominating the will. Ecclesiastical synods were convened by the king; and sometimes he presided over them. He sanctioned their decrees, enabled them to be carried out, and even included some of them in the civil law. The state recognized and defined the competence of the ecclesiastical tribunals. To the episcopal courts were confided all suits in which the clergy were concerned, whether civil or criminal, all cases having to do with marriage, and all those in which questions of morality or faith were involved. And then, in order to insure obedience, the state added its own punishments to the pains and penalties of the canon law. Thus the church was invested with a public function and transformed into a state institution. Little wonder that many of its leaders acquired political power. Inversely the state, in its turn, penetrated into the church. Charles intervened in many ways in the government of the church. He inquired into the original text of the Benedictine Rule in order to organize the monasteries in accordance with it. The intellectual elevation of the clergy was the object of his particular care. For them he had drawn up a series of model sermons, and he commanded them to preach in the vulgar tongue so that all might understand. In his effort to amend the corrupt text of the *New Testament* he made use of the help of Greeks and Syrians. An exact and minute control of ecclesiastical property, of the forms of worship, of entrance into the monastic life, of discipline, and even of creeds are to be found in his capitularies.

Charles's wide power. Rarely was there a power more absolute and better obeyed. Charles legislated, administered, and judged. He decided questions of peace and war. He reigned over conscience as well as over will. He governed at once state and church. Even the papacy bowed before his universal magistracy. It was a legislative and administrative monarchy very reminiscent of the old empire that had vanished from the West. The western world

had once more found a master. This new master, however, did not govern in secret, but in broad daylight, seen and seconded by the living forces of the nation.

Charles as a civilizer. This great ruler, who could read but little, and who, despite his efforts, never learned to write, was devoted to the cause of civilization. He wished to accustom his people to the works of peace, to agriculture, industry, and commerce. Still more he wished to give them a taste for the things of the mind, for knowledge and beauty. He did not learn from books, but educated himself by contact with men and things. His mind was lively and open. He liked talking. Men were charmed by his conversation and came away "assuaged by his reception" of them. Languages and science were his favorite studies. He spoke Latin with ease, and understood Greek. By his order collections were made of the legendary poems, the old heroic epics, of the ancestors of his people, the heathen Germans who long ago had lived in the forests of the north and on the shores of the Baltic. He loved music, and sent for choristers to Italy. He understood the future of learning and art, and lighted anew, throughout his wide realm, the old fires of culture.

The schools and their studies. Charles established a school at Aachen, which later became known as the School of the Palace. He invited foreign scholars to come to teach in it. The international character of this group of scholars and poets symbolized the universality of his wide realm and was an expression of the fact that it included the whole of western civilization. The most famous of his teachers was Alcuin (735–804), a man of wide reading rather than original thought, who came from York, and who, in 782, became master of the school at Aachen. At first the school was intended for members of the royal family and of the children of the nobles of the court, but later on other pupils were admitted. No distinction of country or rank was made between the students. The son of a serf sat on the

same bench with the son of a seigneur. They were brought and kept together by the same desire to learn. They studied the scanty remnant of the older culture that survived in the writings of Augustine and Boethius, in the textbooks of Cassiodorus, in the encyclopedias of Isidore and Capella, and in the grammatical writings of Priscian and Donatus. Other schools were established by the king in many parts of his realm. He sent letters to bishops and abbots telling them to found them. All the great monasteries and some of the cathedrals had schools, especially notable being those at Tours, Rheims, and Fulda. Monasteries, for the first time, opened their schools to students who did not intend to become monks; and from the beginning of the ninth century all the more famous ones had two schools, one for clerics and the other for laymen. Cathedral schools were organized in much the same way as those attached to monasteries. Many of these new schools were established or improved by Alcuin. They mark the beginning of a new intellectual life in the West. They left a deep and abiding impression upon the civilization of the continent. Their tradition ran like a thread of gold through all the darkness of the tenth and eleventh centuries and connected itself with the revival of learning that took place in the twelfth century. And yet, after all, it must be remembered that this impulse for general education came from above, that it never made any real impression upon the mass of the people, and that it slackened and waned under the weak successors of the great king. It was, too, a courtly culture, concerned only with the literature of the past. It made no effort to encourage native poetry in the vernacular. The men of scholarly and intellectual interests were few in number, and the rays of the enlightening influence succeeded in dispelling only a small part of the vast encompassing ignorance of the time.

Charles crowned emperor. Charles, as we have seen, had very close relations with the church. He delivered the

papacy from the hands of the Lombards. The pope could not look for aid from Constantinople. The imperial government there had grave troubles of its own, and it was opposed to the use of images in religious worship. The West clung to its images. The hold of the Byzantine emperors upon central and southern Italy grew weaker and weaker. In 751 the last exarch of Ravenna fled overseas to Constantinople. Then, too, the increasing maritime power of the Saracens was making perilous the sea route to Italy. Byzantine power faded away in the West. Administrative separateness and differences of blood, speech, and custom continually widened and eventually made irreparable the breach between East and West. So, in time of need, the pope looked to the king of the Franks. An alliance was concluded between the papacy and the great western kingdom to which Alcuin had already given the name of empire. Still another pope found himself obliged to solicit aid from Charles. In 799 Leo III (795–816) was attacked and maltreated in the streets of Rome. He fled over the Alps to Charles, who went to Italy, restored Leo, and banished his opponents. On Christmas Day 800 Charles went to hear mass in the church of Saint Peter. There Leo placed a crown on his head and proclaimed him emperor and Augustus, while the people in the church broke out into a cry of approval.

The right to bestow the imperial title. A question arises out of this coronation. Did either pope or people have the right to bestow the imperial title? It is quite certain the pope had no legal right to crown Charles as emperor of the Romans. The *Code* of Justinian shows that an emperor had to derive his title and power from a law passed by the Roman populace; but the population of Rome in the year 800, made up largely of innkeepers living upon pilgrims, can scarcely be regarded as heir to "the senate and people of Rome".

The revival of the western empire. A second question arises. Who was the author of the "imperial project", of

the plan of reviving the empire in the West? The main point in the political program of the papal curia from Stephen II onwards seems to have been the creation of a western secular power strong enough to subdue the enemies of the papacy. Such a program was not antagonistic to the designs of Charles. His thoughts had long been occupied with the idea of empire. In proclamations and deeds he had used the title of Patrician of the Romans. Equality of rights was plainly implied in all his negotiations with Byzantium. His daughter was betrothed to the heir of the imperial crown of Constantinople. And above all else he urgently endeavored to have his imperial title recognized by the Byzantine Emperor. His passionate complaint early in 811 about the silence of Byzantium was followed by extraordinary thanks for the final recognition, which took place in the most formal manner at Aachen. Charles was well aware of the great prestige that would be given by the imperial title in a society that, despite the decline of civilization, still preserved the memory of Rome. The creation of a western empire, that pregnant deed of the early medieval centuries, seems to have been his own thought as well as that of the papacy.

Coronation part of papal policy. There is still another question. Who was the author of the coronation carried into effect in the year 800? It was the pope. Einhard, secretary and biographer of the great king, tells us that Charles was displeased. Perhaps the king had other plans for the consummation of his dream. Perhaps he realized it would be better to assume the imperial dignity without the direct aid of the pope. Perhaps he wished to crown himself so as not to give sanction to the papal claim of power to bestow the imperial crown. Perhaps he dreamed of deposing and succeeding the Empress Irene at Constantinople, thus becoming emperor in the East as well as in the West. Einhard tells us that Charles would not have entered the church had he known the pope's intention. Yet when the

deed was done he raised no objection. He accepted the new dignity without a murmur. It was only later that he expressed displeasure. All the evidence seems to show that it was the time or the manner of the act, rather than the act itself, that gave rise to his temporary displeasure. Leo anticipated Charles. His hasty and unexpected bestowal of the imperial crown seems to have been a subtly calculated act of papal policy. It was Leo, not Charles, who inevitably appeared to the contemporary world and to posterity as the chief actor and the granter of a boon on that fateful Christmas Day; and by bestowing the imperial crown upon the king without previously consulting him he secured, by a bold move, the better position for his successors. Immediately after the death of Charles the papal view was published to the world, and in the course of the ninth century it won all along the line, because the emperors were too weak to assert their opposing claim.

Results of the coronation to the church. What results flowed from this establishment of a new empire in the West? It affected the church. Charles had always shown a deep interest in religious matters. Now that he had taken the imperial title he paid even more attention to them. He regarded himself as the special protector of the church. He and his successors regarded themselves as responsible for the good behavior of priests and prelates, for proper religious education, for the submission of the faithful to the prescriptions of morality, and even for the government of the vast organization of the church. They deemed themselves to be successors of Constantine. They had read the *Civitas Dei*, and that book led them to believe that the care of church as well as of state had been laid upon them by God. In this lay a peril for the papacy. Some day the protector might become a master. On the other hand, the papal claim of the right to bestow the imperial crown involved the church more than ever before in political affairs. From this time on papal and imperial power stood side by side,

each claiming supreme authority over all human affairs and relationships. The future was inevitably to witness a direct collision.

Results of the coronation to the state. There were results to the state. The rights of the king of the Franks were now enlarged into those of the successor of Augustus. Additional prestige was acquired. All the western peoples, even the Saxons and Slavs, had heard of Rome. They revered the name of Cæsar. So they admired the Frankish king as his successor. But there were results not so desirable to the state. True the capital was never removed to Rome. It remained at Aachen. But the imperial dignity induced the Carolingians and their successors to dream of imperial dominion. Instead of confining their interest to national affairs, suppressing the power of the unruly nobles and building up a powerful central government, they looked abroad and scattered their energy in many directions. Thus they furnished opportunity for all the disintegrating and predatory forces of the coming centuries. The new world-policy was destined to hasten the downfall of the kingdom.

Influence of the imperial idea. Not until the fourteenth century did this new creation come to be known as the "Holy Roman Empire". But, by whatever name it was known, the imperial idea exercised a wide and deep influence upon both the secular and religious life of the Middle Ages. It represented a close and conscious union of church and state. A new age began with the imperial coronation of Charles the Great. Several hundred years previously the Germanic barbarians had come down from the north; they had conquered the southern lands; and much had been lost of the civilization of Rome. But now these northern peoples, fused to some extent with those whom they had subjugated, were the inheritors of Rome. In their turn they were now fighting against savagery and heathenism. Many dreams were awakened by the new title and augmented authority of Charlemagne.

Summary of the work of Charles. Charles reigned thirty-two years as king and twelve years as emperor. We are told that his work died with him. It is true his elaborate and effective organization gave way to feudalism. But he was far more than an organizer. He owed his largest suggestion not to the governmental fabric of Rome, but to the effort of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who first attempted to fuse Roman and Germanic civilizations. Charles was the first secular hero of Christianity; the first to suggest by his life that there is a better ideal than the monastic ideal. When he disappeared he not only bequeathed to history a century that bears his name, but a world that kept his impress. He put an end to the era of barbarian Europe. A new civilization began, which, for generations of men, was to have common ideas, common institutions, a common life—Christendom. Barbarism arrested, a continent pacified, civilization begun! Such were his claims upon the memory of the future. Subjects, foreigners, and enemies bowed before his prestige and his power. The Byzantine emperor honored him as an equal; the caliph of Bagdad sought his friendship. In the part of the new empire that afterwards became Germany his memory kept quite close to historic fact. His activity as a maker of laws and his justice as a judge were not forgotten. He became the ideal ruler, the model for the ablest of his successors. In the part that afterwards became France legends quickly gathered about him, and his figure grew to more than human proportions. As soon as the French began to recite their dreams, their memories, their glories, it was he whom they instinctively chose as the protagonist of their oldest heroic poem, the *Chanson de Roland.*

References for Further Reading

The original sources for the history of Charles the Great are listed in the bibliographies for the nineteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-second chapters of *The Cambridge Medieval History.* Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni* is the most valuable of all of them.

The best edition of it, containing the Latin text, a translation into French, and many helpful notes, is that by Louis Halphen. There is a satisfactory translation of the famous biography into English by A. J. Grant.

James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*. H. W. C. Davis, *Charlemagne*. L. Duchesne, *The Beginnings of the Temporal Power of the Popes*. Ellwood Cubberley, *History of Education*. C. J. B. Gaskoin, *Alcuin*. Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of Rome in the Middle Ages*. A volume by Louis Halphen on *Charlemagne* is announced. In the meantime we have his very useful *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne*. L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*. Thomas Hodgkin's *Italy and Her Invaders* contains many extracts from the original sources. H. Lilienfein, *Die Anschauungen von Staat und Kirche in Reich der Karolinger*. J. I. Mombert, *Charles the Great*. E. Mühlbacher, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern*. J. B. Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great*. W. Ohr, *Die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen*. J. J. I. von Döllinger, *The Empire of Charles the Great and his Successors*. A. F. West, *Alcuin*.

CHAPTER 13

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

Louis the Pious. The second ruler of the new empire was Louis the Pious (814–840), sole survivor, youngest, and least gifted, of the three legitimate sons of Charles the Great. It was his own age that called him Pious. Later chroniclers, because of his easy-going character, called him *Louis le Débonair*. He was a gentle and well-trained prince, a devout man, but a weak ruler. To each of his sons he allotted fiefs, offices, and adherents. Soon dissensions broke out among them. Louis made repeated divisions, but all failed to satisfy his sons. The family squabbles continued until his death.

Gain in power by the church. In 813 Charles the Great had made his son his joint ruler, and had appointed him his successor. He made Louis take the crown himself from the altar so as not to be indebted to the pope. But Louis was too feeble an emperor to maintain the attitude his father had adopted towards the church. The papacy soon made known its intention to loosen the fetters in which it had been bound by Charles. Pope Stephen IV (816–817) had caused himself to be consecrated without waiting for the imperial confirmation. Nor was this all. In the same year he crowned Louis as emperor, for the second time, at Rheims. Thus he declared to the world that the previous coronation which Louis had himself performed at his father's command was invalid. Then Louis allowed the monasteries the free choice of their abbots; and he promised the ecclesiastical authorities freedom to elect their bishops. Thus a great increase of power was gained by the church.

Louis supports monasticism. Another change took place in religious matters. Charles the Great and his circle had

little sympathy for asceticism. They valued monks as workmen and as scholars rather than as ascetics. But it was from the ascetic point of view that Louis reverenced and supported monasticism. For many centuries active joy in the life of this world, as held by the classical pagans, and the lowly asceticism of the medieval monks, that fixed its gaze on the world to come, sought to hold one another in balance. The opposition of the natural morality given to men in their relations with their fellowmen, the natural desire to enjoy, the natural power of the senses, the natural youthful passion of the erstwhile barbarian peoples, bent upon battle and conquest, always produced a secret longing for the secular culture of the vanished pagan world. At times this hidden desire broke out and became articulate. Up to a certain point the church had to indulge it. She found classical learning to be indispensable in the formal schooling of the mind. But where it threatened to obtain a mastery over men and determine their ideals of life she resolutely opposed it. She wrote the ideal of renunciation, of flight from the world, in letters of flame. For in the ideal of resignation, of withdrawal from the world, her strength and her dominion over men resided. Thus the revival of ancient culture under Charles the Great was immediately followed by a movement of ascetic reform under Louis the Pious. Louis summoned the abbots from all parts of the empire to meet in 817 at Aachen. A capitulary was drawn up, accepted by the abbots, and ratified by the emperor. It may be called a modified version of the Benedictine Rule. It was to be the standard of monastic life throughout the empire. In the ninth century monastic ideas took a new flight. Conversion to monasticism among the secular nobility became more and more frequent. Gradually, too, there came into being a voluminous spiritual literature. It was quite varied. It served practical religious needs; it imparted a knowledge of the fundamental facts of the faith; it dealt with biblical history; and it also endeav-

ored to put the material of Christianity into poetic form and thereby give it a greater appeal to the mass of the people.

Development of feudalism. The absence of a strong master became quickly noticeable in secular affairs. The nobles had not forgotten their old insubordination. A series of vigorous rulers had controlled for a century the process of feudalization. But they had not stopped it. The practice of giving land as a *beneficium* to a man who swore personal allegiance to the grantor had continued. Charles the Great, by his capitularies, had legalized these transactions. Nay, he did more. He encouraged them. The fear of forfeiting such grants was a powerful factor in social discipline. Charles gradually relinquished his claim to direct obedience from the mass of the people. He accepted the mediation of the counts, bishops, and other officials who carried out the laws and administered justice. More and more his direct rule was limited to his personal vassals. Obedience and discipline thus passed from one man to another down to the lowest stratum of society. The duties of the lower classes towards the state, and even those of the lesser nobles, were transferred to the great landholders. Thus feudalism was not destroyed. It was legalized and systematized. But then it was controlled by a powerful personality. Now it took a fresh start and continued on its course without intermission. Turbulency and chaos were to prove its opportunity.

The partition of Verdun. No sooner was Louis the Pious buried than his sons flew to arms. In 843 they signed an agreement at Verdun. They parceled the empire into three independent kingdoms. One of the three rulers continued to bear the title of emperor, but he had no supremacy over the others. Louis took the eastern part; Lothair took the central part, and also the imperial title; Charles took the western part. This division is one of the most important events in the political history of continental Europe. It separated definitely the lands of the eastern and western

Franks and laid the foundation of Germany and France. Nevertheless the sentiment of unity survived the partition of the empire. Charlemagne's greatness left memories and regrets that long continued.

History of Lotharingia, Burgundia, and Italia. We have now to trace the history of each of these three parts of the great empire. Let us begin with the central part, which included most of Italy and a narrow strip running to the North Sea. It was about a thousand miles long and one hundred and thirty miles wide, a very heterogeneous collection of territories; its boundaries were ill-defined; and it was broken into two by the Alps. It contained the two capitals, one political and the other religious, Aachen and Rome. Lothair, its ruler, retained the title of emperor. This gave him a nominal preëminence over his brothers. But it was a land utterly lacking in national unity, and so it proved to be the least capable of life. In 855 Lothair died in a monastery. Then his kingdom disintegrated into the three smaller ones of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Italy. Lorraine, which was much larger than the modern province bearing that name, had a varied career. At times it was independent; at other times it was held by the West Franks; more often it was controlled by the East Franks. In the middle of the tenth century it was divided into two duchies, Upper Lorraine and Lower Lorraine. Each part was ruled by a duke; and throughout the medieval period both belonged to the Germanic Empire. Burgundy had an even more chequered career. Its boundaries constantly shifted. From 888 to 1032 it was a kingdom. Then, in the latter year, its king, dying childless, bequeathed his lands to the ruler of the Germanic Empire. The imperial government however, was never very strong in the valley of the Rhone, and so Burgundy broke up into several principalities that were virtually independent. The more important of these territories were the County of Provence, the County of Vienne, or Dauphiné, the County of Burgundy, or Franche-

Comté, and the Duchy of Savoy. Anarchy and misery were the chief features of the next hundred and fifty years in Italy. The royal power was never strong there; several great feudal lords were virtually independent and foreign foes were aided by the numerous internal quarrels. In 827 the Saracens gained a foothold in Sicily and from there they crossed to the mainland, where, in 841, they captured the port of Bari, the strongest fortress of the Byzantines. From that time forward the southern part of the peninsula, and the entire coast as far as Provence, became their prey. In 846 they even attacked Rome and sacked the church of Saint Peter, which was then outside the walls, and a few years later they pillaged the famous abbey of Monte Cassino. Through the almost impenetrable darkness and confusion we discern only that the various peoples of the peninsula were unable to form themselves into the nation of Italy. What was the fate of the imperial title? The first ruler of the Germanic Empire was Charles the Great, the second was Louis the Pious, and the third was Lothair I. The fourth was Louis II (855–876), who, owing to the disintegration of his father's territory, lost most of the land north of the Alps, and who therefore confined his activity to Italy. After him the title passed for two years to Charles the Bald, the only ruler of the West Franks who was ever styled emperor. Then it fluctuated between the East Franks and Italy until the time of Henry the Fowler who kept it in the land that subsequently became Germany. There it remained until, in 1806, the title was abolished.

History of East Francia. We have now to turn to East Francia, the land that eventually became modern Germany. In 843 it had been given to Louis II by the agreement at Verdun. The tribes of this territory were not yet a single people, but they had now for the first time a ruler whose authority was confined to their own lands. From this time the beginnings of a national life may be traced. At the close of the eighth century the custom began of designating all

the inhabitants by the common name of Germans. In 870 the treaty of Mersen was signed between Louis (of the East Franks) and Charles the Bald (of the West Franks) for the division of the lands taken from the crumbling central section of the empire of Charles the Great. It was the culmination of the process of division begun by the agreement of Verdun. By this time the two peoples were unable to understand each other's speech. With this treaty began the age-long quarrel over their frontier territory between Germany and France. It was a time of darkness and disorder in this eastern land. There was a constant struggle with the Slavs. Then a new enemy appeared on the scene. About 830 the Magyars, an Asiatic people, left their settlements on both sides of the Ural Mountains and migrated to the shores of the Black Sea. From there they turned westward, crossed the Carpathians, and descended into the fertile plain we now call Hungary. In 862 their wild bands first attacked the kingdom of East Francia.

The dukes in East Francia. The German dukes were virtually kings in their duchies. There was no monarch powerful enough to restrain them. The central legislation, the bureaucratic system of administration and the office of the *missi* disappeared. Particularism grew apace. There were marked differences in speech, laws, and customs between the Franks, Bavarians, Alamannians, and Saxons. Their peculiarities proved stronger than the national idea. This was particularly true of Saxony. Fortunately the threat of Magyars, Slavs, and Northmen made necessary a central government. But not until three-quarters of a century after the Treaty of Verdun did a king powerful enough to cope successfully with the anarchy of the time rule in East Francia.

The first strong king of East Francia. Henry I (919–936), the Fowler, had been a successful ruler as duke of Saxony. He was the first strong man to become king of the land of the East Franks, which we may now begin to

call Germany. Soldier and statesman, desiring the welfare of his country, he turned first of all to the establishment of internal order. He succeeded in making his authority recognized in the several duchies, including those in the south which seemingly had held aloof from his election. Then he permitted them to carry on their own affairs. His government was virtually confined to Saxony and Thuringia. The policy made for peace and helped to diminish the ill feeling between the different parts of the country. In 924 the Magyars overran Saxony with fire and sword; but during a truce of nine years Henry built walled villages and forts all along the frontier, required the monks to surround their monasteries with walls and moats, drilled his infantry in better modes of fighting, and developed a powerful force of cavalry. "Builder of cities" was the title given him by later writers. Then, in 933, he inflicted two crushing defeats upon the Magyars. Their power was not extinguished, but it was crippled so that never thereafter were they so formidable a danger to Germany. The work of Henry, a far-sighted statesman, brave soldier, skillful general, prepared the way for the great and enduring accomplishments of his son and successor.

Otto the Great. The long reign of Otto I (936–973), the Great, began under favorable circumstances. He was only twenty-four years old when he ascended the throne, but already he was unmistakably a king. His gait, now hasty, now halting, and his flashing eyes, betrayed the passionate restlessness of his masterful mind. Reversing his father's policy, he required all the dukes to become in the strictest sense his vassals. No federation of duchies was his ideal, but a strong and compact monarchy. There were formidable rebellions. The first half of the reign was taken up with struggles with the resisting dukes. But at last they were beaten, together with the Magyars whom they had invited to join them, and then the kingdom changed from the more or less loose political alliance it had been into a strong and

secure monarchy. After that the plundering Magyars were more willing to settle down. Gradually they adapted themselves to the conditions of civilized life and built up the kingdom of Hungary. And then, as often as opportunity presented itself, Otto bound the duchies more closely to himself by bestowing them upon members of his own family. Thus, in several ways, his position was greatly strengthened. Out of the five great duchies of Bavaria, Franconia, Lorraine, Saxony, and Swabia he had made by far the most powerful kingdom in Europe. His name was known and respected far and wide. Gifts of ivory, silver, and gold were brought to him by Slavs, Italians, Greeks, and Saracens.

Otto and the bishops and abbots. About this time Otto seems to have become convinced of the expediency of living and ruling in closer relation with the church. He refused to relinquish the appointment of bishops and abbots, but he gave land to them far more generously than did the Carolingians. More bishoprics were founded, and another archbishopric was established at Magdeburg. Soon he began to give them sovereign rights. He granted immunity for their territories, freedom from all the visitations of his officials for the collection of taxes; and he gave them the right to hold markets, and even to coin money. Thus wide districts with numerous populations passed into the governmental power of bishops and abbots. These administered them for the king, who secured himself by retaining the right of appointing them to office. It was a means he employed of saving the crown property from the clutches of the greedy secular nobles. It went still further in its results. The church supported the increasing centralization of power in the hands of the king. She opposed the greed of the secular nobility and the particularism of the tribes. For more than a century the peace and prosperity of Germany depended upon this league between the crown and the church.

Otto and the papacy. Otto I looked still further. He saw that he could make sure of the bishops and abbots as pillars of his throne only by getting control of the papacy, and in order to do that he must secure possession of Italy. Opportunity was soon presented. Pope John XII (955–964) asked his aid against Berengar II, king of Italy. The southern peninsular was in a deplorable condition. Anarchy was rampant. The papacy, too, had fallen into deep disgrace. A succession of unworthy popes, who had gained their office by the most infamous means, dishonored the Fisherman's Chair. So abandoned was Rome to vice and crime of every description that, even in those rude times, resentment and anger spread throughout western Europe. In 962 Otto assumed the kingship of Lombardy and received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope; and of the last twelve years of his reign scarcely more than two were spent in Germany. The assumption of these two crowns was the most important act of his eventful life. His successors followed his example. Every German king crowned at Aachen claimed the right to be crowned as emperor by the pope in Rome. Thus grew up, eventually, the Holy Roman Empire.

The imperial title. What title did Otto I assume when he had himself crowned emperor at Rome? He styled himself "August Emperor". There was no reference to the Roman origin of the imperial dignity. In 966 he issued a series of documents that bear the title of "August Emperor of the Romans and Franks". But in the same year this amplification disappeared. It gave way to the earlier and simpler title. Not until much later did there come into existence the name, very strange for a Germanic state, of "Holy Roman Empire".

Results of imperialism. This assumption by the German king of the imperial title was not a good thing for Germany. It led to neglect of the affairs of the kingdom. German kings became interested in imperial affairs. Especially did

they become interested in Italy. Some of them made costly but fruitless efforts to conquer that country. They had imperial duties that took them away for long periods from Germany. In their absence the feudal lords seized rights that were afterwards difficult to recover. They had to engage in struggles that exhausted the power that should have been used at home in keeping the aristocracy subordinate; and in order to obtain help they were sometimes forced to concede large measures of political power to their vassals. And then, finally, the possession of the imperial title brought on the greatest of all their struggles, a protracted dispute with the papacy. Thus the imperial crown was the most fatal gift that could have been offered to the rulers of Germany. It was the cause of many generations of widespread and needless suffering.

Otto II. Otto II (973–983) had to put down several rebellions at home, defeat the Danes, Bohemians, and Poles who were restless under the German suzerainty, and repel a sudden invasion of the French who sought to secure Lorraine. Seven years were required for this. Then he went to Italy in 980 and never returned to Germany. His marriage to Theophano, daughter of the Byzantine emperor, had increased his interest in the south and east, already stimulated by the fact that he was the son of an Italian princess, and he intended to secure possession of southern Italy. He received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope in Rome and styled himself "August Emperor of the Romans". The title was then permanently and exclusively employed by his successors. When he marched into Apulia he met with success at first, but soon the Byzantines and Saracens united to resist the northern invader and inflicted upon him a crushing defeat. The news spread gloom among his faithful subjects at home and encouraged the unruly neighbors along their frontiers. It became necessary for him to retrace his steps in order to end the inroads of the Slavs, but just at that moment he died, when

only twenty-eight years old, in his palace in Rome. Once again the imperial ambitions of her rulers was proving costly to Germany.

History of West Francia. Charles II (843–877), the Bald, was the first king of the western part of the wide realm of his grandfather, Charlemagne. He was a man of some education, devoted to letters, active, and desirous of building up a strong government; but rebellions at home and invasions from abroad compelled him to spend his life sword in hand and at last defeated him completely. He fought unsuccessfully against Brittany and was forced to recognize its independence; and his strength was wasted in a struggle against the people of Aquitaine. Then he was often obliged to defend his territory and people against the Saracens, who ravaged the coast of Provence, and against the Northmen, who, in their shallow boats requiring but a few feet of water, penetrated far inland to plunder and burn both monasteries and towns.

Coming of the Norsemen. A medieval monk tells us that Charlemagne was deeply troubled when he saw some boats of the Norse pirates coming up the river as he gazed from the ramparts of Narbonne. Had the great emperor an inkling of the foreign invasions that were to increase the disorder of the continent after his death, of the raids of Saracens in the south, Hungarians in the West? Did the strangers inspire fear in his heart because he realized that the unity of his wide realm was only ephemeral? About 830 these piratical Vikings began to attack the mainland of France. They needed gold, and they found it in churches, monasteries, and towns. They landed everywhere, and soon the roads swarmed with fleeing monks, though some stayed at home and fortified their monasteries, as did those of Saint-Omar. They began their more serious raids in 841 when they sacked Rouen; and from then until 911, when they settled permanently in the district afterwards called Normandy, they never ceased to attack the coast and in-

land places of France. They sailed up the Loire as far as Auvergne; up the Garonne as far as Toulouse; and up the Seine as far as Paris. They destroyed harvests, killed the peasants or carried them off into slavery, pillaged and burned the rich abbeys and the prosperous towns.

Development of feudalism. Quite plainly Charles the Bald was unable to defend his people from either domestic or foreign foe. Peasants, townsfolk, and lesser nobles sought protection for property and life from those who alone could furnish it,—the greater nobles, secular and ecclesiastical, who owned strongly fortified castles. Many such fortresses were being built, despite the protests of the king. Towns, also, were fortified. The seigneur migrated to a hilltop or an island in the river, or he isolated his villa by means of a ditch and surrounded it with a palisade. Men gave themselves up completely to these powerful lords, who, in return for service, whether with sword or plow, guaranteed them security of land and safety of life. The king was far away. He had been defeated over and over again. The lord was close at hand. Within the sheltering walls of his castle security could be found. Men commended themselves to these lords. And so in the sixty-three years that went by between the death of Charlemagne and that of Charles the Bald the direct authority of the king was abandoned for that of the lords. Every year the king saw more and more of his territory pass into the direct control of the great nobles. And gradually he lost governmental power. In those turbulent times the aristocracy assumed the powers that once had been in the sole possession of the king. Dukes and counts became the lords of all the subordinate officials they employed, and of all the freemen living in their counties. They acquired complete control of the life of the people who lived on their lands; their districts became immune from visitations of the royal power; and then, by the end of the ninth century, their tenure of office became permanent. Any change of counts or other such officers would have

meant loss, perhaps ruin, to all the vassals of the county. So the vassals supported the counts in the effort to attain permanency of tenure. Continuity of office, stability of control, was the natural outcome of the discordant and distracted state of society. The inner weakness of the kingdom now corresponded to its defenselessness to invasion from without.

The False Decretals. In these years of pillage and rapine abbacies and bishoprics suffered many injuries. Secular nobles often seized their lands; and the crown took part in such robberies. Charles appointed lay abbots to many important monasteries. Noménoé, count of Brittany, who in 846, by his defeat of Charles, had become the independent ruler of his county, desired to have only bishops who were Bretons. So he charged four bishops with simony and expelled them. Then he appointed successors to them and broke all bonds between the Breton church and the archbishop of Tours. Alarm was felt in ecclesiastical circles at all these doings, but especially at this interference of a lay power with the independence and very constitution of the church. Clearly something must be done to secure reparation for injuries already suffered and to prevent others in the future. But only a centralized church directed by a single head, could bring this about. So the prelates looked towards Rome. And some of them made preparations for a counter attack. About 850 a number of forgeries in church law were made, probably in the province of Tours. They were included in a collection of documents alleged to have been compiled by Isidore of Seville (560?–639), whom we have already noted as an encyclopedist and historian. They are known in history as the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*. Decretals are papal letters containing decisions in canon law. Together with the canons of councils they make up the greater part of the canon law. The collection of documents that afterwards came to be known as the *False Decretals* contains as many canons of councils as decretals. And many of the decretals in the collection are not forgeries.

The genuine documents, with which the spurious ones are interspersed, were intended to contribute to the acceptance of the entire collection as authentic. It is a skillfully compiled collection, about which, despite endless discussion, a number of questions remain unanswered. What was its purpose? The answer may be gained by noting, in addition to the contents of the genuine decretals and canons, the leading ideas in the false documents. We find there a definite program. Secularization of church property is repudiated; the power of the bishops is greatly strengthened by curtailing the right of appeal of the subordinate clergy; the old claim for the abolition of secular jurisdiction over the clergy is renewed; a claim is put forth for the extension of ecclesiastical authority over the laity; secular laws are to be invalid whenever they contradict the precepts of the church; and, finally, as the keystone of the arch, supreme power is attributed to the papacy. It was a bolder offensive than any other yet ventured upon by the church. It was an arsenal of canonical weapons with which to resist the usurpations not only of Noménoé, but also of every other lay power hostile to the church. About the time this collection appeared it was becoming evident that appeal to the pope and papal intervention offered the bishops the most effective guarantee against the arbitrary behavior of secular sovereigns. The anonymous forger drew his inspiration from that sentiment when he multiplied texts to enhance the prestige of the Holy See. The papacy, however, did not really need these spurious documents to assist in the process of consolidating its power. The success that attended them proves, on the contrary, that the public opinion of the time thought it quite natural to appeal to the papal sovereignty for the safeguarding of the local ecclesiastical autonomy. The ascendancy of the pontifical monarchy was not the result of the *False Decretals*. That ascendancy was a fact, already widely acknowledged, which the skillful forger sought to extend and exploit.

Increase of feudal power. The weakness of the kingship, the necessity of defending the frontiers and keeping order in the interior, favored the growth of the power of the feudal nobles. Great commands intrusted to members of the aristocracy appeared with increasing frequency. The century was ending in chaos. About 887 there appeared upon the scene Robert the Strong, who concentrated in his hands the counties of Tours, Angers, Blois, Chartres, Orléans, and Paris, and who was styled the duke of France. He is typical of the great feudal nobles who were replacing the central government. To him the king intrusted the defense of that part of the kingdom lying between the Seine and the Loire, a district that had suffered from the ravages of the Normans and the Bretons. The monarchical unity had collapsed. There had been no general law for the kingdom since 883, and no royal taxation since 885. All general government had become impossible. The great feudal nobles were virtually independent. Nominally they remained subject to the royal power, but each in his own district was master of the royal domains, of episcopal and monastic lands; each had attached to himself the former royal vassals and officials; and all perpetuated their possessions by the principle of inheritance.

Founding of the Norman Duchy. The following century witnessed the death struggle of the Carolingians in France. Eleven kings succeeded one another. It would be a mistake to think that the decline of their power was a repetition of the obscure and protracted death agony of the degenerate Merovingians. They were men of war; some of them were statesmen; but they lived in a time when the gathering forces of feudalism had become too powerful to resist. Then, too, they had to face a vigorous and able foreign foe. How should they repel the Normans? Force and bribery both failed. At last it was decided to give them a portion of France. They would then be enrolled among the defenders of the country. It was agreed in 911

to leave in their hands a considerable stretch of country, to which more was added in 924, that afterwards became known as Normandy. In return they were to receive baptism, promise not to invade the neighboring districts, defend the kingdom against attack, and do homage for their lands to the king. Raids of the northern pirates then virtually ceased in most parts of France. Some northerners, settled on the Loire, ascended that river for pillage, and some settlers in Normandy ravaged Brittany; but no new settlements were made in the kingdom. Normandy was rapidly organized, and soon it began to play a decisive part in the history of France.

Decline of the Carolingians. But even when the chief peril from abroad was removed the death struggle for existence on the part of the Carolingians continued. Their actual kingdom was comparatively small. They were surrounded by powerful regional sovereignties, the districts of great feudal nobles, the rulers of which, and not even all of them, were subordinated to the king only by the frail relationship of an oath. The most powerful of them was the duke of France, who held Orléans and Paris. The kingship could hold its own only by breaking through this iron circle. For a moment Lothair (954–986) succeeded in doing this. In 966 a general truce reconciled the king and the feudal aristocracy. All the feudal nobles swore allegiance to him. The kingship breathed again. It gained command of the roads to the land frontiers and to the sea. It succeeded in increasing and concentrating its possessions in the heart of the country.

The new dynasty. This was the last triumph, however, to be enjoyed by the Carolingians. Their star was setting. In 987 two assemblies of the prelates and grandees decided their fate. Hugh Capet, descendant of Robert the Strong, was proclaimed king, and a month later he was crowned at Rheims. The new dynasty was much stronger than the one it displaced. It had greater territorial possessions; and in its first occupant of the throne it had the man most capable of governing and defending the kingdom. The

revolution was accomplished chiefly by the bishops and abbots, by those ecclesiastics who were still saturated with the tradition of unity and the blessings of peace and order. The new dynasty had no connection with the past; it had no memories of imperial sway; it seems to have been bent upon summoning into existence the nation of France.

A solitary philosopher. Soon after his accession to the throne Charles the Bald had invited to his court and placed at the head of the palace school a man of learning, a subtle, powerful, and daring thinker, widely read in the Greek fathers, in the writings of the Neoplatonists, and in Augustine. Of the early life of John Scotus Erigena (800?–877?) nothing certain is known; and the latter part of his life is also shrouded in darkness. He seems to have come from Ireland; perhaps he visited the East; certainly he could read and translate Greek with substantial accuracy; and quite as surely all his sympathies were with the East. But though we know so little of his life, he lives for us in his books, the greatest of which is the *De divisione naturæ*. He was at once a rationalist and a mystic. Reason, or philosophy, he said, comes first; authority, or religion, follows after. All authority not based upon true reason, he declared, is weak. Legitimate authority is merely truth discovered by the power of reason and set down by the men whom we accept as authorities for the benefit of posterity. The noblest part of our nature is the intellect. With it the soul turns directly to God. Scotus Erigena's writings are a blending of Christianity and Neoplatonism. He united these two streams of thought. But he was no mere eclectic, patching together materials inherited from thinkers of a distant past. His mind was original and self-reliant, given to lofty speculation, and his imagination was gifted with wings. Only he among the thinkers of the time could really build with the materials of a bygone day. He was a rationalist in that he declared reason to be the highest of man's faculties, the means by which he understands the

world and apprehends God. He was a mystic in that he gave a partially pantheistic explanation of the universe, holding that while God is in the universe he is also above it and beyond it. The starting point of his thought was Neoplatonism, especially as it was colored with Christianity in the writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. It was really the last word of the ancient civilization of the eastern Mediterranean lands that in dying had turned its eyes away from the world to an indwelling and yet transcendent God. But this extraordinary speculative genius was a solitary gleaming light, a meteor passing through the deepening twilight of the ninth century, to vanish immediately, leaving no trace behind. Though he had many disciples and admirers in his own time, it would seem that nearly three hundred years went by before there were men who could really understand him.

The Pseudo-Dionysius and his influence. We have already seen something of the writings given to the world by an unknown author, some time in the fifth century, and attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. We now call him the Pseudo-Dionysius. His name and the date and place of his writings remain unknown; but in all probability he was a Syrian monk who wrote late in the fifth or early in the sixth century. The success of the imposture was complete. The medieval period was a very uncritical age. It readily believed that these books of a semi-pantheistic mysticism were directly inspired by Paul. Soon after the middle of the eighth century these strange writings could be read at the court of the Carolingians. In 757 they were sent by Pope Paul I (757–767) to Pippin II, the Short. But they were not studied much in the West until after 827, when a new copy was sent by the Byzantine emperor to Louis the Pious, who placed it in the abbey of Saint-Denis. About 858 Charles the Bald asked John Scotus Erigena to make a new translation into Latin. This was done, in a clear and generally correct style, and then through all the succeeding

medieval centuries the Pseudo-Dionysius became a great power in the spiritual life of western Europe. A deep impulse was given to the development of western mysticism. Whence came these writings that opened such wide horizons to the mind? They are a synthesis of heterogeneous religious beliefs and practices prevalent in the fourth and fifth centuries in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean. We see in them a mingling of ideas, each modified by contact with the others, and all colored by the strange and subtle thought of the anonymous author, that arose out of the seething life of that distant time, that were "understood or felt by high and low, by shouting rabble or angry dogmatist, by the semi-pagan or by him who was all turned to Christ; by men and women, by dreamers, mystics, rhetoricians, soldiers, sycophants, and tyrants, Greeks, Syrians, Copts, hot-hearted Africans, Latins, Italians, Romans, and all the sheer or semi-Hellenized or Romanized barbarians who thronged the empire". Apparently some of the fathers of the church had taken materials for precepts and creeds, for liturgies and sacramental ceremonies, from this abundant and amorphous mass of beliefs regarded as "Christian". Pseudo-Dionysius utilized it far more completely. He was a Christian and also a Neoplatonist. He united these two streams of thought. Let us glance at his *Celestial Hierarchy*. Immanent in the universe, he says, and also transcendent, is God. All life, and every good gift of life, comes directly from him. But there are ministers of divinity, too,—the angels, who direct and assist the life of man, that life which floods forth on to the world to return at last in a mighty counterflow to its original source, the triune God. Between man and God are three divisions of the celestial hierarchy: seraphim, cherubim, and thrones; dominations, virtues, and powers; and principalities, archangels, and angels. The general task of all these heavenly intermediaries is to help mankind to find its way, through the ascending stages of purgation, illumination, and perfection, to God. To all of

them the name of "angel" may be given. From this time forward the book became the authoritative source of information regarding the flaming ministrants of divinity and guardians of men. The earthly counterpart of this organized angelic host is described in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. At the head of the earthly hierarchy is Jesus. The first and highest rank is formed by the sacraments of baptism, communion, and extreme unction; the second by bishops, priests, and deacons; and the third by monks, initiated laymen, and catechumens. The main purpose of the book is to reveal and turn to the uses of contemplation the mystical meaning of the rites, ceremonies, and symbols of the church. It deals with the forms of worship, presenting their symbolic significance, showing them to be celebrations of holy mysteries. It greatly accelerated the development of ritual and ceremony. We find here, for instance, the first express mention of the ancient oriental practice of burning incense at the altar by Christian priests. Another book is the noble treatise *Concerning the Divine Names*. It is a lofty exposition of the qualities that may be predicated of God on the assurance of the terms applied to him in the *Bible*. It is deeply impregnated with Neoplatonism. These books were characteristic products of their time, and they were well suited to the desires and needs of the coming medieval centuries. They comforted men in that wild time of feudal warfare, of ignorance, of world weariness, of pessimism. They met the deep desire for celestial beings closer at hand, and more nearly constituted like men, than God, beings who would help men in their struggles with one another and in the unceasing war against them carried on by the armies of Satan. A fourth book by this unknown writer is entitled *Mystical Theology*. It presents the guiding principles concerning the mystical ascent of man and his union with God. Through these writings mysticism flowed into medieval life in an abundant stream, to be developed still further by the great mystics of the thirteenth

and fourteenth centuries, to flower in Gothic architecture, to impregnate the poetry of Dante, and to be enshrined in such popular religious books as *The Golden Legend.*

References for Further Reading

The original sources for the study of this period are included in the bibliographies of chapters 1–4 and 6–9 of the third volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History.* Dionysius the Areopagite's *The Divine Names,* and his *Mystical Theology* have been translated into English by C. E. Rolt.

Henry Brett's *Johannes Scotus Erigena* is the first satisfactory study in English of the philosopher who remains "the loneliest figure in the history of European thought". James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire.* A fresh and interesting treatment of John Scotus Erigena will be found in *The Legacy of the Middle Ages,* edited by C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob. H. Doerries, *Zur Geschichte der Mystik; Erigena und der Neoplatonismus.* H. A. L. Fisher, *The Medieval Empire.* J. Flach, *Les origines de l'ancienne France.* L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter.* E. F. Henderson, *A History of Germany in the Middle Ages.* W. R. Inge's *Christian Mysticism* contains a good explanation of the thought of the Pseudo-Dionysius and also that of Erigena. Rufus M. Jones's *Studies in Mystical Religion* has a good chapter on Dionysius the Areopagite and another on John Scotus Erigena. Hugo Koch, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in seinen Beziehungen zum Neoplatonismus und Mysterienwesen.* Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France.* Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Henry Charles Lea, *Studies in Church History.* A volume on *The Collapse of the Carolingian Empire* by Ferdinand Lot, one of the leading medievalists of to-day, is announced. See his *Les derniers Carolingiens* and his *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet.* Ferdinand Lot and Louis Halphen, *Le règne de Charles le Chauve.* A. Longnon, *Origines et formation de la nationalité française.* E. Mühlbacher, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern.* James Westfall Thompson's *Feudal Germany,* the best single volume on the subject, deals with the history of the Germanic Empire from the death of Charlemagne to the fall of the Hohenstaufen. Pasquale Villari's *Medieval Italy from Charlemagne to Henry VII* is an excellent guide through a chaotic period.

CHAPTER 14

FEUDALISM

The beginning of feudalism. Feudalism had its beginnings long before the time at which, in the course of our studies, we have now arrived. Disorder prevailed everywhere in the West during the years that witnessed the decline and disappearance in that part of the continent of the power of the Roman Empire. In those centuries small landownership continually declined, while the large domain increased by an inverse movement. Only the great estate, because of its extent and the capital of its owner, could protect itself from ruin, and profit by the ruin of others, in those times of insecurity. It alone was self-sufficing. Servile labor assured those who lived on it all their needs. The great *latifundium* became the economic unit in which human life was gradually reconstituted. The declining imperial power favored this progress in all the provinces of the West. It intrusted its highest functions to the great landowners. It conferred on them the title of senator, while dispensing them from sitting in the senate. These landowners formed a social class with its own attributes, its special privileges, and, a little later on, its hereditary character. They were the new masters of the West. The humble folk were defenseless against them. Some tillers of the soil abandoned their land, others were dispossessed of it, still others surrendered it on condition that they got it back on lease for themselves or their descendants. Free farming was disappearing. Its place was being taken by the "tenure". The imperial government eventually recognized the peril and tried to arrest the movement. In 370 it forbade the rural class to seek patronage. But the imperial power was no longer

obeyed. It was too far off and too weak. The humble folk could no longer make themselves heard, and the great had ceased to fear it. Then that happened which always takes place when misery is too great to bear and authority too weak to relieve it. In order to live, men renounced their liberty and accepted subjection.

Feudalism in the towns. The movement affected towns as well as countryside. The growing power of the landed aristocracy lessened the vitality of the municipalities. Society was increasingly being resolved into a patriciate which owned the soil and the common folk who were being pushed into servitude. The gulf widened between these two classes, and there was no longer any place between them for a free, prosperous, and organized bourgeoisie. The slow death agony of the imperial power continued all through the fifth century. The free population continued to decrease at an accelerating rate. Patronage became more and more widely prevalent than ever before and more powerful. Courtiers and merchants, as well as farmers, placed themselves in tutelage. Whole boroughs took a protector. The imperial government was powerless to stop a transformation which the social disorders were rendering inevitable.

Development of feudalism after the death of Charlemagne. From time to time we have seen something of this development of feudalism. The hope of Charlemagne that he had put an end to disorder and disintegration, that he had founded a permanent strong centralized government, was not fulfilled. The best laid plans do not always succeed. The incarnation of a dream is sometimes a failure. After his death the great empire was rent with civil war, and its frontiers were harried by Slavs, Magyars, Saracens, and Norsemen. When the peril of the foreign foe was passed, the nobles, armed against the pirates, continued to make war upon the people. They did not lose the habit of forays, surprises, and adventures. And all the wreckage of the

social life soon joined them,—fugitives, exiles, and wretches of every kind who had no other means of livelihood but plunder. Usurpations, depredations, murders, all the evils which the western part of the continent had suffered in the days of the decline of the old imperial government and the barbarian invasions, fell upon it anew. The kingship tried to restore some little order. Plunderers were denounced and threatened with the severest chastisement. It was lost labor. Such threats lacked arms to carry them out. A French capitulary of 857 throws a flood of light upon the social state in which weakness had no security and might knew naught of justice, and in which the very men, the agents and liege men of the king, "who ought to defend churches and the peace of the kingdom, despoil, devour, and depopulate a whole country". But the aristocracy grew great as much by its services as by its deeds of violence. It could oppress, but it knew also how to defend. And upon condition of obeying it, men, erstwhile free, had some chance of preserving their homes and lives. When all was said and done, the local protector was the only one. The king was too far away, and too weak. It was a period of profound anarchy during which feudalism was free to develop itself and take definite shape. It is wrong, therefore, to say that feudalism produced decentralization and diversity. It regulated them. Charlemagne's empire was too wide for the genius of the barbarians and the conditions of the times; and too wide, even, after his empire was divided, were the kingdoms of Germany, France, and Italy. Before the great nations could be formed their first elements had to be developed in little local societies. Feudalism, then, was the conclusion of a long and slow development, the natural product of the needs, interests, and ideas that displayed themselves when society began to emerge from chaos and reorganize itself. In its nature it was a system of landholding. It was the displacement of freehold, of allodial possession, by tenure.

Feudalism a varied thing. Feudalism was not established according to any regular plan. We must not think of it as a homogeneous system, complete and perfect at some definite time and place. It varied so much from place to place and from time to time that it baffles all attempts to paint a picture of it as a whole. It grew up slowly, and it was continually developing and changing. It was established in all the lands that had been ruled by Charles the Great; and, later on, but never so fully, in England. To a certain extent it was established in the Byzantine Empire and by the crusaders in Palestine. Traces of it still exist in the United States.

Benefice. Feudalism had four elements. The first was benefice. This was the granting of something, usually land, by a chief to a vassal. In seeking its origin we must thread our way back to the days of the Roman Empire. There were many varieties of land tenure under the Roman law. One of them is closely connected with feudalism. It is called *precarium*. Under this form of tenure the owner of a piece of land could grant the use of that land to another with no specified period of tenure. The owner could recall his land and terminate the tenure at any time, and for any reason, or for no reason. Very naturally the heir of the lessee had no right in the land which had been held by his father in this manner; nor was the heir of the grantor bound by his father's act. This was the form of tenure most frequently resorted to when the imperial government began to fail.

One form of precarium. The *precarium* developed rapidly after the fall of the empire in the West. The Germanic nobles were quite as desirous of increasing their possessions as the Roman patricians had been. In early medieval society, which continually grew more turbulent, the small landowner, who could not defend his property or his family, went to the neighboring great landowner and begged to be protected. "The weak man", says Salvian, a writer of the fifth century who lived in the midst of the barbarian in-

vasions, "hands himself over to the powerful in order that the latter may defend and protect him". This process was abated for a time under such powerful rulers as Charles Martel, Pippin the Short, and Charles the Great; but it was greatly increased under their weak successors, especially in the lands that suffered from the invasions of the Norsemen. The plundering, destruction, and butchery of these pirates lasted more than a century. There was continual anguish. The treacherous surprise, the unexpected appearance of the silent bark gliding on the river, the attack of the corsairs on an unarmed countryside, who, their blow once delivered, disappeared as they had come, in a flash! The people tried to defend themselves, but they failed. Then they fled in distraction, hastily burying their treasures, driving their cattle before them. There was only one way of escaping plunder and massacre. They must take shelter somewhere. So, deserting their villages, they took refuge with those who were strong enough to defend them. And everywhere the dwellings of the chiefs were more and more strongly fortified. Every country bristled with castles. But the lords did not afford protection for nothing. They demanded recompense. They said they could defend only what they owned. So the poor man had to surrender his land to the rich one. He entreated him, prayed him, to protect him and his family, and then, in return, to take his land and let him cultivate it during the remainder of his lifetime. Such land was no longer held allodially, in free ownership without service or acknowledgment to any superior save only the king. It was held precariously, by the favor and at the pleasure of the lord. The word *precarium* means a prayer, a petition. The land was taken and returned by the rich man in answer to the prayer of the poor man. The poor man was said to hold his land precariously. He held it only during the pleasure of the superior.

Another form of precarium. There was another way in which the benefice originated. A man who was without any

land of his own could ask a rich man to give him some land to till. This, too, was a *precarium*. It was a benefice held precariously, obtained by prayer or supplication, and depending upon the will of the lord. It was a form especially used in appealing to the greatest of all landowners, the church. Much land had passed into the possession of the church. Bishops and abbots received innumerable gifts of land from pious nobles, from penitent marauders, and even from the poor. Especially were numerous gifts made to the Benedictines. The church appropriated to the maintenance of its clergy portions of land of which they had the enjoyment during their lives. Soon it began to extend this system to the laity. Precarious tenure thus became, as early as the fifth century, the most general mode of exploiting the patrimony of the church. Many a poor landless man prayed a bishop or an abbot to give him some land to till, to take in return a share of the produce and of his labor, and to protect him. It was well known that, as a rule, ecclesiastics cultivated their lands better than the secular nobles did theirs, and that they were the most humane landlords. And so it became the general opinion that "Under the crook there is good living".

Varied forms of precarium. The *precarium* gradually assumed very varied forms. It was granted for five years, for ten, for life; it entailed the payment of dues, and the performance of services; it was made verbally and it was committed to writing. In various ways it developed into an actual contract. At last it became what was known in feudalism as the benefice.

Vassalage. The second element of feudalism was vassalage. Thus far we have paid attention only to one side of feudalism, the property side, the land side. There was also a personal side. These two sides of feudalism always remained more or less distinct. Yet they had something in common. In both cases the dependent was maintained and equipped by the lord. How did vassalage begin? Men

often put their own persons under the protection of powerful nobles, especially in the troubled times following the break-up of the empire of Charles the Great. They "commended" themselves to the great lords. They did not ask a gift of land to cultivate, for they were nobles themselves and so did not engage in any useful occupation. They wished to be members of the great lord's bodyguard. This transaction was called commendation. When it was accomplished the men were the vassals of the lord. There were two sources of this personal relationship known as vassalage. In the days of the Roman Empire there was the relationship of patron and clients known as *patrocinium;* and in the days in which the imperial power was declining the system of the *scholæ,* or troops of domestic soldiers, was introduced; and among the Germans there was the relationship of the tribal chiefs and *comites,* or companions, a retinue known as the *comitatus.*

Seigneur and vassals. It was especially younger sons of nobles who flocked to the castles of the more powerful lords and asked to be taken as vassals into personal service. But often the heirs of estates, and frequently nobles who owned estates themselves, sought eagerly to enter this relationship in order to be able to live at the court of a duke, a prince, a great bishop, a powerful abbot, or even a king. The chief was called the seigneur, for he was the senior, the older, the loftier in rank. The men who placed themselves under his protection were vassals. The law gradually defined and favored these commendations. It made them more precise, sanctioned them, and formed them into a contract. It put rights where formerly only duties had reigned; justice where before had been only the arbitrary power of the lord. The seigneur and vassals lived together in the same fortified dwelling, ate together, and went on expeditions together. The vassal, who really was a servant, waited upon his seigneur at table; in battle it was his duty to give up his life, if need be, to defend him. But mingled with this position of

servant was a deep sentiment of comradeship, which, without effacing distances, created a close personal tie.

Benefice and vassalage united in the fief. Originally benefice and vassalage were separate institutions; but they became united as early as the period of Charles the Great. It became an established usage to pay the vassals, in the only way possible at that time,—by giving them domains. This was not a new thing. It was a form of the *beneficium*. But gradually it acquired a new name. A benefice given to a vassal was called a fief. When a vassal was given a fief he no longer remained at the court of his seigneur, as a rule, but went to live on his domain, his fief, in a castle of his own. Benefice and vassalage, the land and the personal sides of feudalism, grew up side by side. So they became erroneously regarded as identical. Eventually they were merged and mingled in the fief. In the ninth century vassalage was rarely found without benefice. In the tenth century appeared the word "fief" under which they were united. It seems to be the word from which was derived the term "feudalism."

Immunity. The third element of feudalism was immunity. Each feudal seigneur formed his territory into an estate capable of defending itself. His smaller neighbors, who needed his protection, had become his dependents, either through benefice, or vassalage, or both. He had his own private army, made up of his vassals and other dependents, for defense. He exercised a private jurisdiction over all who lived under him. Eventually he secured from the king the privilege hitherto unknown, of exemption from the visits of the royal officers in his territory. This was known as immunity. As the kings became weaker and weaker it was impossible for them to repress disorder and crime. They were unable to hold their law courts and punish offenders in various parts of their kingdoms. So it became the custom of the king to delegate his authority in this respect to the great landowners who were his vassals. It was a still more imprudent act than increasing the territorial possessions

of the aristocracy. A host of grandees were then invested with the power of the state. Justice, the attribute and guarantee of sovereignty, belonged to every lord who held a fief directly from the king.

Development of immunity. At first immunity was only a method of protection against the abuse of royal authority. Many counts, acting for the king, carried out their functions in those lawless times in the most arbitrary manner, with utter contempt of individual rights. Monastic establishments early began to get immunity from the visits of such officers; then the secular clergy secured it. Abbots and bishops asked the king for a diploma exempting their lands and men from the count's jurisdiction. So the latter was forbidden to enter the privileged domain. He was no longer authorized to deal with the tenants on it, to levy taxes, or recruit men of arms. The king, it is true, did not resign his rights. He merely took away the power of enforcing them from the agents he had hitherto employed. The holder of the immunity was now his agent. The abbot or the bishop, to whom immunity had been granted, taxed the men on his domain, judged them, and levied and commanded the military contingents fixed by the royal order. He became, in short, the real possessor of governmental power in his territory. As early as the seventh century immunity closed a large number of religious domains to the royal agents. Very early, too, secular nobles acquired immunity, even in the time of the Merovingians. It was a perilous innovation that inevitably broke up the unity of the administrative system. After a time the nobles assumed all the rights of sovereignty, even that of coinage. The people then knew nothing of the king; their feudal lord became their sovereign. "Every baron", said the Sieur de Beaumanoir (1250?–1296), a notable medieval jurist, "is sovereign in his barony". The history of the ninth and tenth centuries is made up very largely of this triumph of the feudal aristocracy.

Heredity of land. When benefice, vassalage, and immunity had been established the formative period of feudalism was at an end. But still another element, heredity of land and of office, was added. The original tenure of the holding (the *precarium*, the benefice, the *fief*) was at the pleasure of the seigneur. Little by little the precarious or temporary character of the fief was lost sight of and the right of the vassal's heir to receive his father's holding was recognized as the general rule. Hereditary tenure, together with precarious tenure, existed in the time of the Merovingians. It grew continually and became a widely prevalent fact before it was recognized as a law.

Heredity of office. Not only land but also royal offices, held as fiefs, became hereditary, The greater the actual power of these officials became, the greater their economic and social strength, the less could the king think of bestowing the office elsewhere, outside the official's family, when he died. The disorders of the time gave full scope to the tendency towards the establishment of inheritance of offices and titles as well as land. And, like the inheritance of land, it, too, was a fact before it became recognized in law.

Completion of feudalism. Benefice, vassalage, immunity, and heredity of functions,—such were the elements of feudalism, of a new society that had gradually made itself apparent within the framework of the kingdom. It was now full grown. It continued to change in details, but no new element was added to it. It had won its way because it alone had been able to shelter men from the tempests of a stormy age.

Feudal and social ranks. Let us now look at this feudal society in order to learn something of its ranks and its usages. At the top of this society was a king, and directly under him were the great nobles, his tenants-in-chief, who were his vassals. Every one of these vassals had his own vassals. Subinfeudation had been developing and spreading. It penetrated deep into feudal society. There were

vassals of vassals of vassals, and still further. Many a seigneur, therefore, was also a vassal. He was a seigneur to his followers, and a vassal to his seigneur. There were few seigneurs, indeed, who were not themselves under seigneurs. There were many titles among the nobility, such as dukes, marquises, counts, and barons, titles that had for the most part lost their early significance. Margraves, a title that was gradually changed into marquis, were found far within the frontiers; some dukes had far less land than counts; and there were counts who no longer had any political authority. All these titles and ranks were now merely social. The only ranks known to the actual workings of feudalism were those of seigneur and vassal.

Subinfeudation. Many causes brought about subinfeudation. Great principalities were broken up, especially in the south, by a right of succession, that allowed equality of partition among the heirs. Only rarely in the north, if at all, were territories left to the younger sons. In the south, however, partition upon succession was the rule. Such divisions may be seen in the history of the county of Toulouse and in that of Gascony. If the rule had been applied indefinitely the great southern principalities would have disappeared. But they saw the peril, and, as early as the middle of the tenth century, strove to avert it. Marriages were arranged to restore disrupted domains; and the younger sons were made ecclesiastical dignitaries, or territories were given to them of insignificant size. Below the great principalities, however, equality of partition continued and contributed very strongly to subinfeudation. There were other causes. Every great domain, such as a dukedom, was obliged by the circumstances of the time to delegate great power to its appointed officials. Gradually these officials were transformed. Their office became a seigniory by heredity, usurpation, or the voluntary grant of the chief. Going still further down the scale we find below these middle-size seigniories a very large number of

smaller ones. A vassal was usually not required to keep the entire fief directly in his own charge. He was permitted to have his own vassals and to parcel out his fief among them. One of these subordinate fiefs might be a fortress with less than a square mile of land. Some were established by grants, others by usurpation. A lucky adventurer needed only to combine boldness with good fortune. Let him gather some companions together, seize a few acres, a promontory, or an isle in the river, build a castle, and a new seigniory was set up. Who could dislodge him from his lair? The king was powerless, the duke too far away. Most of these successful adventurers were accepted as vassals by the lord of their neighborhood; and some of them, in time, became seigneurs themselves. Thus did subinfeudation come about. It grew very intricate. Many men were vassals of several lords at one and the same time; and it was, indeed, not rare for a seigneur, for one or more of his holdings, to become a vassal of one of his own vassals. Thus, in practice, two men were reciprocally seigneur and vassal. The relationship of seigneur and vassal was thoroughly distinct in conception, yet in practice it was often sadly confused. In general, however, it was not difficult to determine who was primarily seigneur. It was along the borders of countries that serious confusion most often existed. Those who lived on the borders of the two dominions could seek fiefs from both lords. It was often possible and profitable to trim between the two seigneurs. This was done by the Counts of Flanders. Subinfeudation went on apace. At the beginning of the eleventh century dismemberment and separation had invaded everywhere. A thick crop of seigniories covered the soil. But feudal divisions were forever in flux. The desire of enlargement drove men to acquire more and more land, while circumstances of the time made for separation. Feudal domains were forever being broken up and made anew, like the ocean waves that swell and break on the shore.

Only seigneurs and vassals included in feudalism. Feudal society included only those who held fiefs. It did not include the whole body of the people. The only institution that included all the people was the church. The mass of the people, who were without fiefs, who were not landowners, were not in feudal society. The peasants and the growing element of the townsfolk were below it. There were two feudal ranks, two divisions of feudal society,—seigneur and vassal. The "feudal system" was made up of the usages of these two ranks. Only custom, not law, determined these usages. Each of the two ranks had rights and duties.

Homage. Naturally the first right of the seigneur was an act of homage on the part of the vassal. No one was born a vassal. Acceptance of that position was always theoretically a voluntary act. The ceremony of entrance into vassalage seems to have been much the same in all countries. The future vassal presented himself, bareheaded and without arms, before the lord who was to become his seigneur. Then he performed an act of homage by which he publicly acknowledged himself to be the seigneur's man. Kneeling before him he placed his joined and outstretched hands in those of the seigneur. "I become your man", he said, "from this day forward and for life, body and soul, and I will be loyal and true to you". It was the old commendation under a new form. Then the seigneur lifted him to his feet and kissed him on the mouth. Such was the act of homage.

Fealty. Then, putting his hand on some sacred relic or on the *Bible*, the vassal swore to remain faithful to his seigneur, to fulfill all the duties rightfully required of him as a vassal. He swore he would be faithful to his seigneur against all the other lords in the world. "Hearken, my lord", he said, "I will be loyal and true to you, and will bear you allegiance for the lands I ask to hold of you, and I will loyally render to you the customs and services I owe you; so help me God and the saints". This was the *sacramentum fidelitatis*, the oath of fealty.

Homage and fealty separate things. Homage and fealty were separate things. The first was an engagement; the second an oath. But as there was never the one without the other they came to be regarded mistakenly as a single thing.

Investiture. As a recompense for this engagement and oath the seigneur ceded to the vassal the possession of a benefice. About the year 1000 the benefice became generally known as a fief. Once there had been vassals without benefices. Freemen had commended themselves to lords as personal retainers. But now men rarely entered vassalage without receiving a fief. In the fief, as we have seen, the two elements of benefice and vassalage were fused. Ordinarily a fief was a piece of land; but it could be something else. Sometimes it was an office, or a lucrative privilege. Land, towns, houses, churches, the use of wood in a forest, right to fish in a river or a lake, the bees in a wood, right of taxation, collection of tolls, serfs, services of dependents,—all these and many other things were bestowed as fiefs. At the moment of transfer the seigneur put the vassal in possession of the fief by giving him something that symbolized the object transferred, a piece of soil, a twig of a tree, a vine branch, a bit of straw, a glove, sometimes a knife or a weapon. The seigneur also gave the vassal a written deed enumerating the number and the nature of the things ceded. This act was called investiture. The seigneur remained the owner of the property or the privilege transferred. And the contract bound only the contracting parties. It was valid only during their lives. It did not bind their descendants. When the vassal died the fief reverted to the seigneur; and when the seigneur died the vassal could keep the fief only by engaging himself to the new seigneur. But, as we have seen, gradually the heredity of fiefs became established. Yet, even then, the seigneur remained the owner. The vassal had only a "useful" domain, the seigneur preserved an "eminent" domain, over the fief. The contract

had to be renewed with each generation of seigneurs. In theory it was only the right to renew the contract that became hereditary. In practice, however, it came to be equivalent to heredity of possession of the fief.

The feudal contract. Homage, fealty, investiture,—they were almost an act of religion. For, as a matter of fact, they did not create a state of subjection but rather one of friendship. They did not bring together a master and a subordinate, but two equals. Seigneur and vassal bound themselves the one to the other. The contract that joined them welded their very lives together. Such was its force that, except in certain cases provided for beforehand, it could be broken only by death. It was a compact of reciprocity, both of rights and of duties.

Service in war. The fief was not given gratuitously. Homage had to be performed and fealty sworn. Something more was demanded. Special services were required, services that might be asked of a freeman, that excluded all idea of constraint, of pecuniary obligation, and of manual labor. First, and most important, was service in war. It was, indeed, chiefly for this service that the fief was given. The seigneur was the war chief of his vassals. They owed to him what formerly they owed to the king. If the vassal were himself a feudal lord, if he had men under him, he had to help his seigneur with a stipulated number of men. After the Carolingians a movement was begun to limit military service to forty days a year. In the twelfth century it became the general rule. During this period the vassal served his seigneur at his own expense. At the end of the contracted time, whether or no the war were ended, the vassal could go home and take all his men with him. If further service was asked it had to be paid for. And this service levied not only men. It requisitioned beasts of burden, carts, provisions, and lodgings, according to the terms of the agreement. The vassal had to let his seigneur occupy his castle in time of war, if it were necessary; and he was bound to pro-

tect and defend his own castle against the enemies of his seigneur. The lord could put garrisons into the castles of his men; but he was bound to give the castles back in the condition in which he took them, and he could seize nothing in them except straw and hay. Men had to be ready for military service almost at an hour's notice, to answer the summons of their lord with all speed. He could claim anything from them, a regular expedition, siege, pitched battle, sortie, or foray. At first even ecclesiastical vassals were not exempt from such service, and even when exemption was granted them they had to supply men in their place.

Service in council. Then there was service in council. The seigneur could summon his vassals to come to his castle to give him advice in perplexing and important matters. Usually when the seigneur needed such advice he called all his vassals to his court at the same time. The entire political government of the seigneury in fact depended upon the coöperation of the vassals. The seigneur presided, surrounded by his officers, vassals, clergy, and in the presence of the people. All important matters were discussed,—regulations of many kinds, the foundation and immunity of churches, the establishment of markets and fairs, the building of bridges, questions of war and peace. And in the large feudal states these assemblies were very important. This attendance at court was often limited to the three great festive seasons of the church, to Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas.

Service in judgment. Still another duty had to be performed, that of judgment. Sometimes the assembly of vassals was required to act as a tribunal. Sometimes only the nearest and most powerful of the vassals were summoned to it. Three or four were enough. What did it matter? They were not magistrates. They were peers. And in that capacity their competence was unlimited. It was not formulated or restrained by any text. It was contained entirely in the principle of intending to do right. They adjusted

differences between vassals, and differences between vassals and seigneur. Many cases arose out of the feudal system. Questions concerning the duties of the vassals and the corresponding duties of the lord had to be settled by due process of law, the marriage of daughters or widows who were heirs to fiefs, the guardianship of inheritors of fiefs who were under age, these, and many other questions, gave rise to a body of peculiar feudal law which distinguished those who were subject to it still more sharply from the rest of the population, who lived in accordance with the popular or national law. The lord was forbidden to take immediate proceedings against a vassal who had failed to fulfill his obligations, or even against one who had been disloyal, and to confiscate his fief. The verdict of a feudal court was first necessary. The other vassals of the seigniory, the peers of the accused, composed the court. And very often the lord had to rely upon their assistance for the execution of the sentence.

Aids. Thus far we have dealt with only the regular services owed by the vassal to the seigneur. There were also occasional services. In the beginning they were scarcely more than courtesy; but gradually they became customary; and then they became law. As early as the eleventh century we see them springing up in Normandy and Anjou. Aids of various kinds had to be given. Among them was ransom. In those times it was often more profitable to capture than to kill. Prisoners could be held for ransom. Many feudal battles, therefore, were almost bloodless. When a seigneur was captured, his vassals contributed towards his ransom. Each had to pay the aid due from him to deliver his lord from prison. Aid was also due from the vassals to the seigneur when his eldest daughter was married, when his eldest son was knighted, and when he departed on a crusade. In some places there were still other aids. On some fiefs the vassal was obliged to contribute towards the expense when his lord was summoned to meet the overlord, or when the

lord went on a pilgrimage to Rome. Then, too, the seigneur could require the vassal to entertain him together with his escort or his hunting party. In the thirteenth century these aids were stipulated quite minutely in the feudal contract. The duke of Aquitaine required one of his vassals to furnish a repast for him and ten knights whenever he visited the fief. The meal was to include pork, beef, cabbage, roast chicken, and mustard; and the vassal himself was to wait upon his lord in scarlet leggings with spurs of gold. These special contributions are not to be spoken of as taxes. They were aids. Taxes were for the commoner, aids for the noble.

Reliefs and escheats. Reliefs were another set of occasional services. Ordinarily at the death of the seigneur, and sometimes at the death of the vassal, a payment was due the seigneur. It was called a relief. In the north of France this relief in the case of a new vassal was very heavy. It was a year's revenue from the fief. And it was heavier still when the new vassal was only a collateral heir of his predecessor. Likewise when a vassal sold a fief the purchaser had to secure the approval of the seigneur and then pay him a relief for the right of purchase. Sometimes this amounted to three years' revenue. These payments grew out of the struggle to lessen military duty and to limit the power of the lord by compelling him to bestow the fief anew after escheating. These two ends were not achieved without opposition on the part of the lords. The question gave rise to severe struggles in the third and fourth decades of the eleventh century in Lombardy and Germany. The vassals were successful. In the twelfth century military duty was reduced to forty days in the year, and the rule was established that escheated fiefs were not to be kept in the possession of the lord but, within a year and a day, were to be bestowed anew. But the lords were permitted to impose heavy dues upon the succession of fiefs. In this struggle the vassal was everywhere favored by the fact that he was

in possession and could wait to see whether the lord was able to drive him out. The latter was virtually deprived of his ownership rights by the establishment of the devolvability of fiefs. If a vassal became a felon his fief might be forfeited; and if he opposed his lord he might be declared a recreant and his fief be forfeited. In either case the fief escheated to the seigneur, who, however, had become obliged to grant it to some one else. In these cases, also, special payments were exacted of the new vassal.

Wardship. Reliefs also accrued to the lord when the heir to a fief was a minor. The seigneur then took control of the fief and administered it during the minority of the heir. He did this because the minor could not perform his services as a soldier. The age of majority varied from fourteen to twenty-one according to the region. This administration of fiefs during the minority of heirs was often very profitable. In return the seigneur had to educate the heir and restore his fief when he came of age. He resumed the fief, administered it, and collected its revenues, not as a master who disposed of them, but as a guardian who supervised them. He knew he would have to give an account of his wardship; that the feudal law forbade him to alienate or waste, to cut down the forests or ruin the lands. And he knew, too, that it bade him nurture and bring up his ward. To fail to do so was felony. In some places, however, the heir was permitted to secure a "competent man", usually the nearest male relative, to administer the fief during his minority.

Marriage. Sometimes there was money for the lord in the control of the marriage of women who inherited fiefs. The right of a daughter of a vassal to inherit the fief of her father was established with more difficulty than that of a son, because women could not perform military service. There were some regions where fiefs were never transmitted to daughters. But the habit of treating daughters as heirs was so strong, especially in the south of France, that, finally, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it applied even to

fiefs. For the service of the fief the woman had to furnish a substitute. The seigneur had the right to see that the man to whom she was to be married was friendly to him; and a right to see that he was a good fighter. In Spain and at Jerusalem the seigneur presented to the heiress two or three knights from whom she had to choose a husband. Sometimes he chose a man of lower rank than the heiress, and then she would offer money in order not to be required to marry him. Sometimes women paid to be allowed to marry whom they wished. In order to avoid marrying men for whom they did not care, heiresses could go into a convent. But then their estates escheated to the seigneur.

Summary of services and payments. All these varied fiscal obligations were from the first irregular and exceptional in character. The most important service the seigneur expected from the vassal was military aid. In that lay the primary and supreme purpose of the institution. Feudalism was above all things else an army of landholders. It needed men. When a seigneur surrounded himself with companions to whom he distributed his land, and whom he treated as equals, it was to them that he looked for soldiers. And so, indeed, that is the name they bore. They were *milites*. War was alike their trade and their duty.

The rights of the vassal. In the course of our study of the duties of the vassal to his lord we have learned, incidentally, his rights. There was a reciprocity of obligations between him and the seigneur. He had, of course, the right to be invested with a fief. A fief meant food. He had also the rights of protection and justice. The lord was quite as much bound to be faithful to his man as the latter was bound in regard to the lord. Food, protection, and justice! They were the things most needed and desired in those troubled times. Protection and justice implied manifold obligations. The seigneur was to defend the life of the vassal, his goods, fortunes, and family, even by armed force when necessary. Still further he undertook not to attack

his honor, to respect his wife and children, to refrain from injury to his land, and not even to enter it without being authorized to do so. And this aid survived the protégé. The vassal was assured that, when he died, his wife and children would be sheltered, for, in default of relatives, the seigneur took them under his charge. The vassal had still another right,—that of defiance. If a seigneur failed in his duties, the vassal could fling down his gage, retire into his castle, and by himself, or with the aid of the lord's foes, endeavor to gain his freedom. Or, at the worst, he could go away and perhaps seek a fief elsewhere.

The vices of feudalism. What were the vices of feudalism. It entailed almost constant war. On every side the phantom of war, impending or declared, daily threatened the life of men. Feudalism was scarcely more than legalized anarchy, save where character came to the aid of custom. War did not cease when the raids were arrested of Slav, Magyar, Saracen, and Norseman. The feudal lords, the new masters of men, did not then leave peasants and townsfolk at peace. They made war on the king and continued to attack one another. Every noble was a warrior. Unless he was bound by some special agreement he had the right to make war upon whomsoever he pleased. This condition was the common law. The whole ambition of the aristocracy was to increase their power or enlarge their frontiers. The king was impotent. They took the law into their own hands. They settled their quarrels and avenged their injuries by arms. Private war became the only form of law. It raged between man and man, family and family, seigniory and seigniory. And naturally all people not sheltered behind walls fell victims. Enemy troops despoiled the peasantry and burned their villages. Sometimes famine came upon a district when the cattle were driven away, the crops destroyed, and the orchards cut down. The example of the great nobles, of the tenants-in-chief, was contagious. The lesser feudal aristocracy, violent and rapacious, fought

continually with one another. And perhaps they were responsible for most of the suffering. In many places there was an infinitesimal division of land and rights. Competition between these petty lords was keen. Their increasing multiplicity diminished their resources. These *raubritter* pillaged for food, for gain, for adventure. They preyed upon the peasants who tilled the fields, upon the pilgrims wending their way to distant shrines, and upon merchants traveling from town to town. The most vivid descriptions of medieval war are those of the *chansons de geste,* particularly *Garin de Loherain.* But many prose documents have come down to us describing the tumult and suffering of the time. Yet, after all, frequent as were these acts of violence they were not the most general form of oppression from which the common people suffered. When we come to study the life of the peasants on the manors we shall see that they were continually exploited, day by day, by the lords.

The virtues of feudalism. Feudalism had some noteworthy merits. There was, theoretically, at least, no compulsory entry. No man, however constrained by circumstances, was legally obliged to take a seigneur. Commendation was regarded as a voluntary act. One entered vassalage, so it was assumed, of one's own free will. And, at least in the earlier years of feudalism, the man who meant to bind himself could offer his fidelity and services wherever he wished. Then, in the second place, the relation of vassal and seigneur was simple and intelligible. One knew his rights and duties. Life is not so simple to-day. We are born into a very complex and intricate system, and we are responsible to it whether we will or no. A third merit was that no change could be made without mutual consent. The lord could not impose new duties without the consent of the vassal. Taxation without representation was even then deemed to be tyranny within the ranks of feudalism. It was a régime of singular liberty. To-day a majority rules us absolutely. And, in case of a proposal to repeal

one of the clauses of our constitution, even a small minority can rule us. A fourth merit was that judgment was passed by one's peers. Verdicts were rendered not by one's lord or subordinates, but by men who had the same interests, who belonged to the same class. In the fifth place, under certain conditions, it recognized the right of rebellion. If the seigneur made an attempt upon the life of the vassal, upon the honor of his wife or daughter, or upon his goods, or even if he struck him with only a stick, the vassal could denounce the agreement that held them together. This was a brutal right; but it was only just that it should be granted in the days when force was recognized. Finally, under prescribed circumstances, feudalism recognized the right of withdrawal. In the last issue there was freedom.

The feudal conception of the kingship. What did feudalism think of the king? Kingship was something other than feudalism, and had existed long before it. But the tendency of feudalism was to merge the king into the feudal condition, to make him only a seigneur. Like every other feudal lord he now drew his subsistence only from the peasantry on his private estates; he received military service only from the nobles who were directly his vassals; and the laws he enacted were effective only in his own domains. There were as yet no such things as national taxation and a national army. One thing that led to the decline of the kingship, that enabled feudalism to overpower it and assimilate it, was the fact that it had not grown up out of the life of the people, but had been imposed upon them. The strength of the monarchy depended upon the personal power of the king under the Merovingians and also the Carolingians. It was based upon the bond of subjection. And so, quite naturally, when kings were weak and fought with one another they were engulfed by feudalism. The king came to be less a sovereign than a seigneur. Feudalism, rising from below, reached even to the throne. Once the royal offices were

mandates from a sovereign; now they were benefices conferred by a feudal lord. And these offices were held for life; the king could not revoke them except for infidelity; and finally they became hereditary. Each of these royal officers had behind him a large number of vassals whose fortune depended upon his continued holding of office. Had he been dispossessed their lot would have been seriously impaired. It can easily be imagined into what confusion the transfer of a royal office, once it had been granted as a benefice, would have thrown a whole district. Every new king found himself compelled to accept the services of the men appointed by his predecessor, and, when they died, of their heirs. Feudalism not only engulfed the kingship. It dominated it. The feudal nobles regarded the kingship with distrustful and jealous eyes. They spoke to the king as an equal. They presumed to "warn" him. And the king gave way. "We promise to listen to the advice of our liege men", said Charles the Bald in 877 at Kiersy. When a king was compelled to speak such words the royal power had suffered a great decline since the death of Charlemagne.

The ecclesiastical conception of the kingship. On the other hand the ecclesiastical conception of the king exalted him far above the feudal nobles. All kings were consecrated. They became the Lord's anointed. They reigned by his grace and governed in his name. Every king was now a sacred person, the lieutenant of heaven, who no longer commanded bodies only, but whose power penetrated to the very soul. He controlled more than acts; he swayed consciences. Fidelity to the king was ennobled by being made a religious duty; and infidelity became not only a crime, but a sin, even a sacrilege. "You are a holy race", said Pope Stephen II to Pippin the Short. To obey the king, then, was no longer merely to depend upon a man. It was to obey God. The aid of the church was powerful in making the king supreme, in putting an end to feudalism. She

was forever teaching the kings that their office was not derived from feudalism.

The popular conception of the kingship. The conception of the peasants and townsfolk was very favorable to the kingship. They believed that appeals from their feudal lords to him ought to be allowed. They thought he ought to be the guarantor of universal justice. They looked to him as their natural champion. Consecration and unction gave a religious basis to the royal power. In the church, in the presence of the people, the king knelt before the altar. A great prelate pronounced the words of consecration, the holy oil was poured on his head, he was clad in his royal ensigns, the scepter was put in his hand, the crown on his head. Aye, more! He was clothed with a priestly vestment, the dalmatica; and, like a priest, he received the wine as well as the bread in the greatest of all the sacraments. So to the people he was far more than a feudal lord. He was something of an ecclesiastic. He was even something more than human. His scrofulous subjects crowded about him, caught at his hand or his hauberk's edge, to be cured of "the king's evil". "Divinity", it was believed, "doth hedge a king".

The kingship becomes hereditary. At first the kings were elected, but gradually the office became hereditary. Feudal barons protested at times, but the principle of inheritance came to be formally established. This was done first of all in France; then in England. Germany was not so fortunate. There a few nobles, in the fourteenth century, gained the right to elect the emperor. And then the principle of primogeniture came to the aid of heredity in France. Equal division of territory had worked havoc in the days of the Merovingians and Carolingians. The Norsemen no doubt brought their ideas of primogeniture; but its evident necessity was perhaps the greatest factor in its establishment. But until the end of the medieval period the crown and the royal domain were indivisible only in

England. On the continent princes of the blood, always the haughtiest of feudal nobles, continued to be made powerful by the portions of the royal domain they secured.

Feudalization of the church. It was impossible for feudalism to spread all over western Europe without involving the church. Every bishop and every abbot was a seigneur. They had vassals upon whom they had bestowed fiefs and who, in turn, owed them all the services and dues that were rendered and paid by the liege men on secular estates. Naturally this had a deep influence upon the character and life of the church. Prelates were plunged in the cares of the world, and absorbed by its interests. Then, too, the disorders of the time had an immediate effect upon the life of the church. Many crimes were committed by feudal lords against episcopal and abbatial lands and buildings. At times the clergy were reduced to poverty; and nearly always they were insecure. This rendered them less capable of fulfilling their religious duties and carrying on their work as educators. The schools established by Charlemagne disappeared, or they lingered, more or less innocuously, in a few powerful but isolated monasteries like that of Saint Gall.

Summary. Feudalism was a product of history. It was a long and gradual development to which many generations had contributed. Great landownership, patronage, vassalage, an idea of the state that permitted the dismemberment of the public power, social habits that substituted individual engagements for the authority of the law,—all these things played a part in bringing about a common result. It developed and persisted because it was the only institution answering the vital needs of the age. When all is said and done, the service it rendered seems to have been greater than the evils suffered. It was the only guide capable of organizing and leading the shattered and disorderly society of the time. It gave to disintegrating society a framework and chiefs. True it was a narrow framework, but it succeeded in grouping men. It fixed them to the soil, it gave them

common duties under a common master, and it provided them with a set of customs that rose to the level of law. Unjust and violent as the feudal lords often were, they were, after all, the only power of protection left in existence in a time when protection was life's most imperative need. Feudalism enforced a stern discipline and thus laid the foundation of a new civilization. Among the more intelligent there were doubtless men who tolerated it because they hoped and believed it contained within itself a power of transformation. Such men did not regard it as something fixed and final. They were not the victims of a despairing fatalism. Under the miserable village thatch, in the narrow and winding streets of the town, within the bare and gloomy walls of castles, there must have been men who thought and dreamed. They knew that sovereignty was only in suspense. They caught a glimpse of nationality, of something above and beyond a world of contending seigniories, as to-day men see on the far horizon the vision of the federation of the world, an ideal above and beyond the present fact of warring nations.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for the study of feudalism are listed in the bibliography for the twentieth chapter of the second volume and the eighteenth chapter of the third volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*. Both of these chapters were written by the late Professor Paul Vinogradoff. There are some "Documents Illustrative of Feudalism," edited by Edward P. Cheyney, in the *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* published by the University of Pennsylvania.

There is a fine chapter on feudalism in George Burton Adams's *Civilization during the Middle Ages;* and see also his excellent article in *The Encyclopædia Britannica.* J. B. M. F. Brissaud, *History of French Private Law.* H. Brunner, *Grundzüge der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte.* Joseph Calmette's *La Société féodale* gives a clear explanation of the origin and development of feudalism and contains a brief survey of all medieval society in the last two

medieval centuries. A. Esmein, *Cours élémentaire d'histoire du droit française.* N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France;* and also his *Les transformations de la royauté pendant l'époque Carolingienne.* P. Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France au moyen âge.* Charles H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions.* The third volume of Gabriel Hanotaux's *Histoire de la nation française,* written by Pierre Imbart de la Tour, contains much information relating to feudalism. M. M. Kovalevsky, *Ökonomische Entwicklung Europas.* M. Kröll, *L'immunité franque.* Henry Charles Lea, *Studies in Church History.* E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclesiastique en France.* Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France.* Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale.* Ferdinand Lot, *Fidèles ou vassaux.* Achille Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises.* A. Meister, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte.* Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization.* C. Seignobos, *The Feudal Régime.* G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte.*

CHAPTER 15

THE YEAR 1000

The fiction of a great catastrophe. Men used to think that as the first thousand years of the Christian calendar drew to a close a great panic spread over Christendom. People of that mournful age, it was believed, awaited in fear the total destruction of the world in an apocalyptic catastrophe. The first book containing the story of the millennial terror is the *Ecclesiastical Annals*, published in 1605, and written by Cardinal Baronius (1538–1607), librarian of the Vatican; but it was William Robertson (1721–1793), a Scottish historian, who gave the legend its widest currency, and Jules Michelet (1798–1874), a French historian, who most effectively embellished it with appealing literary power. In 1873, however, François Plaine, a scholarly Benedictine, after thoroughly examining the question, found the story to be fictitious; and the further studies of Raoul Rosières, Jules Roy, and Pietro Orsi have dispelled all doubts as to its legendary character. No such widespread and paralyzing terror afflicted the people of that time. There was nothing more than the indefinite sense of impending doom, generated in a time of social disintegration and decay, that can be traced from the opening of our era to the dawn of the Renaissance. But the year 1000 is a good time to make a cross section of history, to attempt a general survey of Europe and the neighboring lands in Asia and Africa.

Denmark. Let us first of all look to the north, beyond the confines of the Germanic Empire. Nearest of the Scandinavian states was Denmark. Its history becomes reliable about the beginning of the ninth century. It is then we first hear of the Vikings. The expeditions of these

northern freebooters, stimulated by the love of adventure and the pressure of overpopulation, began, as far as we know, in 787 with the appearance of three ships on the southwestern coast of England, and continued for even a century after the permanent settlement of the district afterwards called Normandy. The name Northmen was given at random to all these terrible pirates from the unknown north. Those who settled in eastern England and northern France were perhaps Danes. Eventually these heathen freebooters, at home and abroad, were tamed and civilized by the church. Christianity was slow in making its way into Scandinavia. Ansgar (801–865), a missionary monk, preached from 826 to 861 in Denmark, with an occasional journey to other lands; but the real conversion of the country began in 960 with the baptism of King Harold Bluetooth (940–986). The most notable innovation of Canute the Great (1018–1035) was a military brotherhood, called the Tinglid, whose members were chosen from the richest and noblest families. They formed the royal bodyguard, did garrison duty, and defended the frontiers. They were also the beginning of a standing army. Canute was the first king of his country to begin systematic coinage; and he did much to further the civilizing activity of the church. Denmark is essentially an insular kingdom. Its only continental territory is the peninsula of Jutland, and that is frequently intersected with fiords and channels. It was then made up very largely of sand dunes, pasture lands, marshes, and forests; but now it is a smiling country of grainfields and grasslands, of lakes and forests, with tall groves of beech fringing its shores.

Norway. Norway is naturally divided into three parts, each of which remained more or less separate until almost the end of the medieval period. Its coast is frequently and deeply indented with fiords, some of which penetrate fifty to one hundred miles into the very heart of the peninsula. These arms of the sea, of great depth and from half a mile

EUROPE
about 1000
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Arctic Circle
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
WALES
ENGLAND
SWEDEN
Upsal
DENMARK
Lund
Elbe R.
Posen
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Rhine R.
Aachen
Rouen
FLANDERS
VERMANDOIS
NORMANDY
CHAMPAGNE
Reims
BRITTANY
Orleans
ANJOU
DUCHY OF FRANCE
Paris
Danube R.
Constance
Augsburg
POITOU
Tours
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
Autun
FRANCE
AQUITAINE
Lyons
KINGDOM OF BURGUNDY
Milano
Venice
Genoa
Florence
Pisa
Ravenna
Oviedo
Burgos
LEON
Duero R.
CASTILE
Pamplona
NAVARRE
ARAGON
GASCONY
TOULOUSE
COUNTY OF BARCELONA
Marseilles
Tagus R.
Toledo
CALIFATE OF CORDOVA
Cordova
Seville
Barcelona
BALEARIC ISLES
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Rome
Naples
Amalfi
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Palermo
SICILY
Fez
Algiers
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Kairwan
Tripoli
FATIMITE
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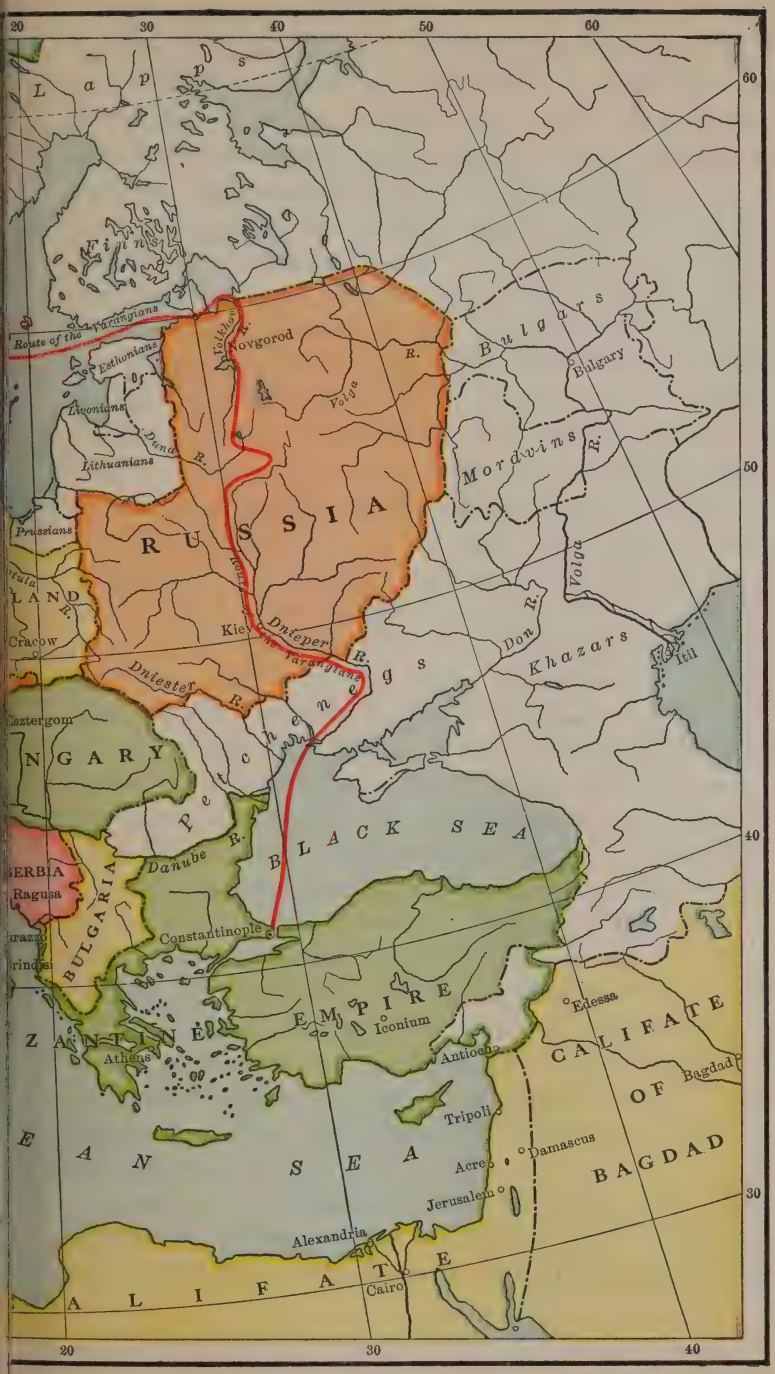
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Lapps
Finns
Route of the Varangians
Esthonians
Livonians
Lithuanians
Prussians
Novgorod
Volkhov R.
Dwina R.
Volga
R.
Bulgars
Bulgary
Mordvins
RUSSIA
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Cracow
Magyars
Petchenegs
Don R.
Khazars
Itil
Eastergom
HUNGARY
BULGARIA
Danube R.
Ragusa
SERBIA
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
EMPIRE
Iconium
Athens
Edessa
Antioch
CALIFATE OF BAGDAD
Tripoli
Damascus
Acre
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
EGYPT
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CALIFATE
BAGDAD

to two miles wide, carry the influence of the ocean far inland. Without them even the brief and uncertain summers would be impossible, and their mirror-like surfaces, over which the modern steamers glide as in a dream, help to produce the mysterious spell of that northern land. Charters and laws of the eleventh and twelfth centuries tell us something of the conditions of life in that northern land. An earlier source of information is the sagas. These epic stories dispel somewhat the obscurity that shrouds the Norwegians in the Viking Age. They reveal something of the personal daring and vivid imagination that made those northern peoples conquerors and rulers in many distant lands. There must have been some general disturbance in the Scandinavian lands, not altogether unlike the unrest that several centuries before drove the Germans across the frontiers of the Roman Empire. We shall read about some of the deeds of these far-ranging pirates later on. At present we are concerned only with affairs in their homelands. The first king who ruled over the whole of Norway was Harold the Fair-haired (?–933), who won his supremacy only after severe struggles, and to whose authority some of the noblest families refused to submit and crossed the sea to found new homes in the Orkneys and the Hebrides. Olaf I (995–1000) furthered the spread of Christianity in Norway, Iceland, and Greenland, summoning for this purpose a number of priests from England. Harold III (1047–1066) illustrates the wide wanderings of the Northmen. Obliged to flee from his native land at the age of fifteen he took refuge for a time at the Russian court of Novgorod, and thence went to Constantinople. He led the imperial Varangian guard to frequent victory in Italy, Sicily, and northern Africa, and then found his way as far east as Jerusalem.

Sweden. Swedes also traveled down the rivers and across the wide plains to the border of Asia. In the ninth century they founded a number of colonies on the east side

of the Baltic; and, later on, we hear of freebooting voyages on the Black Sea and on the Caspian. Somewhere about 830 Bishop Ansgar (801–865) made his first missionary journey in Sweden; but all traces of his work soon disappeared after his death, so stubborn was the resistance of northern heathenism, and for more than a century afterwards no other serious attempt seems to have been made to win the Swedes from their attachment to their ancient deities. Under King Olaf (993–1022) Christianity was more widely established in Sweden; and that monarch made his country one of the most powerful of the Scandinavian kingdoms.

Prussians, Lithuanians, and Letts. Several groups of people very different from the Scandinavians lived on the southeastern shores of the Baltic. The most southerly of them were the Prussians, who occupied the territory between the Vistula and the Memel. There they maintained their independence until, in the thirteenth century, they were conquered by the Teutonic Knights. North of them were two other peoples to whom they were closely related, the Lithuanians and the Letts. More than a thousand lakes are scattered throughout the country where these two peoples live, and the intervening stretches of land were made up very largely of marshes and peat bogs. None of these three groups had risen to the level of a united kingdom at this time. Each consisted of many separate villages and clans isolated from one another by the forests and marshes. The inaccessible character of their country has enabled them to preserve their racial and social characteristics despite the vicissitudes of their history.

Esthonians, Finns, and Lapps. Still farther north, extending from the Gulf of Riga to the Arctic Ocean, were several other groups, the Esthonians, the Finns, and the Lapps, who belong to the Ural-Altaic, or Mongolic, division of the human race that was active and civilized long before the Greeks and Romans were heard of, and that still predom-

inates in northern and central Asia. The Esthonians appear in history shortly before the year 1000 as a warlike and predatory people, heathen in religion, and with a rich store of national songs. The Finns lived in the land between the arms of the sea afterwards called the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia and the White Sea. Their country is a labyrinth of lakes connected with one another by short and rapid streams. There in that land of lakes and islands, meadows and forests, sheltered by the wilderness from the rest of the continent, yet attainable by the sea, they kept their own customs and lived their own life. No doubt they mixed their blood with that of other races in the course of their long migrations from the Asiatic steppes, but even to-day they have their own sharply defined anthropological and ethnical characteristics which differentiate them from the surrounding populations. They also have their own language, sonorous, and supple. No written chronicle of their early history has come down to us, no cuttings in the rocks or runic inscriptions recall the memory of this heathen race that, if it ever knew it, had lost the art of writing. Yet their traditions, their legends, their epic songs, of uncommon richness and vitality, descended by word of mouth from generation to generation through many centuries until, eventually, they were written down, and then, in 1835, were published under the title of the *Kalevala*. Most epics of far-off times deal chiefly with bloodshed, but this one is gentle and lyrical in character, and nobly idealistic. It has, too, something of the eerie twilight of that northern land and not a little of the dreamy pensiveness of the people who live there. Still farther north, in a land of cruel winters yet mellowed by the magic illumination of the midnight sun, live the Lapps. Even to-day they make secret offerings to their rude divinities, for they have never been more than half converted to Christianity.

Poland. Such were the northern lands of Heathendom, in which, as yet, only a slender foothold had been gained

by Christianity. Between them and the Black Sea were the Slavs. The most westerly of these peoples were the Poles, a word that means "dwellers of the plain". Poland first appears upon the scene about 960. Before that time we have no reliable information regarding that nation. The Poles seem to have lived for centuries on the great plain from which they got their name, amid the virgin forests and the impenetrable tracts of low wet land between the upper waters of the Oder and the Vistula. There they lived a simple life as hunters, herdsmen, and tillers of the soil. Perhaps it was the pressure of the Germans on their western border, more than anything else, that caused them to combine and become a nation. Mieczylaw (962–992) became a Christian; and, in 980, he issued an edict requiring all his subjects who had not done so to receive baptism. Boleslaf (992–1025) was the first Polish ruler to bear the title of king. It seems to have been conferred upon him, in the year 1000, by Otto III of the Germanic Empire. Despite an excessive love of adventure that often caused him to lead the life of a wandering chieftain, he was a capable ruler, gifted with insight and animated by a desire for social improvement. Quickly he gathered the forces of the struggling principality, extended its territory to the Baltic and the Danube, from the Elbe to the Bug, and won for it the overlordship of Russia. But this imperial domain rested upon the uncertain foundation of personal power. In less than twenty years after the death of the great king it collapsed; and then a heathen reaction swept away nearly all traces of western civilization and Christianity. The lack of natural frontiers, the unbridled individualism of the people, and their deficiency of political instinct subjected them to invasion and disintegration; but in the eleventh and twelfth centuries some of the lost provinces were recovered, and national independence was maintained against the Germans. The Poles are a bright and vivacious people, though they share with their kinsmen an intrinsic mel-

ancholy, and they are perhaps the most gifted of the Slavs.

Bohemia. Situated in the geographical center of the continent, and almost completely inclosed by mountains, nature seems to have contributed largely to the creation of the nation of Bohemia. It is a richly endowed land. The mountains are covered with great forests of pine and oak; the soil of the undulating plain of the interior is nearly everywhere fertile; coal is found in abundance; there are large deposits of nearly every useful metal; and there is an easy way to the great plain of the Danube and another in the north to the wide lands of Germany. We are not certain when the Czechs first arrived in Bohemia, but they seem to have become masters of the inclosed plateau sometime in the fifth century. Their history becomes less dim after their conversion to Christianity. For quite a long time their country was virtually a fief of the Germanic Empire; but Bretislaf I (1037–1055) regained its independence and recovered much of its lost territory, including Moravia, Silesia, and a large part of Poland.

Russia. East of the Vistula and the Carpathians lies a great plain extending to the icebound shores of the Arctic Ocean, the Ural Mountains, the Caucasian Range, and the Caspian Sea. The northern part of the plain, a land of slender and silver birches and occasional lakes, was inhabited by the Russians. Like all the other groups of mankind they are not a pure race. The original home of the Slavs, as far as we know, was the northern slopes of the Carpathians towards the Vistula and the Black Sea. They established themselves firmly on the Dnieper and spread widely to the north and east. In the course of their history they have absorbed and assimilated many foreign elements; especially have they received a powerful strain of eastern blood; yet, with unusual persistency, they have maintained their ancient type. This has been due, in part, to their overwhelming numerical superiority. Not that all of them are alike!

There are several distinct kinds of Russians. They are a people of passive resignation, yet alive and energetic, a complicated amalgam of East and West. About the middle of the ninth century, so the legendary narrators tell us, some adventurous chiefs came from the land of Rus, which was perhaps a part of Sweden. They were Vikings, relatives of the Norsemen who invaded England, settled in northern France, and founded a kingdom in southern Italy. Some of these daring travelers made their way from the Baltic, along the sluggish rivers of the vast plain, to the Black Sea and formed the famous Varangian bodyguard of the Byzantine emperors at Constantinople. Others settled in the north, governed the tribes that previously had quarreled continuously among themselves, founded a dynasty, and made their capital at Novgorod; and to their kingdom was given, by whom we are uncertain, the name of Russia. Then they began to conquer the surrounding country in all directions, especially the thinly populated plains to the south, and before two centuries had gone by they had established themselves at Kiev, the mother of all Russian cities, midway between the Baltic and the Black Seas. In time the Russians entered into relations with Constantinople. Vladimir I (980–1015) married a Byzantine princess and adopted the Greek form of Christianity. Thus he separated his people from the spiritual life of central and western Europe; and, in addition to its faith, his country borrowed its manners, its literature, and its art from Byzantium. He controlled the wandering hordes of the treeless and monotonous steppes, and pushed back his frontiers on every side. While this was going on he built many churches, founded schools, established ecclesiastical courts, and made provision for the poor. His son Yaroslaf (1019–1054), after overcoming his brothers, followed in his father's footsteps as far as he was able. He strove to make Kiev the rival of Constantinople; and he succeeded in making it one of the most beautiful cities east of the Carpathians. But after

his death the struggles of rival princes began again and gave opportunity to the robber tribes of the steppes. Russian power then retreated northward, and for a long time remained impotent even there because of agricultural inferiority, industrial backwardness, and warfare among the various principalities. Chief of these principalities was that of Novgorod, which was more of a municipal republic than a monarchy. It was not this democratic state, however, that was to become the nucleus of the future empire, but the more eastern principality of Moscow. Gradually Russia acquired a civilization alien and distant from that of her western neighbors. It became a land of barbaric poverty and oriental splendor, influenced by the successive migrations of peoples from the table-land of central Asia and by the glittering civilization of Byzantium.

The Bulgarians of the Upper Volga. We must now glance at the peoples who lived in the plains of the Volga, a wide land reverberant with the age-long fighting and fusing of Slav and Tartar. East and south of the Russians were several groups of peoples who had found their way thither from Asia. The most northerly of them, in the region of the central Volga, was a division of the Bulgarians. They had remained in that land of swamp and forest when some of their kinsmen wandered to the region of the Black Sea and later crossed the Danube. Their capital city, afterwards known as Bulgary, was situated some twenty miles below the confluence of the Kama and the Volga. Down the rivers they sent valuable furs, honey, wax, and other products of their forest land. Their state survived until it was conquered by the Mongols; and eventually they became assimilated to the Slavs.

The Mordvins. South of the Volga-Bulgars lived the Mordvins, who were related to the Finns. Like all the other Finno-Ugric tribes they had crossed the steppes in order to live in the northern forest lands along the banks of rivers and lakes. Their descendants still live in the same region;

and, though they have given up their own language for Russian, traces of the ancient worship of the sun, the moon, and trees and water, are still to be found among them.

The Petchenegs. Between the Russians and the Black Sea were the Petchenegs, or Patzinaks, one of the many Turkish peoples whose original home was the wide and treeless steppes of central Asia. They were a group of barbarous tribes who had found their way into Europe and who for some three hundred years wandered about the northern frontier of the Byzantine Empire. We do not know what eventually became of them. Perhaps some of them settled in Hungary and Bulgaria.

The Khazars. Between the Caspian Sea and the Don were the Khazars. They were a more or less civilized people, with populous and thriving towns; and from the opening of the seventh century they had been in rather close relations with the Byzantine Empire. They were the leading traders of that part of the continent, the chief carriers between the basins of the Caspian and the Black Sea. Through their territory ran the great caravan road from central Asia to the north of the Don and the Sea of Azov. Itil, their capital, in the delta of the Volga, was known far and wide as the White Abode. It was the meeting place of the commerce of Persia, Byzantium, Armenia, and Russia. Their rulers diplomatically declined to commit themselves to Islam or Christianity; and to avoid suspicion of partiality for either of these contending creeds they embraced the neutral religion of the Jews. Kazaria declined with the rise and eastward thrust of the power of Russia, and it was finally extinguished in 1016 by a joint expedition of Russians and Byzantines.

Hungary. We know little of the early history of the Magyars, or Hungarians. Some writers believe they are related to the Finns, while others contend they are kinsmen of the Turks. The truth may be that they were a Finno-Ugrian people strongly influenced, in the course of

their wanderings, by the social customs of the Turks. When they first appear in the history of Europe they were a medley of races, living north of the Black Sea, between the Don and the Dnieper. In the ninth century they extended their predatory raids westward; and then, about 895, after being defeated by the Petchenegs, they crossed the forest-covered Carpathians and descended upon the wide and fertile plain now known as Hungary. They easily conquered that country, and mingled with the races they found there. We have only slight knowledge of their history during the next seventy years. Their wild and reckless horsemen made devastating raids into Italy, Germany, and France, bringing captives back with them who were distributed in various parts of the land and who taught their captors something of agriculture and industry. But in 955 they were finally defeated by Otto I, of Germany, in a great battle near Augsburg; and then, shut in on all sides by strong states, they gradually settled down to a peaceful life. They were not a very numerous people even when they crossed the Carpathians; their frequent predatory expeditions made impossible their rapid multiplication; and large numbers of them perished in their daring forays; and so when their life became more peaceful and they intermarried with the various peoples of the plain their racial character was greatly changed. Under Stephen I (997–1038), a great constructive statesman, they made notable progress in civilization. Fishing, hunting, and cattle breeding, the old occupations of the people, were now supplemented by agriculture. Benedictine monks established monasteries in various parts of the country. They cleared the forests, drained swamps, turned the recovered lands into meadows and grainfields, built villages for the peasants who gathered about them, taught better methods in agriculture, improved technic in craftsmanship, and even imparted some knowledge of the arts. Some priests from Venice invented a Latin alphabet for the Magyar language. And the monks were followed by

foreign husbandmen, artisans, and traders. Political and social conditions were simple and primitive at this time in Hungary. The conquerors were just leaving a nomadic and predatory existence for a more civilized mode of life. Their chiefs were largely independent. There was no fixed national capital for the court. In summer the prince dispensed justice in the open air, in a meadow, or under a tree. Only in the short winter months did he live in the house built for him by Italian architects at Esztergom. Flocks and herds, and the labor of his serfs, many of whom were hunters and beekeepers, were his chief means of support. Stephen did much to change all this. He broke up the old tribal system of his people, and organized the administration of the country after that of his more civilized neighbors. Counties were created, and the government was increasingly centralized. Private ownership of the soil was encouraged, and cities were begun by inviting foreign craftsmen to settle in the land. Stephen also did much to further the cause of Christianity among his people, despite the desperate resistance of some of the heathen chiefs, and in this he looked not to Constantinople, but to Rome. He built churches, founded monasteries and schools, imported many monks and priests from Germany, France, and Italy, and established an ecclesiastical organization consisting of ten bishoprics with an archbishopric at Esztergom. In the year 1000 he received a royal crown from Pope Sylvester II.

Serbia. Little is known of the early history of the Serbians. They were an agricultural people, living north of the Carpathians between the sources of the Vistula and the Dniester. In the beginning of the sixth century they migrated to the shores of the Black Sea, and from there they moved westward, crossed the Danube, and settled in the northwestern corner of the Balkan peninsula. They were at first merely a collection of independent clans. For more than five hundred years after their arrival in their present country their history is that of a ceaseless struggle between

efforts to remain a group of separate clans and attempts to establish a centralized form of government. It was a turbulent time. Continual civil war brought weakness and suffering. The Serbians rendered themselves impotent against their aggressive neighbors. From the eighth to the twelfth century most of them were under the suzerainty of either the Bulgarians or the Byzantine Empire; while the others were compelled to acknowledge the control of either Venice or Hungary. About 1042, however, this vassalage to their neighbors was disowned, and in 1077 the ruling prince proclaimed himself a king and received a crown from Pope Gregory VII. But this independence did not last long. About the middle of the twelfth century all the Serbs, in order to secure protection against the Bulgarians, were obliged once more to recognize the overlordship of the emperors at Constantinople. As time went by they became the most divided of all the Slavs. They fell into three groups, each of which had its own dialect; and there were two alphabets and two religions.

Bulgaria. We have seen something of the Bulgarians, a tribe of the Finno-Ugrian race, who remained in the central region of the Volga, and who were there eventually absorbed by the Slavs. The other division of this Asiatic people traveled south and west and, in the latter part of the seventh century, crossed the Danube and advanced to the walls of Constantinople. They were a horde of wild and savage horsemen, and the Byzantine emperors were obliged to give them a large district south of the Danube. But they were not very numerous, and in the course of the next two hundred years or so they were gradually assimilated by their subject Slavs. They gave their name and also an effective political organization to the more numerous and more civilized people they had conquered; and in return they received from their subjects a new language, all record of their own gradually being lost, new customs, and new local institutions. Eventually they accepted the Greek

form of Christianity. This decision had important consequences for the future of the kingdom. It led the Bulgarians to look to Constantinople as the source of their civilization and religion, rather than to Rome. It allied them in sympathy with the East, and induced them to turn their backs upon the West. The national power reached its culmination early in the tenth century, when it extended from the Black Sea to the Adriatic and from Thessaly to the Danube. Then, owing to internal strife, it declined; but it rose again in the latter part of the century and stretched from the Danube to the Morea.

Croatia. The Croats were a Slavic people closely related to the Serbs. Their country, lying between Bulgaria and the Adriatic, after passing through many vicissitudes, became subject, in 877, to the Byzantine Empire. About 910, however, they regained their independence; but Držislav (978?–1000) is the first of their chiefs who may rightfully be called king. Krešimir (1000–1035) subdued a large part of Dalmatia and did much to increase the naval power of his people. In 1091, owing to disputes between claimants to the crown, the country fell into the possession of Hungary. Independence was won once more in the fourteenth century; but so frequent were the quarrels between turbulent nobles and between fanatical sects that, in the sixteenth century, all but the extreme western part of the country, which acknowledged allegiance to Austria, fell into the hands of the Turks.

The new caliphate. Having looked at the countries included in Heathendom, or as yet only partially converted to Christianity, let us now turn to those that had been won for Islam. The Saracenic Empire reached its widest extent in the middle of the eighth century. It then embraced great possessions in western Asia, northern Africa, and southwestern Europe. But it was soon to be divided. In 749 a new dynasty, the Abbasids, gained the caliphate. Everywhere they displayed the utmost vigor and cruelty

in seeking the Ommiads, whom they had displaced, and putting them to death. Only a few members of the ill-fated family escaped. The change marks the end of the supremacy of the Arabs in the world of Islam. The power of the new dynasty rested upon a standing army made up chiefly of soldiers who were not Arabs. The only things remaining to indicate the origin of the great movement were the Arabian language and the Arabian religion. The composite empire, with its civilization gathered from diverse sources, was no longer Arabian. We now style it Saracenic.

The Bagdad government and civilization. Great disturbances accompanied the change of dynasties. Frequent destructive wars broke out among various factions in the East, while in the West both Northern Africa and Spain were lost to the empire. When the uprisings in the East were quelled the government was carried on from Bagdad, the new capital on the Tigris. Then in the reign of Mahdi (775–785) much was done to improve the imperial organization and the life it controlled. Agriculture, manufacture, and commerce flourished; the revenues of the government increased; and the people were prosperous. Haroun-al-Raschid (786–809) is the most famous of all the caliphs of this time. His able ministers made the frontiers secure, filled the public treasury, and increased the power and the splendor of the throne. The territorial possessions were extended westward in Asia Minor; the first paper factories were founded at Bagdad; and two embassies were sent to the distant court of Charlemagne. The richly colored *mise-en-scène* of his court and his capital may be seen in *The Thousand and One Nights*, of which all the stories of enchantment, so different from the unimaginative literature of the Arabs, came from Persia or India. Only the pictures of manners and other details taken from real life are Arabian. Mamun (813–833) was a wide and munificent patron of science and art. After he had subdued several insurrections his reign acquired a brilliant luster. He caused works on

mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and philosophy to be translated from the Greek into Arabic; and at his capital he established a kind of academy with a library and an observatory, called the Home of Science. He was a liberal in religious thought, a rationalist, a man of rare social and intellectual qualities. It was in his time that the Persian element in the empire gained complete ascendancy over the Arabian. The periods of splendor were always interspersed with others of civil and religious strife. In the reign of Moqtasim (833–842) Turkish slaves were employed as the royal bodyguard, and in a few years they became an important influence in the state. They had found their way into Mesopotamia and Syria from the endless wastes of the vast eastern continent, with their wild horsemen, their caravans and plagues, their shrill melancholy fifes and sharp beat of savage drums. So steadily did their power grow that Radi (934–940) was obliged to relinquish most of the royal functions to their leader.

The Cordovan government and civilization. When the Abbasids gained the caliphate a young prince of the fallen dynasty fled to the Bedouin tribes in the Arabian desert, and from thence to northern Africa, where the local rulers, still devoted to the Ommiad cause, were seeking to gain independence. In 755 he crossed to Spain, then in a state of confusion, torn by tribal quarrels among the Arabs and race conflicts between the Arabs and Berbers. Abd-ar-Rahman I (756–788) succeeded in capturing the emirate, and his long reign was spent in reducing his anarchical subjects to order. It was in his reign that Charlemagne attempted the conquest of Spain, but was obliged to leave the banks of the Ebro in order to suppress the unruly Saxons. Under his successors irrigation and improved methods of agriculture made many parts of the peninsula prosperous, while the court at Cordova successfully emulated that at Bagdad. Still the old racial feuds broke out from time to time. Abd-ar-Rahman III (912–961) began to rule when

half a century of rapine and war had completely exhausted the country. "The state is threatened with utter destruction", wrote a contemporary; "calamities follow one another ceaselessly; pillage and theft are rife; our wives and children are led away into slavery". He put an end to the intertribal conflicts, the sanguinary struggles between his subjects, and then attacked the Christians. Most of the princes who upheld the banner of the Cross in the mountains of the northwest of the peninsula became his vassals and submitted their quarrels with one another to his judgment. He was habitually engaged in strengthening the central power and providing for the welfare of his people. Resolute and just, generous but not extravagant, loving splendor and devoted to learning and art, he made his reign one of the most memorable in the history of the Moslems in Spain. It was he who first assumed the title of caliph in Spain. He was the greatest of all the Moslem rulers of the peninsula. Agriculture, manufacture, commerce, science, and art flourished under his able administration. "Do not talk of the court of Bagdad and its glittering magnificence", said a contemporary poet; "do not praise Persia and China and their manifold advantages; for there is no other spot on earth like Cordova". And from the ninth to the eleventh century that city was more splendid, more learned, and more civilized than any other capital in the West. Its mosques and palaces, shining with marbles and mosaic, its orange groves, fountains, and luxurious pavilions, would have seemed like fairyland to the inhabitants of Aachen or Paris, or even to the people who lived amid the ruins of Rome. Hakam II (961–976) was a learned and pacific prince. Eagerly he sought for books at Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, and Bagdad. Scholars flocked to his court, where they were protected and encouraged, and the University of Cordova became one of the most famous in the world. But at the close of the century the state, for long so flourishing, began to show signs of dissolution. Ra-

cial strife, though momentarily diminished whenever a strong ruler happened to be on the throne, was now augmented by struggles between classes, workmen against employers, and townsfolk against the nobles. As the first half of the eleventh century drew to a close the central government collapsed, the several provinces became independent and often engaged in fratricidal strife, while municipal republics were established at Cordova and Seville. Such was the situation that gave encouragement to the Christians whose little kingdoms lay to the north of the Douro and the Ebro. For some time they, too, had been weakened by internecine war; but under Alfonso V (999–1028) of Leon reorganization and expansion began anew.

The Fatimite caliphate. The Moslem world was still further divided when northern Africa, from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, was formed into another caliphate independent of Bagdad. The Fatimite dynasty, which received its name from Fatima, daughter of Mohammed, maintained its independence for nearly three centuries. For some time its capital was Kairwan. Then it built Cairo, which, now that Damascus and Bagdad are decayed, is the most remarkable of all Saracenic cities, and gathered a great library there and another at Tripoli. Late in the tenth century the new caliphate was extended to the Euphrates.

The Byzantine Empire. Having completed our survey of the encircling lands of the heathen and the infidel we must now turn our attention to Christendom. When we look at the map we see that the Roman Empire had become far more Asiatic than European. In Europe it held only fringes of coasts and islands. Its only solid mass of territory was in Asia Minor. So it was often called the Eastern Empire. Diverse peoples lived in its lands, Albanians, Greeks, Vlachs, Slavs, Turanians, Magyars, Armenians, and Syrians; but gradually the Greek element became predominant. So it was often called the Greek Empire. And then its civilization had acquired a distinctive character, compounded of

elements indigenous to the Greek-speaking lands and others derived from the Orient. So it was often called the Byzantine Empire. But its real name continued to be the Roman Empire, as it had been in the days of Marcus Aurelius when its capital was Rome. And it kept unbroken the tradition of the old Roman Empire. All its inhabitants knew themselves by no other name than Romans. For more than fifty years after the reign of Justinian (527–565) the empire remained exhausted by his costly and cruel policies of territorial acquisition, grandiose architectural undertakings, and religious persecution. In those decades more than half the peninsula of Italy fell into the hands of the Lombards; while Slavs crossed the Danube, changed the racial character of the Balkan peninsula, especially to the north of modern Greece, and penetrated even to the islands of the archipelago. Then came the rise of Islam and its rapid spread into Asia Minor. The empire was then entirely surrounded by aggressive enemies. But Constans II (641–668), an able and determined ruler, did much to avert the danger. He reorganized the army, checked the advance of the Moslems into Asia Minor, and, by the creation of a powerful fleet, equipped with the mysterious Greek fire, defended the coasts and islands of the Ægean Sea.

The reign of Leo III. In the first year of the reign of Leo III (717–740), known as the Isaurian, the Saracens made a stubborn attempt to capture Constantinople; but at the end of a year's investment they were compelled to withdraw with fearful losses. Then Leo strengthened the defenses of the empire. Slavs were settled in the depopulated districts, and the army was made much more efficient. Twice he inflicted severe defeats upon the Saracens; and from the end of his reign to the middle of the tenth century the ceaseless contest with them by land and sea consisted only of border feuds and forays of each power into the other's territory. There were no decisive battles, no great conquests. For two hundred years the danger of Saracenic

conquest of southeastern Europe had been turned aside, while fourteen years later the Moslem tide was stopped in the West by Charles Martel. In other respects, too, a new era was opened by the reign of Leo. He improved taxation, restrained the growth of great domains, raised a multitude of serfs to the rank of free tenants, remodeled the laws relating to the family, and did much to develop the merchant marine. But his most famous reforms were in the field of religion. Many people disapproved the exaggerations of the veneration of sacred images, especially in Asia. Leo was an Asiatic. He issued a series of edicts forbidding the use of images in public or private worship. Most of the theologians and all the monks opposed the innovation with relentless hostility. The resistance was especially bitter and determined in the more westerly provinces of the empire. But this did not deter Leo. He believed that the continual increase of monastic wealth menaced the state, that the multiplication of monastic lands and laborers meant less taxes and fewer soldiers. He believed that in the use of images the monks found one of their greatest sources of wealth and power; and he believed, too, that the people were fast descending to the depths of superstition. So he proscribed the use of images. It was a bitter struggle in which nameless cruelties were perpetrated; but in the end he, and those of his successors who continued his policy, won. True, the use of images, far less lifelike, however, than those in the West, was permanently restored in 843; but the monks had been greatly weakened in the course of the long struggle and the church was left dependent upon the state. The iconoclastic edicts had a far-reaching effect. They helped to induce the popes to look for aid against the Lombards to the Frankish rulers rather than to the Byzantine emperors; and they accelerated the growing differences in religious matters between the East and the West. In the ninth century the empire displayed an outburst of vigor, becoming once more the strongest power in

Europe; and at the same time it enjoyed a revival of learning and culture that had been in abeyance for two centuries.

Culmination of the power of the empire. The Isaurian dynasty, which for a hundred and fifty years had carried on iconoclastic struggles, accomplished social reforms, indulged in palace intrigues, and fought with the restless armies of the Crescent, at last gave way to another which was to reign for almost two centuries. Basil I (867–886) was the founder of the Macedonian dynasty. He was a peasant, shrewd, handsome, and of great physical strength. He did much to protect the poor, reform taxation, and improve the procedure of the law courts; and in him art, especially architecture, found a liberal patron. The reign of Basil II (976–1025) marks the highest point of the power of the Byzantine Empire since the days of Justinian. Basil was a brave soldier, an able general, and a strong ruler. He waged merciless war upon the enormous estates, built up by the rich nobles at the expense of the small farms, in Asia Minor; and he sought in many other ways to protect and advance the interests of the lower and middle classes. He annexed the several principalities of Armenia, and created in that distant part of his territory a chain of strong fortresses against the Saracens. Then he turned his attention to Bulgaria, which had become so powerful that it now aspired to the leadership of the Balkans. By 1018 he had completely subjugated that kingdom, and had extended his power throughout the whole of Illyria. For more than one hundred and fifty years the Balkan peninsula remained entirely under the control of Byzantium. And the influence of the eastern empire was extended still farther. An alliance was made with Prince Vladimir of Kiev, six thousand Varangians were sent to Constantinople, Basil's sister was given in marriage to Vladimir who became a Greek Catholic, and thus Russia came under both the political and religious influence of Byzantium.

The Greek Church. The religious history of the southeastern part of the continent is very different from that of the West. Christianity in the Byzantine lands began to acquire its own characteristics as early as the reign of Constantine in Constantinople (330–337); and by the close of that of Justinian (527–565) all its essential features had been developed. Ancient and medieval times were not separated by so deep a gulf in the East as in the West; for in the East the empire continued to exist, though its territory was greatly lessened, while in the West it disappeared completely and was replaced by the new kingdoms of the northern invaders and the Germanic Empire. And so in the East the imperial power was exercised equally over state and church. Other things helped to differentiate the Christianity of the East from that of the West. The Greek mind, even in its decadence, retained its distinctive qualities of curiosity, love of speculation, and subtlety. And for a thousand years these qualities had found an ample, if barren, field in theology. Solicitude for the preservation of creeds and concern for the conduct of the priesthood were displayed by nearly all the emperors who lived at Constantinople. The emperors controlled the church. The bishops were completely and directly in their power, and so too was the patriarch at Constantinople. By the close of the seventh century the creeds, the ideals of monasticism, and the canons of ecclesiastical conduct, were all formulated and accepted. Thenceforth it was necessary only to maintain them intact. Orthodoxy and patriotism were now one and the same thing at Byzantium. John of Damascus (699?–753), in some respects the most eminent theologian of the eastern church, gathered into systematic form the scattered teachings of his predecessors and formulated the working principle of putting forward nothing of his own, a principle followed by all his important successors. Religious interest then concerned itself with the liturgy, with the forms of public worship, which more and more became

steeped in mystical significance. Greek monasticism contributed very largely to this development. The chief occupation of the eastern monks was mystic meditation; their highest aim was the contemplation of God. Greek Christianity spread into the neighboring lands. It was accepted by the Bulgarians, the Serbians, and the multifarious peoples gathered under the name of Russians. For a long time differences had been deepening between eastern and western Christianity. Life was moving in one direction in the East, and in another in the West. Separation was not desired in either region, but it was bound to come. The forces producing it were irresistible. There were growing divergences in creed, ritual, and discipline. Political antagonism increased in bitterness. The final break came in 1054, when three papal legates laid a bull on the high altar in the cathedral of Sancta Sophia excommunicating the patriarch, who had led the resistance to Rome. From this time forward the members of the two churches regarded each other as enemies; and the schism may be said to have paved the way for the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, four hundred years later, and the extinction of the empire. The Greek Church is not a monarchy governed from a single capital by a ruler in whom a plenitude of power resides. It is an oligarchy of patriarchs. Each patriarch is supreme within his own diocese. He is not amenable to the other patriarchs. But all are subject to the jurisdiction of an œcumenical council. Because of the fact that the eastern mind is so preoccupied with philosophical and theological thought there have been many schismatic and heretical sects in the lands of Greek Christendom. And then, too, monasticism has always been a prominent feature of the Greek church. Most of the monks follow the Rule of Basil; but others obey that of Anthony.

Decline of the papal power. Turning to the Latin church we see a vigorous and successful effort to combat the centrifugal tendency of ecclesiastical administration and the

attempts of secular rulers to control the bishops. In Germany and France, and to a lesser extent in Italy and Spain, there were bishops who desired to slough off the control of the papacy; and there were feudal nobles and kings who wished to secure for themselves power to appoint, control, and remove the prelates in their domains. For a long time the papacy had been too weak to resist. True, the successors of Charlemagne had far less power than that mighty ruler; but, on the other hand, the papacy itself had sunk into an abyss of degeneration by becoming involved in the party strife in Italy and the quarrels of the feudal families of the city of Rome.

Pope Nicholas I. It was at this moment that an ecclesiastic, realizing the hopelessness of expecting any contemporary pope to resist the decentralizing and secularizing tendencies of the time, conceived the artful plan of appealing to the illustrious popes of the past, from Clement I to Gregory I. So he gave to the world the set of documents that, long after, came to be known as the *False Decretals*. To that notable book we have already paid attention. Its greatest effect was in furthering the growing power of the bishop of Rome. Scarcely had it begun to circulate, however, when a pope was elected who was eager to secure the same ends. Nicholas I (858–867) proclaimed in bold terms the divine right and sweeping power of the papacy. He anticipated all that the most daring of his successors were, centuries later, actually to achieve. Continually, and with ability, he asserted the claims of the Holy See to be the supreme arbiter of Christendom. He condemned royal and feudal interference with the appointment of bishops and abbots, and objected to the summoning and guidance of synods by secular authority. Nicholas received the *Decretals* with caution. He did not give them explicit sanction. And he took from them only what they had borrowed from the genuine texts of his remote predecessors. But his spirit and theirs were the same.

Renewed decline of the papacy. After this outburst of vigor the papacy declined again. Circumstances were no longer favorable. Christendom was assailed by the heathen Norsemen and Huns and the infidel Saracens. The papacy fell into the hands of the feudal nobility of the city of Rome and its neighborhood, and then into the control of the Germanic emperors. It became politically helpless and morally decayed. Especially was it restrained and directed by Otto I.

The Order of Cluny. The work of Pope Nicholas I and the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, however, was not to be wholly undone. Several things were conspiring to further the interests of the papacy. Among them was the new monastic Order of Cluny. The monastery of Cluny was founded in 910, in the beautiful valley of the Saône, by Duke William of Aquitaine. That pious ruler wished to reform monastic life. The history of monasticism is one of alternate periods of decay and revival. Monasteries became wealthy, the ascetic ideals and practices of the founder were forgotten, luxury and worldliness bred corruption. So general was the decline of monastic ideals in France that, it is said, many monks knew nothing of the Rule of Benedict, and some were even ignorant of the fact that they were bound by any rules whatsoever. But now religious ardor made itself felt once more. There were many new monastic orders. We shall see some of them in our next chapter. One of the earliest of them was the Order of Cluny. The first abbot of this reformed Benedictine monastery gained control of five other monasteries. These six houses were the nucleus of a great monastic association. Odo (927–942), the second abbot, received a papal privilege authorizing him to unite a number of abbeys under his supervision. Equipped with this privilege he undertook the task of making Cluny the center of a restoration and improvement of monastic life in France. Then he went to Italy, where he persuaded some of the great Benedictine houses, including the famous one at Monte Cassino, to adopt the same

manner of life and become a member of the Order of Cluny. The fame of Cluny traveled far and wide. When the Abbot Odilo (994–1048) died it included sixty-three monasteries. The government was highly centralized. Its policy was directed by the abbot who lived in the mother monastery at Cluny. Very early the Order gave its support to the popes in their endeavor to enforce clerical celibacy and put an end to simony and lay investiture of prelates; and in return the popes bestowed valuable favors and privileges upon the Order. Many monasteries wished to share these privileges, and so they joined the Cluniacs. Partly by founding new houses, and partly by incorporating others already in existence, the Congregation spread throughout France and into Italy, Spain, Germany, and England. And everywhere it opposed the decentralizing tendencies within the church, resisted attempts of secular rulers to control bishops and abbots, and did all it could to increase the papal power.

Gerbert as scholar and pope. Such was the situation when Gerbert, the most remarkable man of the age, became pope and assumed the name of Sylvester II (999–1003). Born in Aquitaine, of poor and obscure parentage, we hear of him first as a monk and student in the abbey of Saint Gerold in Aurillac. Taken to the Spanish March by the Count of Barcelona, he lived there some years and acquired an unusual knowledge of mathematics, some of which may possibly have filtered into Barcelona from the Saracenic schools at Cordova. This gave him in the north a reputation for extraordinary learning, if not for magical skill. Ever eager for knowledge he went to Italy, where he attracted the attention of Otto I of Germany. Then he became a teacher in the cathedral school at Rheims. When he went on another journey into Italy the new emperor, Otto II, made him abbot of the famous monastery of Bobbio in Lombardy. The monastery, founded in the seventh century by Columban, one of the most renowned of all the

Irish missionaries on the continent, was rich in manuscripts in which much of the ancient culture was preserved; and there Gerbert, fascinated by the prospect, would have been content to spend the rest of his days. But the monks, as others had done before them, distrusted an intelligence forever seeking and assimilating, forever prying into secrets, forever observing, calculating, recording; and when he began to reform their lax discipline they drove him away. So he returned to Rheims and resumed his work as a teacher. There, though his interests were always more mathematical than literary, he made his students acquainted with some of the writings of Vergil, Statius, Terence, Juvenal, Persius, Horace, and Lucan. He revered the classical past both for the wisdom of its philosophers and the grace of its poets. He was, indeed, despite the rather dry lucidity of his mind, almost a humanist. And he continued to gather manuscripts. "I am eagerly collecting a library", he wrote; "and, as formerly at Rome and elsewhere in Italy, so likewise in Germany and Belgium, I have obtained copyists and manuscripts with a mass of money and the help of friends in those parts. Permit me to beg of you also to promote this end. We will append at the end of this letter a list of those writers of whose works we wish copies". Gerbert had great influence at Rheims; and there he was made archbishop. The administration of the new metropolitan was so able and vigorous that it was felt beyond the borders of his own diocese, as far as Tours, Orléans, and Paris. The election, however, was disputed. Gerbert lost; and then, in compensation, he was made archbishop of Ravenna. In Italy he became an instructor of the young Otto III, formed a close alliance with him, and by his influence was made pope. In this new position he showed the same energy and ability he had revealed throughout his former life. Perhaps it was he who nourished the great dream of a restoration of imperial Rome that now began to fill the imagination of the young emperor. He had spoken

so eloquently to Otto of the grandeur of those departed days. And certainly he had taught him to be proud of the fact that his mother was a Byzantine princess, and persuaded him to give a color compounded of Latin and Byzantine influences to his court. Gerbert never forgot, in those troublous times, that learning and culture had been fostered by the *Pax Romana*. So the two rulers dreamed together of restoring the old œcumenical empire of Constantine, and of imposing on the world a single monarchy, possessed and governed in brotherly sort by pope and emperor, the two representatives of God. In many other things, too, the new pope displayed his thoughtfulness as a statesman. To Stephen of Hungary, whose vassalage the Byzantine Empire desired, he sent a golden crown with the royal title, and accepted his kingdom as a fief of the Holy See. Gerbert was not an original scholar. Rather he was an active disseminator of the learning and opinions of others. With theological questions he seems to have been altogether unconcerned; in none of his letters that have come down to us does he betray a desire to know the thought of the great fathers of the church; but in almost all other subjects he displayed keen interest. He preserved his serenity of mind and quietly pursued his scientific investigations when the streets of the papal capital were noisy and dangerous with a fierce patriciate and a savage populace. His teaching was made stimulating by a free use of public discussion. His love for the pagan past, though it was secondary to his attachment to mathematics, was a passion; and he spared neither time nor money in gathering manuscripts of the classical writers. He was a solitary figure, however, lost in the darkness of that agitated time, like a lighthouse shining on the shores of a lonely sea.

The Emperor Otto III. The whole mighty edifice of the Germanic Empire was tottering when Otto II (973–983) died. Son of an Italian princess and husband of a daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, all the interests dear to his heart

were in the south. Yet even there his forces were defeated by the Saracens, while in the north much of the territory that had been taken from them was regained by the Slavs. Within the Germanic lands, too, the imperial power was waning. The feudal nobles lost no opportunity to further their particular interests, and another great feudal domain was created by cutting off the southeastern Alpine district from Bavaria as the Duchy of Carinthia. Such was the melancholy situation when Otto III (983–1002), a child little more than three years of age, succeeded his father. The boy owed his throne to the clergy. They put an end to the civil wars that broke out in Germany; but almost all the possessions in Italy were lost. Otto was brought up almost entirely in the care of great prelates and ecclesiastical teachers. His most famous instructor was Gerbert. His native ability was notable, all his gifts were carefully cultivated, and he came to have a genuine love of letters and learned men. He was acquainted not only with Latin, but also with Greek. A new impetus to the latter language had been given by the connection with Byzantium. When the papal office became vacant Otto appointed his friend and former teacher, Gerbert, who, as we have seen, took the name of Sylvester II. Under the new pope the close alliance was continued between the papacy and empire. Otto's plans grew ever more visionary and mystical. His temperament was strangely irregular, his academic education had failed to make him aware of the real conditions of his states, and his mind had been nurtured on fantastical imaginations. He alternated between grandiose dreams of himself at the head of a revived Roman Empire and the lowest depths of monastic self-abasement. He began the construction of an imperial palace in Rome on the site of the residence of the Cæsars; he shut himself away from the public with all the devices of Byzantine exclusiveness; and he visited shrines as a humble and devout pilgrim. His mind was filled with glowing visions of a universal power

bringing peace and idyllic happiness to the world. They were noble ideals, unselfish and generous, but in that iron age they were hopelessly impossible of fulfillment. Germany, meanwhile, was afflicted by grave internal tumult and suffered from the inroads of her rude neighbors. Otto III died when he was only twenty-two years old; and with him perished his dreams of cosmopolitan imperialism. Two years later his old tutor whom he had made pope followed him to the tomb.

The real beginning of the French monarchy. With the accession of Hugh Capet (987–996) we may date the real beginning of the French monarchy; and yet his election left the country divided into a number of principalities that were largely independent, of which the chief were Brittany, Anjou, Flanders, Champagne, Aquitaine, Poitou, Gascony, Toulouse, and Normandy. The new king was obliged to buy the allegiance of some of the greater nobles with large grants of royal lands; and many of his feudatories were more powerful than he, both in military strength and extent of territory. His royal title gave him only a nominal superiority. The domains of all the grandees were closed to him. What means did he have of making his way into them? He had too scanty a supply of almost everything he needed, land, money, and men. The only resources upon which he could safely depend were those derived from his own lands and the vassals who had sworn fealty directly to him. There was no national organization, no national revenue, and virtually no national army, for the term of feudal service was too short to carry on a real campaign, even if the great nobles had been entirely trustworthy.

Circumstances favoring the monarchy. Some things, however, favored the growth of the royal power. The new dynasty did not become extinct until 1328. More than three hundred years were given to it for the accomplishment of its task. The king was the only ruler whose authority extended even in name over all France. Ever since the

days of Clovis there had always been a king of the Franks. "My predecessors", said Hugh Capet proudly, "are the kings and emperors of the Franks". And so powerful was still the prestige of the kingship that no feudal lord, even when he ceased to obey it, ventured to dispense with it. Weakened as it was, the monarchical tradition survived in the memory of men. All the broken groups were bound by an invisible yet tenacious thread. In the eleventh century the unknown and nameless troubadour of the *Chanson de Roland* sang of unity and order, of a common glory, of France. Behind the royal title was still a living right. And then the church lent her aid. To her prelates the new dynasty owed its elevation. She inspired the heroic poems. In 996, through the mouth of the Abbot of Fleury, she uttered an eloquent plea in behalf of the royal power. Cluny overstepped the frontiers of the principalities and awakened in the minds of men the sentiment of unity. And then the great ecclesiastical princes, far more dependable than the lay nobles, favored the national cause in the struggle between feudalism and royalty. When a see was vacant all its temporalities passed into the royal hands, where they were often kept a long time; and when the king invested a prelate it was without fear of inheritance. Many ecclesiastical fiefs, therefore, were centers of royal influence. And they were strategically situated. They lay between those of the secular nobles, their influence penetrated in all directions, and so they hindered the unified action of the self-seeking princes who were attached to the king only by the frail relationship of an oath.

Subdual of the royal domain. Before they could reduce the secular grandees to real subjection a preliminary task confronted the Capetians. They had to establish their authority securely within their own domains. Even this initiatory task required more than a century for its fulfillment. Luckily every one of the great feudatories was similarly occupied. Throughout the entire country the

decentralizing tendencies of feudalism had distributed all real governmental power among hundreds of petty chieftains. The anarchical separation of the time had summoned into existence many tiny states consisting merely of a few villages, a township, or even a quarter in a city. Every one of these minor lords ruled his estate with all the authority of a king, and so all the great nobles had to make their power real and secure within their own territories. Hugh Capet began this essential task without delay. In the very year of his accession he hastened to have his son elected and crowned as his associate and successor. And for two centuries his successors did likewise.

Increase of the royal domain. Robert the Pious (996–1031) had been to school at Rheims under Gerbert; and, though saturated with the ideals of medieval Christianity, he had some of the qualities of a soldier and a statesman. Like his father, he proceeded cautiously in this disturbed and dangerous time; yet he managed to increase the royal domains, being aided by a close alliance with the powerful dukes of Normandy. His most notable territorial gain was the Duchy of Burgundy. The tenth century had been a period of dispersion. By the end of the eleventh a contrary movement had set in, a return towards unity. All the disintegrated and scattered forces were gathering under the feudal grandees, who, in their turn, saw reappearing above them and growing to greatness the general sovereign,—the king.

The kingdom of Burgundy. The kingdom of Burgundy was bounded by the Rhone, the Alps, and the Mediterranean. For a long time it had lacked any real unity. Rudolf III (993–1032) was its last king. During his lifetime the feudal nobles, both civil and ecclesiastical, had deprived him of all shadow of power; and when he died without issue he bequeathed his lands to the Emperor Conrad II. Thenceforth the name of Burgundy was gradually restricted to the countship bearing that name, in later

times called Franche-Comté, and to the duchy, whose boundaries had often changed and which in 1015 was united to the kingdom of France.

Rise of the Christian states in Spain. South of the Pyrenees several Christian states struggled against the caliphate of Cordova. In 713 all the peninsula except the mountainous country of the northwest fell into the hands of the Saracens. There Pelayo the Goth, one of the surviving Christian leaders, took refuge in a cave with some three hundred followers. Little by little the isolated forest lands were recovered and formed into the four kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Navarre, and Aragon, and the County of Barcelona. The coasts of Leon were repeatedly ravaged by the Norsemen, and an intermittent crusade was carried on by all these five states against the Crescent. Ferdinand I (1028–1065) of Castile united Leon with his own country and thus became the leading Christian prince in Spain. Navarre included territory on both sides of the Pyrenees. Its people were Basques and Gascons. Its greatest power was attained in the tenth century. Aragon was but a narrow strip in the foothills of the Pyrenees. The County of Barcelona had belonged to France, as a part of the Spanish March, ever since the days of Charlemagne. But in 874 it became independent. The fall of the caliphate in 1031 afforded opportunity to these little states in the north to attempt in earnest the reconquest of the entire peninsula. They had now to meet not a single efficient military power, but many minor states that often quarreled with one another.

Venice. Important economic and political developments were taking place in the cities in northern Italy. From time immemorial fisher-folk seem to have lived on the low-lying islands and lagoons of Venice. They were joined in the centuries when the Roman Empire was falling to pieces in the West by refugees from the towns on the mainland. Under the exarch of Ravenna the inhabitants of the islands were nominally subject to the Byzantine Empire, but seem-

ingly they were virtually independent. They grew in numbers and wealth. Situated very advantageously between the East and the West they developed maritime skill and became leading traders and financiers. Naturally they came into closer contact with the Byzantines than with the Franks; and, being left free to follow their own career, they were content to remain the theoretical vassal of a weak and far-away imperial power. All through the ninth and tenth centuries the city of Venice grew steadily, its trade expanded by land and sea in all directions, and it acquired territory along the coast of Dalmatia and on the mainland of Italy. From the Far East spices and other luxuries were brought, while silk, linen, cotton, wine, oil, fragrant woods, dyes, and fruit were imported from the various countries of the Levant. In exchange for these wares they transported timber for building, iron and other metals, salted fish, and slaves, many of whom were Slavs, from the countries north and east of the Alps. Several mercantile families became very rich and inaugurated the commercial aristocracy whose history is inextricably interwoven with that of the Republic. The Golden Bull, signed by the Emperor Basil II in 992, confirmed old rights and conferred new ones upon Venetian ships trading with the ports of the empire; while eight years later, by the defeat of the pirates and the storming of their strongholds, a great step was taken towards the supremacy of Venice in the Adriatic. But as yet Venice had not entered the Italian community. She remained a free city, nominally subject to the control of Byzantium.

Milan. Of all the cities in northern Italy that rose to independent power the most important was Milan. Situated in the midst of a wide and fertile plain, it was the wealthiest manufacturing and commercial town of the entire region. It is there the citizens first spoke of themselves as a commune, and first formed a *parlamento*. Seeking protection against the feudal nobles of the surrounding country, and against the Germanic rulers who from time to time invaded

the peninsula they organized themselves into a community under their archbishop. Greatest of these prelates was Heribert (1018–1045), one of the most distinguished statesmen of the time, who invented the *carroccio*, a car drawn by oxen, bearing the municipal banner, and carrying an altar with the consecrated host, round which the armed citizens rallied in battle. The device was so effective in inspiring and uniting the population that it was soon adopted by all the other free cities in Italy. The liberties of these cities, however, were at this time only in the first stage of their development. Most of the people remained unrepresented in the government. Nearly another century had to go by before the townsfolk freed themselves completely from the great landed seigniory, organized their several assemblies, and gave a greater number of the population a voice in governmental affairs. Many of the lesser members of the feudal ranks assisted in this progress of the towns. They had broken most of the economic ties that bound them to their seigneurs. They desired to change their state of vassalage into that of freeholders. So they gravitated no longer to the castle of the lord but towards the city, for there they could sell the surplus produce of their lands, buy the work of the artisans, more skillfully done and varied than that of the manorial workshops, and find protection under the rule of the bishop and in the solidarity of their fellows. The neighborhood of a city was the solvent which precipitated the process of the disintegration of the large feudal estates. It was always the small landholders, a class hitherto strictly confined within the feudal system, who put themselves at the head of the new city governments in Italy. The artisans do not appear there. In all the older statutes of the municipalities the ownership of a certain amount of land is an indispensable condition for taking part in the government of the city. The maritime ports led the way in the political development of the towns. Signs of autonomy are first perceived in such towns as Genoa

and Pisa. Their fleets gave them a great advantage in gradually rendering themselves independent of feudal control. In general, however, the independence of the cities, their career of self-government, was, at this time, only beginning.

References for Further Reading

Much of our information regarding the peoples of the heathen lands of the north and east of the continent has been gained from anthropological and archæological discoveries. The original sources in the form of historical records for this wide survey are, naturally, very varied and scattered. See the bibliographies for chapters four to nine inclusive of the third volume, and those for chapters one to ten inclusive of the fourth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History.*

The legend of the year 1000 and the literature relating to it has been summarized and listed by George Lincoln Burr in the sixth volume of *The American Historical Review.* The article is the best introduction to the subject. A translation of the famous passage by Ralph Glaber, a wandering and observant monk who died about 1044, is to be found in G. G. Coulton's *A Medieval Garner.* On the same topic see also the following articles and books. Frédéric Duval, *Les Terreurs de l'an mille.* François Plaine, *Les prétendues terreurs de l'an mille* in volume thirteen of the *Revue des questions historiques.* R. Rosières, *La legende de l'an mil,* in volume fourteen of the second series of the *Revue politique.* H. von Eicken, "Die legende von der Erwartung des Weltunterganges," in volume twenty-three of the *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte.* Jules Roy, *L'an mille.* Pietro Orsi, *L'anno mille;* and also his briefer and more popular *Le paure del finimondo nell' anno 1000.* All of these are listed chronologically and described by Burr in his article.

L. Brehier, *Le schisme oriental du XIe siècle.* James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire.* J. B. Bury, *The Later Roman Empire.* A volume, edited by P. Boyer, on *The Origins of the Slavs* is announced. H. A. L. Fisher, *The Medieval Empire.* Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages.* Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France.* Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale.* Horace K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes.* Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad during the*

Abbasid Caliphate; Palestine under the Moslems; and *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate.* A. Pernice, *L'imperatore Eraclio.* F. J. Picavet, *Gerbert.* A. N. Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au Xe siècle.* G. L. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à fin du Xe siècle.* H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind.* Pasquale Villari, *Medieval Italy.*

CHAPTER 16

THE CHURCH

Recapitulation. In the course of a thousand years the church had grown up and developed. It had been influenced greatly by its environment. Gradually it had shaped itself in accordance with its surroundings. It had grown from a group of simple associations of peasants and townsfolk to be the most powerful institution in the continent. And it had taken to itself the organization of the Roman Empire. It was the very opposite of feudalism; unity was its essence.

The pope. At the head of the church, corresponding to the emperor, was the pope. This position of supremacy had gradually been acquired by the bishop of Rome. The right to elect their bishop belonged at first to all the clergy of the diocese of Rome; but gradually it had come to be limited to the leading members of the diocesan clergy who were known as cardinals. From very early times the title of cardinal was borne by the principal ecclesiastics of certain important churches in different parts of Christendom. This continued to be the case until late in the Middle Ages. But there was an increasing tendency to restrict the title to the leading clergy of the diocese of Rome. To these clergy belonged the right of electing the bishop of the diocese, who thereby became pope. The Roman cardinals formed a group known as the College of Cardinals. They assisted the pope in religious ceremonies, the care of the poor, the management of papal finances, the administration of the papal territory, and the settlement of diplomatic and religious questions. But for some time papal elections had been subject to the nefarious influence of certain factions in the city

of Rome and had been largely controlled by the rulers of Germany whenever they happened to be powerful in Italy. As the church gained in power it was felt to be necessary that the pope should be elected only by members of the church. Pope Nicholas II (1058–1061) realized the pressing need of reform. To this end a synod of bishops which met in Rome drew up a decree almost wholly lodging the power of election in the College of Cardinals. The original of the decree is lost, and the copy that has come down to us is imperfect, for there are obvious omissions. But it seems to have provided that the power to elect the popes should be exercised by the cardinals with due regard for the right of confirmation or recognition conceded to the ruler of Germany. Naturally this decree gave greater importance to the cardinals. Papal elections, and the government of the church during the vacancy of the papal office, fell more and more into their hands. They passed to them completely when a decree, issued in 1179 by the Third Lateran Council, stipulated that papal elections should be determined exclusively by a two-thirds vote of the cardinals. The cardinals regularized themselves as their privileges and powers multiplied. Their college became the senate of the Holy See. It became the Papal Curia. Popes passed, but always there remained the curia. Many popes were old men when they assumed the triple crown. They had no longer the strength, nor indeed the means, to change customs, alter traditions, inaugurate new policies, and all that makes the strength of a powerful administration. That is why, as early as the middle of the twelfth century, complaints were made concerning the papal entourage.

Increase of papal prestige and power. The unworthiness of many of its representatives in the ninth and tenth centuries had not seriously delayed a gradual increase of papal reputation and power. Papal ordinances now enjoyed the same prestige as the canons of the earlier councils. Gradually the pope had reserved to himself the right to confirm

all bishops, and that of deciding all contested episcopal elections. More than once there had been danger of a national church becoming independent of Rome. So the popes were now firmly set upon the removal of any such possibility. All archbishops were to be made strictly subordinate to the papal monarchy. Nicholas I (858–867), one of the great popes of the medieval period, exerted decisive influence upon the development of the papacy. He condemned and deposed refractory archbishops, did not hesitate to call a halt to the misdeeds of monarchs, and in other ways proved himself a determined upholder of the supremacy of the Holy See. Metropolitans then began to exercise their functions only when they had personally received the pallium from the pope. Papal supremacy was also furthered by developing the practice of sending out legates, who, equipped with ban and interdict, visited the different countries, suspended and deposed bishops, controlled synods, negotiated with kings, gave legal decisions, and issued decrees. These ambassadors of the curia were very powerful in the work of increasing the power of the papacy. They limited the power of bishops and archbishops immediately and on the spot; and in dealing with kings they represented, with full authority, the person of the pope. Rome, from the beginning of the eleventh century, became more and more the supreme court of appeal for the whole church. It was the supreme judge in all ecclesiastical lawsuits. It also interfered, whether appealed to or not, in secular affairs. And then, after a long decline of papal prestige, Leo IX (1049–1054), an indefatigable opponent of simony and clerical incontinence, boldly took proceedings against France. He summoned the bishops of that country to a synod at Rheims and induced them to demand canonical election of bishops and abbots in express contradiction to the desire of the king. The popes could make laws, and they could grant exemptions from them. They could exempt individual monasteries and entire mo-

nastic orders from the jurisdiction of bishops. They convoked general councils and confirmed their canons. Strictly speaking papal jurisdiction was confined to spiritual matters under what is known as the canon law. But the temporal possessions and powers of the church were so large that it was not always easy to distinguish between spiritual and temporal things.

The archbishops. The clergy was now sharply divided into two great bodies, secular and regular. In the secular clergy, those who lived in the world and who were intrusted with the "cure of souls", there were first of all, under the pope, the metropolitans or archbishops. They resided at great capitals and presided over important meetings. Each was also a bishop and had his own diocese. The pope had adopted the custom of establishing a peculiar bond between himself and the archbishops by sending them the pallium, a band of white wool, about three inches wide, embroidered with small black crosses, worn on the shoulders. From the latter part of the eleventh century the recipient had to take an oath of vassalage to the papacy. Only archbishops could consecrate bishops.

The bishops. Next in rank came the bishops. They were subordinate to the archbishops. It was the custom of the clergy of the diocese to elect the bishop, but this right began to be narrowed down to the clergy of the episcopal city about the time of Charlemagne. Then it was limited to the clergy of the bishop's own church, the cathedral chapter. A cathedral was the chief church of a diocese, the one in which the bishop had his throne. The members of the cathedral chapter formed the council of the bishop and assisted him in ruling the diocese. Some cathedrals had large numbers of ecclesiastics. More than a hundred and fifty canons and choristers were attached to the cathedral of Saint Martin at Tours. When the chapter acquired the right to choose the bishop it could make terms with him. Thus its members gained in power. Their lives became easy. A

certain part of the lands of the diocese came into their hands. They were the choir. So they deepened the apse in which they sat. Then, because of the cold, they built a screen, separating the apse from the rest of the church. Then they had a special dress to keep them warm. Many of the episcopal cities had been Roman capitals. Most of the dioceses corresponded to the old Roman districts. The bishop owned property in the city. In some cities, indeed, he owned all of it. Bishops consecrated churches and ordained priests. They administered the sacrament of confirmation. They visited the priests of their dioceses, and from time to time they held synods.

The priests. Below the bishops were the priests. Some of them, as we have seen, were the immediate assistants of the bishop and formed the cathedral chapter. Others were put in charge of the parishes. Each parish had at least one priest. At first a parish consisted of persons who attended the same church. In that stage it was indefinite and irregular. Gradually it came to have definite geographical boundaries. We have seen that each cathedral had a chapter. Many large churches that were not cathedrals also had chapters. They were called collegiate churches. Many abuses grew up in these cathedral and collegiate chapters. The members had plenty of time. And when their incomes were established they began to mix in outside affairs. Then they were required to live under rules, or canons, and so they became known as canons. The great majority of the priests did not belong either to a cathedral or to a collegiate chapter. They were men, usually drawn from the ranks of the peasantry and townsfolk, who had charge of the smaller churches in town and countryside.

The minor clergy. Below the priests were men and boys in minor orders. Some of them, such as the acolytes, had liturgical functions, while others had only administrative duties. They enjoyed all the ecclesiastical privileges of the time, but they had no power to dispense sacraments and

there was much dispute as to whether they should be bound to celibacy. All these ecclesiastics formed a well articulated hierarchy ascending from the altar boy to the pope.

The regular clergy. The regular clergy were the monks, nuns, and, later on, friars, who lived under one or another of the various monastic rules. They were far more numerous than the secular clergy. Many thousands of them dwelt in almost every part of western Europe. Faced with unprecedented deeds of violence, timid and pious souls, seeking safety and enamored of the ideal of holiness, fled from intercourse with men and took refuge in solitude. Monasteries and convents filled the countryside. At first the word "convent" meant a company of men or women living together under a rule and under the direction of a superior. But, in popular usage, it is now restricted to a group of women, a nunnery; while the word "monastery", which at first meant a home of any monastic group, male or female, is now applied only to a home for monks. Monasteries, and in a lesser degree convents, were continually increasing in wealth. Feudal nobles gave part of their plunder and sometimes left their estates to monasteries in return for prayers. Monastic lands were not always compact. They were often scattered. Each manor possessed by a monastery was governed by a prior. The priors were under the control of the abbot, who visited them from time to time.

Life in the monasteries. Monasteries furnished retreats where scholars might study and write despite the prevailing disorder of the times. They were organized on the principle of a life in common. The monks met in the church several times a day for prayer. They took their meals and shared their employments together. There was little privacy. A well-regulated monastery was a scene of busy industry. It was a self-contained community. There was a hierarchy of officials,—abbot, prior, chancellor, precentor, cellerar, chamberlain, and other officials. Their duties were

exacting, and they were required to keep accurate accounts of every penny they spent. To each monk was assigned a task. There were teachers, copyists, tanners, shoemakers, weavers, and stonemasons; and there were many workers, of different kinds, in the gardens and fields. One of the most important places in a monastery was the scriptorium where books were written and copied. The monks did a great deal for civilization in improving methods of agriculture, developing craftsmanship, and in copying and preserving the remnants of the older civilizations. All that is left to us of the documents of the earlier medieval centuries were kept within their walls. They gave a new dignity to manual labor, and new skill to artisanship, even when not compelled to earn their own living. They performed other social services. Monasteries were the only hotels in those days, and travelers, rich or poor, were received into them without charge.

Wealth and worldliness of the monks. The mere fact of a group of men working without personal remuneration, spending comparatively little and pooling their earnings, would in itself insure a gradual accumulation of wealth. Then came a flood of gifts, of land and gold, from the feudal aristocracy and from royalty. Monastic buildings became more spacious and splendid than ever before. So monasteries increased in wealth, and, particularly when towns began to multiply on their lands, their life became very far removed from the quiet that, long ago, had been desired by Benedict. Dues had to be collected and rights defined. Law suits arose. Appeals were made, sometimes to a feudal seigneur, sometimes to Rome. An abbot might be the head of a dozen manors. Monks had to go on long journeys on secular as well as religious business. Thus they saw a good deal of the world. Then, too, travelers brought news of the day to the monasteries. So the claim of the outside world upon the attention of the monks came to be recognized. Abbots lived in great state. They were great feudal

lords. Many were ambitious in a worldly way and indulged in worldly amusements. Monks often fell into laxity and vice.

The Order of Cluny. Clearly there was need of reform. But no serious modification of the Benedictine system was made until the early part of the tenth century, when, as we have seen, a new idea was put forth by the monastery of Cluny. There a new governmental plan of extreme centralization was put into being. Thus far every monastery had been a separate family, independent of all others. One great monastery was now set up with dependent houses in every kingdom, forming a vast monastic feudal system, under the Abbot of Cluny. He nominated the superior of every house; and every monk was initiated only with his permission and in his name. It was like an army with a general; and for two centuries it dominated the church in western Europe with a power second only to that of the papacy.

New monastic orders. A reaction against the extreme centralization of Cluny and the laxity into which many of its monasteries had fallen, took various forms. In 1012 the Camaldolese, a joint order of hermits and cenobites, was founded at the monastery of Camaldoli, remote from towns, cool and high among the firs and beeches, in the mountains of Tuscany. As time went on the order branched out into five separate congregations, one of them being for women, which, however, gradually lost their eremitical character. Reduced to three congregations, it remains to-day one of the smaller monastic orders. About 1039 the Order of Vallombrosa was established. To it is due the important innovation of including lay brothers, who carried on their various crafts while living in the monastery under the monastic vows. And in 1074 was founded the order that much later on came to be known as the Order of Gramont. Far more important than any of these was the establishment in 1084 of the Carthusians, at the monastery of Grand Chartreuse,

near Grenoble, in France. It, too, attempted to combine the life of the early solitaries with the Benedictine Rule. For a long time, because of the strictness of its life, it grew only very slowly. In 1300 it had only thirty-nine monasteries; but after that the number of its houses and its membership increased more rapidly. All these four orders were inclined to a more eremitical life than the Benedictines.

The Laity. The primary purpose of the monks and nuns was to save their own souls. They renounced the world. They lived a life of contemplation. The church proclaimed this as the perfect morality. She exalted the monks above all her other members. But the secular clergy, and later on the friars, existed for the laity. Of the laity there is little here to be said. They were only a passive order, only passengers subject to guidance, not responsible for the saving of souls. They had only to learn and obey. The monks were the purely perfect, the secular clergy were the guardians of the divine mysteries and the dispensers of the sacraments, while the laity were the weaker ones who were nevertheless permitted to share in the blessings of the two other estates. Logic required the church to aim at a leveling of all social distinctions. Every man, she declared, is equally the child of God. But, in view of the prevailing circumstances, she contented herself with trying to alleviate the yoke of peasants and townsfolk by insisting continually upon human equality. Many of the clergy of that time shared in the vices of the laity. They were ignorant, coarse, and brutal. Nevertheless the peasantry and townsfolk sought in religion the consolation and hope they so sorely needed. Their piety lacked delicacy and discernment, but it was often profound.

The church's use of the civil law. For ordinary secular affairs, in which she was deeply involved, the church used the Roman law. Abbots and bishops often had three courts: an ecclesiastical court for their clergy; a feudal court for their vassals; and a manorial court for their peasants. They

had so much property that they had frequent and abundant use for the civil law.

The canon law. For religious purposes the church had the canon law. Its sources were the *Bible*, the tradition in the keeping of the church, decisions of œcumenical councils, the decisions of local councils and even of individual bishops that won general acquiescence, and papal letters called decretals. The canon law began its growth in the midst and under the influence of the Roman civil law. It was in reality an adaptation and expansion of that law to meet the needs of the church. "It is in large measure an off-shoot from the main stem of Roman legal growth", says Harold Dexter Hazeltine, "deriving from the older system many of its rules and principles". The body of canon law constantly increased. In the early centuries of our era no effort was made to draw up a uniform system of law for the entire church. The dioceses governed themselves according to their customs and needs. The first compilations were made in the East; and later on some were undertaken in the West. Not until the eighth and ninth centuries were systematic attempts made at unification. Charlemagne publicly proclaimed a collection of canons and commentaries as the basis of the ecclesiastical law of his empire. Among the additions continually made was the collection afterwards known as the *False Decretals*, which, as we have seen, appeared about 850 and was attributed to Isidore of Seville. These documents, of which quite as many are canons of councils as papal decretals, did much to hasten the movement towards unification. They were the last collection to be arranged chronologically, to print the texts in the order of their publication. In the period from the end of the ninth to the middle of the twelfth century some forty collections of canons were made, and all of them were arranged according to subject, not according to time. All of them were superseded by the monumental *Decretum* of Gratian, a scholarly monk, of whom we know little more than that

he lived in the monastery of San Felice in Bologna and was the first professor of canon law in the university of that city. This work, published not later than 1142, came at a time when there was a notable revival of the closely related study of Roman law at Bologna. It is a treatise in which an attempt is made to weld a great number of decrees, issued in widely differing periods and found in the preceding collections, into a coherent juridical system. Numerous texts are inserted, in appropriate places, in a body of commentary made upon them by Gratian. The work reveals the undeveloped state of historical study and textual criticism; but, in size and worth, it is much superior to all its predecessors, and it soon became the sole manual in schools and courts of the canon law. No other work of the kind has since been written. Collections of decrees and commentaries of illustrious canonists have been published separately. In 1234 Gregory IX (1227–1241) issued an important collection of decretals; and he prescribed that the *Decretum*, together with these additions, should be the standard textbook in canon law at the universities of Bologna and Paris. Three other collections of subsequent decretals were made, and then, before the end of the fourteenth century, the body of the canon law had taken on such completeness that it was published as the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. Large parts of this imposing creation, we should remember, are but a medieval version of the Roman civil law.

Jurisdiction of the church courts over persons. The church had ecclesiastical, feudal, and manorial courts; but we are here concerned only with what went on in the first of these. What jurisdiction did the ecclesiastical courts have over persons? To call clerics into a secular court would be dishonor to the Lord of Heaven. So all of them, though they were only in minor orders, even though they were only students in a university, had "benefit of clergy". Inviolable in property and person, they could be tried only in ecclesiastical courts. Not even commission of the gravest

crime was sufficient to hand them over to the secular judges. All paupers and orphans might be tried only in church courts. They were wards of the church. And if the two persons in any civil suit agreed to do so they could take the case into a church court. Any civil case might be thus transferred. Benefit of clergy, the *privilegium clericale*, was a great prerogative. The church did not put to death; though in the case of those who deeply offended her, in the case of heretics, she persuaded the civil authorities to inflict capital punishment. And, generally, church courts knew no ordeals. Sometimes criminal laymen got barbers to give them the "clerk's crown" in the hope of escaping the jurisdiction of the secular courts.

Jurisdiction of the church courts over cases. Church courts had a wide jurisdiction over cases. Only by long and careful study is it possible to realize how great a part was played by the church in the everyday life of the medieval centuries. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction extended to all spiritual cases, not only to those strictly concerned with matters of faith and discipline, but also to all cases in any way connected with marriage, with church property, with wills and endowments, or with perjury. It alone dealt with such crimes as sacrilege, oaths, perjury, adultery, and offenses against widows and orphans. It extended to entire departments of life now controlled by secular authorities or left to the discretion of the individual. Culpability of an action was not measured by its actual consequences, but rather by the intention with which it was done. Crime was regarded as a sin against God. Robbery and murder were not punished as offenses against the social order, but as sins against divine commandments. Magic and sorcery were not punished as deception, but as devilish arts. Heresy and sacrilege were direct offenses against God. Church courts were far more popular than secular courts. Certain merits attached to them. Their judges were more learned. They had a better knowledge of evidence and a fairer sense

of equity than the civil courts. Their procedure was more reasonable, justice more likely to be obtained in them, and punishments were milder. So much were church courts preferred that contracts were made binding by oath in order that their nonfulfillment might be treated as a case of perjury. But the domination of the church could no more be carried out completely in the case of law than in the political, economic, and social phases of life. Friction occurred constantly between spiritual and civil courts, and as the medieval centuries drew to a close the latter began to gain the upper hand. To this purpose much was contributed by a revival of the Roman law.

The weapon of terror. How could church courts enforce their decisions? Especially how could they enforce them against the feudal lords? The church had neither armies nor police. She fell back upon terror. Everyone, in that age, believed in the governance of heaven, not only in the next world but also in this. The church could condemn men to the inextinguishable flames of hell. In every place where men gathered, at the market, on the village green, it was told how this had happened, and how it continued to happen. Many stories about this power have come down to us from medieval times. Heaven was constantly working miracles. And very often this punishment called down by the church began on earth. Here a refractory sinner was stricken blind, and there the right hand of another was paralyzed. Terror was a very effective weapon. With heaven and hell as guarantors, the church had no need of armies or police.

The weapon of penance. Another weapon was penance. It was the outward form of penitence, an expression of repentance. The penitent was required to show his repentance by doing penance of some kind or other, which varied with the character and seriousness of the offense. At first the penance imposed by the church in punishment of sin consisted in the requirement to do good deeds, or the per-

formance of such deeds as wearing a hair shirt, or going on a pilgrimage. Gradually such literal penance became commuted, in some cases, for money.

The weapon of excommunication. A more powerful weapon was excommunication. From the first the church exercised the right of excluding from her privileges those who did not conform to her requirements. Gradually excommunication came to be regarded as equivalent to exclusion from the church, and, therefore, from salvation. *Extra ecclesiam salus non est.* If a man remained obdurate and would not heed the commands of the church he was excommunicated. There were three degrees of excommunication, minor, major, and anathema. Pronunciation of anathema was a solemn ceremony. The people were summoned by the ringing of a bell. Only a bishop could deliver the sentence. He was attended by twelve priests, each of whom, as well as himself, held a lighted candle. Then before the high altar, or in any other public place, the anathema was proclaimed. The sentence was read from a book. At the moment when the anathema was declared, the candles were dashed to the ground to signify the extinction of the soul of the condemned. This ceremony, however, was a late development. Not until about 1190 do we find a case of excommunication "by bell, book, and candle". Excommunication in those times was no empty threat. No one was allowed to have anything to do with an excommunicate. Even the members of his family incurred the same penalty if they ate with him or befriended him in any way. The faithful would not associate with him. Then, too, the secular power was invoked to help the spiritual, and so the stubborn offender was exposed to grave temporal perils. If he died while under the sentence he was believed to suffer eternal punishment. That power was truly a terrifying one that could close the gates of heaven and open those of hell.

The weapon of interdict. The final weapon was the interdict. If friends or subjects stood by one who was excom-

municate, if a feudal lord or a king would not submit when excommunicated and could rely upon his followers, his fief or his kingdom could be placed under an interdict. An interdict was a general ecclesiastical strike, or lockout. In all the territory placed under it no public church services were held, no marriages performed, and the dead were refused Christian burial. It was a terrible weapon. All except three of the sacraments, baptism, penance, and confirmation, were withheld. The church bells were silent, the consecrated bells whose sound was as sacred and consoling as the hearthfire had been to the Romans. Few were so powerful they did not yield. The first well authenticated case of the use of the interdict is the one issued in 998 against France.

Services rendered to the people by the church. Such were the weapons of the church. But it would be wrong to attribute her influence entirely to them. They were only for the guilty. Her power depended chiefly upon the useful services she performed. The secular clergy were the spiritual guides of their parishioners. They baptized them, heard their confessions, gave them communion, married them, and at the hour of death, administered to them the last sacrament. The priest was the leader in the parish; and the churches were the gathering places, not only for religious services, but also for social diversions. Sunday was a holiday for the hard-working population, and it was spent in or near the church. It was the *Fête-de-Dieu*, and also the *fête* of everybody else. In addition to the services, which all attended, the priest would sometimes read to the people letters from the absent, especially in the times of the crusades. And he would announce to them any news he had heard. The church was the center of the social life of the peasants. Many priests, remaining true to the oldest clerical tradition, regarded the care of the poor, the sick, and the oppressed as their most important mission. Many a cathedral and many a monastery supported a hospital, or a house of refuge,

either for pilgrims, or the old, or orphans, or the poor. Near certain cities houses were built for lepers. All the education and poor and sick relief known to the age was carried on by the church. Secular penal law was in many cases supplemented by that of the church, which understood principles entirely unknown to the state. When all things are taken into consideration, the church, despite the complaints justly made against her, was intrinsically superior to the state. The church, as compared with the state, was the power which incorporated progress. In her hands, for the time being, lay all the forces that raised human life above the low level to which it had fallen.

Donations to the church. What were the revenues of the church? She received donations. The medieval centuries were a time of many and great gifts to the church. These gifts went principally to monasteries and bishoprics. No man died without leaving something to the church. She was the only guardian of wills. No will was valid without her sanction. And reconciliation with the church almost always involved a bequest. Whatever went to her could not be reclaimed. It was not legal for her to return a gift. A phrase of the time says that the church took with a live hand and had only a dead one with which to give back. The lands given to her were said to have fallen into *mortua manus*, into the unyielding clutch of a dead hand, into mortmain, for they were held by her in perpetual or inalienable tenure. And, too, from the majority of legal claims, or governmental duties, they were virtually exempt. In later years laws were passed against mortmain, against giving lands to the church. Kings and lords did not like their vassals to transfer fiefs to the church, because thereby they lost all those dues accruing from the lucrative rights of relief, wardship, marriage, and forfeiture or escheat. Many donations, especially before the thirteenth century, were to a large extent either pasture land or forest, or waste and desert land, which then, thanks to the wise and loving work

of the monks, who tilled it themselves, was converted into smiling and fruitful possessions. But this form of revenue could not be relied upon month by month, or year by year. Donations, of course, were irregular.

The tithe. The tithe was the regular income of the church. Strictly used, the word means one-tenth of a man's income. The name, in the sense in which it is used to-day, came to be established in the eighth century. By a capitulary of Charles the Great the tithe was to be applied to the maintenance of the clergy, to the poor, and to the repair of churches. Pope Alexander III (1159–1181) extended it to things upon which it had not previously been levied, to forests, to mills, to wool on the backs of sheep, and to the work of artisans. For tithes the episcopal courts "made the people piteously to sing." It was an added grievance that the tithe often went to nonresident priests, or to monasteries and bishops who had "appropriated" them. Theoretically the subsistence of the priests was secured by the tithes. But, apart from the fact that these payments gave rise to disputes between priests and people throughout the medieval centuries, they were not sufficient to support those who levied them. Many priests had been reduced to the rôle of fiscal intermediaries between the faithful and the high ecclesiastical dignitaries. The money simply passed through their hands. They were often left in need. Tithes were even transferred to laymen, and the right to levy and collect them was sometimes sold like ordinary property. This, however, was forbidden by the *Decretum*.

Fees. Another source of revenue was the casual fees. They were required for the performance of religious services, for the administration of some of the sacraments. The church always held that her services should be free. But priests had to live. Efforts to do away with fees were always about as futile as the attempts to abolish pew renting to-day in certain fashionable places. Fees started again

and again after they had been put down. There were many curious fees. Almost invariably the bed, or at least the bed sheet, on which a person died went to the confessor.

Feudal dues. Still other revenues were the feudal dues paid by vassals to bishops and abbots who happened to be seigneurs; and the manorial dues paid by the peasants to prelates who owned manors. The church was the greatest landholder in Europe. And of course all the vassals who held fiefs from ecclesiastical seigneurs, and all the peasants who lived on ecclesiastical manors, paid dues and rendered services.

Doctrines. What were the teachings of the church? Her dogmas had been formulated and refined by subtle thinkers living on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean. Many of the ideas they contained, and many of the words and phrases with which they were expressed were alike incapable of penetrating the understanding of the vast mass of the people who lived in the medieval centuries in western Europe. But perhaps they understood when they were told that God had created heaven and earth, though the mystery of his triune personality must have puzzled them sadly; that he had created Adam and Eve; that they had fallen from a state of grace; that this original sin is inherited by all their descendants, who are thereby rendered powerless to save themselves; that the Second Person of the Trinity had suffered death on a cross in order to atone for the sins of men; that men can be saved if they believe in this vicarious atonement and perform good works as directed by the church; that there is a heaven of eternal joy for the saved, and a hell of perpetual punishment for the lost; and that all this has been revealed from on high and is to be found in the *Bible* and in the tradition in the keeping of the church. But we must not think that all the doctrines of the church had been definitely formulated and officially adopted at this time. The medieval church was not disciplined like the present Catholic Church. It was as various as its ele-

ments, with many conflicts of theory with practice. Much that seems smooth and harmonious to us, nine hundred years or so later, was then confused and confusing. No! The religious life of the medieval centuries is not to be compared to a great peaceful river flowing calmly along between well established banks. Rather was it a torrent in which stagnant pools and tumultuous rapids alternated, and which was hardly kept within bounds that were forever being shaken. But the floods caused by yielding banks were never beyond control; they were never irremediable. The agitations of heresy, and opposition of various other kinds, did not, as a rule, make a very deep impression upon the masses of the people. Even to-day in our own country many people are kept under the dominion of the past by the hypnotism of habit and ignorance of scientific thought. Much indefiniteness and uncertainty was done away with by Peter Lombard (1100?–1164?), an Italian, born of obscure parents, who was educated at Bologna. Somewhere about 1150 he wrote his *Book of Sentences*. The book, which is chiefly a compilation, attempted to do for theology what Gratian's *Decretum*, published about two years earlier, had done for the canon law. It attempted to systematize the theological thought of the time and to settle disputed questions, and in doing so quotes liberally from the fathers and other authorities, chiefly from Augustine. The book achieved success quickly; and, down to the sixteenth century, it was the standard textbook in all the universities.

Sacraments. Very important in the teaching of the church were the sacraments. Probably the first who clearly and definitely declared their number to be seven was Peter Lombard. The first is baptism, which washes away the sin inherited from our first parents, obligates men to believe the prescribed doctrines, to do good, and to strive against evil, and admits to membership in the church. The sacrament of penance was instituted for the remission of sin com-

mitted after baptism. It consists of four parts,—contrition, confession, absolution, and penance. The last part consists of some penalty, such as going on a pilgrimage or helping the poor, imposed by the priest, as an expression of repentance. Penance books were compiled giving minute instructions to the priest regarding the infliction of penance. This practice, however, was gradually supplemented by the rise of indulgences, by commuting the penalty for a sum of money. The Fourth Lateran Council, which met in 1215, required the faithful to receive the sacrament of penance at least once every year. Most remarkable of all was communion, or the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. The church taught that when the priest pronounces the words of consecration over the bread and wine the substances are miraculously transformed into the actual body and blood of Jesus. The word "transubstantiation" seems to have been first used by Hildebert, archbishop of Tours; and its first authorized admission to the doctrinal vocabulary dates from the Fourth Lateran Council. The sacrament of confirmation can be administered only by a bishop. It strengthens the adolescent Christian on the threshold of life's battle. Matrimony invests the purely natural union of man and woman with a supernatural consecration. The sacrament of holy orders initiates one into the priesthood and transmits the power necessary for administering the sacraments and offering up the Sacrifice of the Mass. The rule of celibacy, which in the later medieval centuries was enforced more strictly than before, tended no less than the impressive initiatory ceremony to raise the cleric in some sort above the rest of his fellowmen, to convince him that the sacrament he had received on the day of his ordination had made him an exceptional being. "The least of the priests", said Honorius of Autun in the first half of the twelfth century, "is worth more than any king". Finally, the last sacrament, Extreme Unction, strengthens the dying mortal in the last struggle. The first general and official decision

on the number of the sacraments was made in 1439 at the Council of Florence.

The mass. Every one of the sacraments is an act of worship. There are also other forms. The most important act of worship is the Mass. The ritual of the church did not center about a sermon, but about the Sacrifice of the Mass. It is an elaborate liturgy of prayers and ceremonies of which the more important parts are the consecration of the bread and wine, the elevation for public adoration of the Host, and the partaking of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. The first authenticated use of the name *Missa*, dating no earlier than 397, is to be found in the writings of Ambrose. The splendor and beauty of the great ceremony were very impressive. The shimmer of the vestments, the solemn intoning of the priest, the lighted candles, the flowers, the fragrance of the ascending incense, the sounding of the altar bells announcing the elevation of the chalice and the consecrated wafer, the deep tones of the answering bell in the tower,—all these appealed powerfully to the sense of devotion. Many a sensitive person knows something of the pageantry and the poetry with which the church enthralls the senses of those who watch and listen from the door without trusting themselves across the threshold.

Veneration of the saints and of Mary. But what, after all, most touched the hearts of the common people was the veneration of the saints and Mary. Mary and the saints had lived on earth. They were acquainted with human frailty. Men asked their intercession with God. Prayers were addressed to them as mediators. Every day is a saint's day. For those who are in purgatory and will eventually be saints in heaven there is the festival of All Souls; while for those numerous saints not allotted a special day in the calendar there is the day of All Saints. There were saints for individuals, for localities, for trades, and for countries. Saint Crispin for the cobblers; Saint George for England; Saint Denis for France. Saint Nicholas was a truly popular

patron saint. He was the protector of children, of sailors, of prisoners, and of slaves.

The Blessed Virgin. By the opening of the twelfth century wide acceptance had been gained by the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. It is the doctrine that Mary was born without the stain of original sin. The rosary, most of the prayers of which are addressed to her, was widely used. Many miracles were attributed to her. Her love and pity were infinite. "Let him deny your mercy", said Bernard of Clairvaux, addressing her in a sermon, "who can say he has ever appealed to you in vain". And hymns were written to her even by the great teacher Abelard. She would listen to the prayers of even the poorest. Had she not been a mortal herself? Did she not, therefore, know the weakness and the temptations of men? Many popular stories were told of her kindly deeds. One was of a robber who after every theft said a prayer to her and left the best jewel or coin at her nearest shrine, and who kept her feast days. At last he was caught and strung up on a wayside tree. But Mary descended from heaven, supported him with her slender hands for three days and nights, until at last a wandering priest came by, heard his confession, and absolved his soul. The unsophisticated and virile belief of the people embraced a far wider sphere of the supernatural than that included in the official creed of the church. The church did much to curtail the exaggerated stories and ideas regarding the saints. There are survivals from far-off times in every faith, and these are of them. But Mary, the veneration of whom had prevailed from the fifth century in the East, and which by the sixth century had met with an enthusiastic reception in the West, was destined gradually to occupy a position far above that of the saints. Men of the craft gilds and the merchant gilds were even more devoted to her than the monks. Millions of money was lavished upon her shrines and temples in order to gain her favor by the bourgeoisie of many a town, of Amiens, Laon, Rouen,

and Paris. Nearly every great church of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in France was dedicated to her. Her name became a battle cry. The great military class were her enthusiastic supporters. The greatest generals insisted upon her leading them into battle in order that she might bring victory to France. She had grown mighty beyond all the saints. She answered to the deep popular instinct and need for an ideal of purity and perfection.

Pilgrimage. Among other religious practices an important place was held by pilgrimages. The passion for them goes back to the earliest years of history. They were a chief delight throughout the thousand years of the Middle Ages. They appealed to the wandering spirit of the time. Rome, of course, was a favorite place; while in Spain there was the shrine of Saint James of Compostella, to which one went by perilous ways through forest-clad mountains; and in England that of Saint Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. The greatest pilgrimage of all was to Jerusalem. Sometimes one went alone, sometimes in company. There were many tales of the palmers. Some of these pilgrims with palm leaves helped to lead the crusades. Those long-continued wars may be regarded as pilgrimages.

Feudalization of the church. The church became feudalized. She entered the medieval centuries as a great and wealthy, and therefore aristocratic, power. And as the years went by her possessions increased. She welcomed grants of lands from feudal lords, strove and intrigued for them, until fully one-third of the western part of the continent came into her possession. She became immeasurably the largest landholder in the world. The pope became a secular as well as a spiritual sovereign. His territory stretched entirely across the peninsula of Italy. This territorial possession caused the papal crown to be fought for by the feudal families of Rome, and later on brought about its control by the Germanic emperors. In many cases feudal lords nominated bishops and abbots whose lands were in

their domains. Such appointments were a source of revenue. It is not difficult to gain a true idea of these dignitaries. They were often less adapted to feed their flocks than to sheer them. They were more at home in military matters than in the writings of the fathers. Most bishops and abbots held their lands by feudal tenure. So they had to render military service to their seigneurs. Though they did not usually bear arms themselves, they were represented by vidames or champions. They furnished their quota of men to their seigneur's levies. They had to mind warlike things; and often they yielded to the temptation to think too much of them. Many of these prelates, vassals of great lords and of kings, were also seigneurs themselves. They were feudal barons. They had vassals wherewith to attack and defend, villeins and serfs to work for them, and their episcopal palaces and monastic cloisters were surrounded with walls and towers. They exercised feudal authority. Like secular lords, they levied dues on fairs, market tolls, taxes, and imposts on traffic. They had courts of justice, with their fines, dungeons, and gibbets. The sons of poor artisans could hope to rise to the episcopate in the time of Charlemagne; but, on the continent, that was not often the case now. Abbeys and bishoprics were now usually given only to members of the feudal aristocracy. Ecclesiastical subinfeudation went further. France was covered with innumerable scattered ecclesiastical seigniories. Especially do we find them in the towns. Bishop and chapter, collegiate churches and suburban abbeys, formed many petty feudal sovereignties. Even the country parishes were feudalized. The parish became a tenure exploited by the seigneur. Sometimes he transferred it as a fief to another layman who in his turn exploited it. The rural priest became the "man" of the layman who held the parish as a fief. And so the church, from top to bottom, had become engulfed in feudalism. To this is due in large part the struggles between princes and prelates, emperors and popes.

What a striking contrast all this was to the first years of Christianity, and also to the ideal of renunciation of the world pictured by Augustine in *The City of God!*

References for Further Reading

The original sources for several phases of this study are enumerated in the bibliographies for chapters one, twenty, and twenty-one of the fifth volume, and chapters sixteen and nineteen of the sixth volume, of *The Cambridge Medieval History.* But up to the present time that great work has not attempted such a survey as that of our present chapter. It doubtless will do so in one or more of the volumes yet to be published, and then we may expect to find the original sources for other phases of the study listed in its bibliographies. Among the more important of them are the writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, Augustine's *Civitas Dei,* Peter Lombard's *Sententiæ,* Gratian's *Decretum,* and, above all others, Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologica.* For the sources of canon law since Gratian the standard work is J. F. von Schulte's *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf die Gegenwart.*

Many articles in *The Catholic Encyclopædia* and in *The Encyclopædia Britannica* are of great help in this study. In the latter see especially the second section of the article on Church History by Albert Hauck. G. B. Adams, *Civilization in the Middle Ages.* U. Berlière, *L'ordre monastique.* E. Casper, *Petrus Diaconus.* An interesting description of life in a medieval monastery will be found in the third chapter of Dean R. W. Church's *Saint Anselm;* and another one in Augustus Jessopp's *The Coming of the Friars.* Much information relating to medieval religious life will be found in *The Legacy of the Middle Ages,* edited by C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob. L. Chaumont, *Histoire de Cluny.* G. G. Coulton, *Medieval Garner* and also his *Five Centuries of Religion.* E. H. Davenport, *The False Decretals.* A volume by R. Genestral on *The Organization of the Church* is announced. Adolf Harnack's *History of Dogma* is a work of profound scholarship; and see also his little book on *Monasticism.* Albert Hauck's *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands.* Edwin Hatch, *The Growth of Church Institutions.* Edward Krehbiel, *The Interdict.* Henry Charles Lea, *Studies in Church History.* Achille Luchaire, *Social France.* D. C. Munro

and G. C. Sellery, *Medieval Civilization.* F. Pijper's *De Kloosters* is a useful study of the monastery as an institution. R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought,* Pierre Pourrat, *La Spiritualité Chrétienne.* Reinhold Seeberg's *Textbook of the History of Doctrines* is one of the best books on the subject and contains well-selected bibliographies of both original and derived sources; the revised edition, two volumes in one, published in 1904, is much better than the earlier ones. Henry Osborne Taylor, *The Medieval Mind.* H. von Eicken, *Geschichte und System der mittelalterlichen Weltanschauung.* H. B. Workman, *Evolution of the Monastic Ideal;* and also his *Christian Thought to the Reformation.*

CHAPTER 17

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SECULAR AND SPIRITUAL POWER

Reign of Emperor Henry II. When Otto III died childless the direct line of descent from Henry I, the first Saxon ruler of Germany, became extinct. Several candidates presented themselves for the vacant throne; but, almost without exception, the bishops and abbots supported an indirect heir of the Saxon house, Duke Henry of Bavaria. From the moment of his election Henry II (1002–1024) had to contend with unruly vassals at home and with foes along the frontiers, especially the Poles, and he never thoroughly subdued either of them. Three times he led expeditions into Italy. On the first occasion he was crowned King of the Lombards; and on the second, in 1014, the pope crowned him emperor. Henry was the first Germanic emperor to use the title of "King of the Romans". He assumed the new title, which was adopted by his successors until they received a higher one, in order to assert his claim of sovereignty over Rome. He crossed the Alps again in 1021, this time in response to the papal supplication for help against the Byzantines in southern Italy. With the aid of some of the Normans who were settled in that part of the peninsula he captured many fortified towns and greatly lessened the power of the Greeks. But soon the plague compelled him to return to Germany. There he devoted himself to ecclesiastical reform. He supported the papal efforts to prevent the sale of the headships of monasteries and bishoprics and to compel celibacy of the clergy, and enthusiastically furthered the cause of the Cluniacs. He knew that if he was to hold his own wide kingdom together it would be necessary for him to control the abbots and

bishops, great landholders as they were, as well as the secular feudal lords. So, whenever possible, he filled all such vacancies with his nominees; and in the course of time most of the bishoprics in his northern realm were filled by men whom he had nominated. They were chosen primarily for their practical ability and for their loyalty to him; yet few of them were neglectful of their spiritual duties, and the general condition of the higher clergy was far better in Germany than in other Catholic lands. Not deeply affected by the glamour of Italy, attached to his homeland, practical and prudent, he delayed for two generations the disintegration of Germany.

The cities in northern Italy. One of the most important facts of the time is the development of independent cities in Italy. Despite the political disintegration of the peninsula, economic and social progress was making much headway in that country. Many cities were growing rich and powerful. They no longer feared their feudal lords. Several of them sent hostages and offered to take an oath of fealty to the Saxon Henry. This is the first recorded instance of the assertion of political autonomy, of independence of spiritual and secular lords, by Italian cities. And in 1004 war broke out between Pisa and Lucca. These facts are indicative of a profound transformation, of the decline of feudalism and the rise of communal freedom and activity in Italy. They illustrate the beginning of the transference of the center of gravity from one class of the population to another, from the feudal aristocracy to the townsfolk. Within the walls of the towns a new age was coming into life.

Conrad II. The Salian dynasty came to the German throne in the person of Conrad II (1024–1039), a count in the Duchy of Franconia, distantly related to Otto the Great. He needed all his bravery, military skill, and common sense to quell the disturbances at home and secure peace with Denmark and Poland. When this was done he set out for

Italy, where, in 1026, he assumed the crown of Lombardy. In the following year he received the imperial crown at the hands of the pope in Rome. An attempt had been made to transfer the sovereignty over Italy and also the imperial title to France. This seems to have suggested a change in the name of the empire. In four imperial documents, all issued by Conrad from the chancery in Italy, we find the totality of territory ruled over by him described as the "Roman Empire". Much later on this was to be altered to the title of "Holy Roman Empire", which remained in use until it was abolished early in the nineteenth century. Then Conrad recrossed the Alps to carry on his real work in Germany. Again he put down unruly nobles, defeated the Poles and Hungarians, and brought about the incorporation of Burgundy in the empire. This new territorial acquisition gave only a slight increase of actual power to the German rulers, for in the greater part of the erstwhile kingdom they obtained no more than a nominal recognition of their claims to sovereignty. But the union of the two countries barred the further eastward advance of the French kings and Aquitanian dukes, and gave to Germany the northwest passes into Italy.

The work of Conrad. Conrad's reign is important because it marks the beginning of the great imperial age of Germany; and it is also noteworthy because of a split in the ranks of feudalism, a gradual coming of the lesser nobles into closer union with the crown. Vassals of the great lords were beginning to learn that the king, rather than their seigneur, was the real protector of their privileges and rights. They were becoming more and more independent of their seigneurs as the principle of inheritance of fiefs won its way in Germany. The principle left every seigneur with only nominal ownership of a fief, once his to bestow upon whomsoever he pleased, that had now passed into the perpetual possession of a vassal and his heirs. Conrad did not feel himself strong enough to decree that fiefs

should pass from father to son in Germany, but he did all he could to accelerate the tendency in that direction. It was a rule that seriously weakened the power of the great lords over their vassals. The situation was different in Italy. There the royal power had no such mighty dukes to meet as in Germany. So, in 1037, Conrad issued from Milan his famous edict that every Italian fief should pass to the son or grandson of the deceased holder; that no vassal should be deprived of his fief without judgment of his peers, and that even then any vassal whose fief had been taken from him might appeal to the emperor. Conrad still further strengthened the royal power by increasing the revenue from the crown lands, by recovering some of the lands granted to monasteries and bishoprics by his predecessors, and by securing possession, as appanages of the crown, of the duchies of Bavaria, Franconia, and Swabia.

Henry III. Henry III (1039–1056) was as practical as his father, far more imaginative, and he had an exalted conception of the empire. His authority was quickly recognized in all parts of his dominions, and he dealt successfully with Bohemia, Poland, and Denmark. Even the most powerful princes were obliged to respect the law and keep the peace. Never before had the country enjoyed so long a period free from internal disturbances. The royal authority was stronger and stricter than it had been since the days of Otto the Great. But the feudal grandees, overawed for the time being, sullenly awaited a moment favorable to their purpose. And unfortunately the king played into their hands by relinquishing immediate control of the southern duchies of Bavaria, Carinthia, and Swabia. From that time on his position at home gradually became weaker. The lesser nobles who had loyally supported his father, did not lend him their aid. Perhaps his wars along the frontiers and his excursions into Italy had drained their resources too heavily; and then, too, his strict justice and stern repression of feudal warfare had displeased them. In this reign

the German towns entered upon an age of prosperity. Markets multiplied, and barges and boats, heavily laden with merchandise, were constantly going up and down the Rhine and the Weser.

Henry III and the papacy. Henry was well aware of the great need of reforming the church. He knew, too, that such reform must begin at the top. The papacy at this time had almost become the hereditary possession of the petty counts of Tusculum, an ancient city no longer in existence, about fifteen miles southeast of Rome. There were three claimants to the pontifical office at this time, and the papal city was the scene of disgraceful disorders. Henry went to Italy, deposed the brawling rivals, and secured the election to the papal see of Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, who, as Pope Clement II (1046–1047) crowned him emperor. Three other German popes owed their election to Henry. Damasus II (1048) survived his election only twenty-three days. Leo IX (1049–1054), who had long been known as a zealous upholder of Cluny, soon proclaimed his opposition to clerical marriages and simony, adopted all the claims of papal power put forth in the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, and began his many journeys as a reformer in Italy, France, and Germany. Victor II (1055–1057) advocated clerical celibacy, opposed simony, and denounced alienation of land donated to the church. In putting such able and earnest men into the papal office Henry did great service to the cause of religion, but at the same time he "sharpened a weapon whose keen edge was first tried against his son". Events were to prove that a strong universal papacy could not permanently exist on peaceful terms side by side with a powerful universal empire. Coming further down the hierarchy Henry commanded the prelates of his own country to put an end to simony, and he gave substantial aid to the Cluniacs. Taken all in all it may be said that this reign marks the apogee of German national and imperial power. Henry was supreme

in church and state. Maker and unmaker of popes, ruler of Germany, Italy, and Burgundy, overlord of Bohemia and Hungary, he occupied unquestionably the most commanding position on the continent. Unfortunately he died in the prime of his life and did not live to combat the forces now swiftly gathering to assail the empire.

Title of the Germanic Empire. We have seen that under Conrad II the term "Roman Empire" was employed in several documents issued from the chancery in Italy. Under Henry III the title was also used several times in documents issued from the chancery in Germany. It continued so to be used by his three immediate successors. Thus the title seems to have been used officially only rarely until the time of Frederic Barbarossa. But it was used far more frequently in unofficial documents. It was rapidly and widely disseminated in literary usage. And this description of the empire seems to have exercised an immediate effect upon the title of the king. The title of "King of the Romans" came into official use at the beginning of the reign of Henry III; and, though used only occasionally, it persisted until the time of Barbarossa. The German mind takes pleasure in believing that the ideal is reality. The tendency has grave perils. It leads men to put dreams in the place of facts. It confounds the limits of the possible and the impossible.

Accession of Henry IV. The long and stormy minority of Henry IV (1056–1106), who was only a boy of six when his father died, spelled a great loss in prestige and power to the empire. His mother, who was regent, was pious and well-meaning, but weak and inconstant. Henry was able and generous by nature; but, flattered and impelled in different directions throughout his boyhood, he was given to caprice and contrariness when he took the reins of government. Quickly he made enemies of many of the leading feudal lords and gave great offense to the Saxons; and then, while his country was in this confused state, he found him-

self confronted by an abler and more stubborn opponent than any lord or group of people within his own kingdom. Hildebrand, bent upon reform and upon putting an end to secular control of the church, ascended the papal throne.

Beginning of the Order of Cluny. Let us pause at the opening of the great struggle between empire and papacy to see something of the progress and policy of the Cluniac monks. Cluny was at first only a little abbey, hidden among the wooded hills of a valley in the French-speaking part of Burgundy, keeping faithfully the prescriptions of the Rule of Benedict. Then other monasteries sought its guidance. So, as we have seen, the second abbot made an innovation of prime importance. Up to that time every monastery had been independent; the *regula* under which it lived might make it resemble other monasteries, but no bond of dependence or association was thereby set up between them. The Cluniacs, however, regarded daughter communities as part of themselves. Whenever a new Cluniac monastery was established, the abbot of Cluny nominated a prior, responsible to him, to govern it. This control gave unity of organization, purpose, doctrine, and policy. The mother monastery was not under the control of the bishop in whose diocese it was situated. Nor was any subordinate monastery under the control of a secular prelate. All the Cluniacs were under the immediate jurisdiction of the pope. Papal authority rendered effective support; and yet the pope was so far away that he did not interfere much with the monks who had placed themselves under his protection. This highly centralized system is the first monastic organization that can rightfully be called an Order.

Development of the Order of Cluny. From 931, when its charter of foundation received the papal sanction, the popes of the tenth and eleventh centuries vied with one another in legislating for Cluny. They gave it their protection. No one, said a papal decree of 999, however great or powerful, was to attack its monasteries, cells, churches, courts, vills,

serfs, woods, vines, plains, meadows, waters, torrents, and lands cultivated or uncultivated. With true instinct they took into their special favor the men who were to become the chief bulwark and champions of their supremacy. In every possible way they encouraged the faithful to make donations to the Order. Gifts and legacies were lavished upon it in all parts of Europe. Scores of new monasteries were established in strategic positions. Flourishing abbeys, that had enjoyed an independent existence for centuries, placed themselves under its yoke in order to share the benefits of its rule and the special protection of the pope. Other monasteries that did not wish to join it were compelled to do so. At the end of two centuries a widespread monastic empire looked for guidance to its capital at Cluny. France, England, Germany, Poland, and Spain each had scores of its monasteries, while some were to be found even in the Holy Land. This expansion sometimes met with opposition. Other monasteries fought it; jealous bishops fanned distrust into hatred. There were violent encounters. Blood was shed. But at last opposition was beaten down or turned aside. Cluny, from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the twelfth century, was the center of religious influence throughout the western part of the continent, and its abbot was the most important and powerful ecclesiastic in the Latin church next to the pope. What a change had come upon monasticism from the days of the lonely dweller in the desert or the forest to "the monk who imposed his commands upon a world"!

Cluniacs and papacy. The Cluniac monks, every one of whom had to pass some of the early years of his monastic life at the mother monastery, supported the popes and worked for the extension of the papal power. They acted as his counselors and diplomats. By reason of the breadth of their interests and outlook they easily rose to general ideas. They plumbed the depth of the evils afflicting the organization and the faith of the church. They rose supe-

rior to the particularism of the bishops. Going beyond the limits of every kingdom, they fostered the interests of the universal church. Naturally they came to think that, after the model of their own Order, there should be one sole and sovereign head of the church. They themselves needed such an authority in order to consolidate and maintain their unity in the midst of feudal anarchy. Identification of the papacy and Cluny became complete when the pontifical chair was occupied by Urban II (1088–1099), a militant Cluniac.

Work of the Cluniacs. The first object of the Cluniacs was to reform the monastic world. In an age of brutality and violent lust they lived holy and unselfish lives. They preached monastic reform with the fervor of a new gospel. Much of their time was absorbed by the length of their offices, but they did less manual labor than monks heretofore had done, and they spent the time thus gained in building, copying manuscripts, reading, teaching, and works of social amelioration. They exalted the duty of hospitality and acknowledged the obligation of charity. In a single year of famine they gave aid to seventeen thousand paupers. Sometimes they sold their sacred vessels and mortgaged their lands to relieve the terrible distress of the masses. They struggled against ignorance. New schools were opened for boys. A noble architectural effort issued from Cluny. Their art radiated throughout Europe. In these and in other ways, they built a span in the bridge between antiquity and the Renaissance.

The Cluniacs and Hildebrand. The Cluniac monks, in order to maintain their independence of the local authorities, willingly proclaimed their obedience to the pope. It was their propaganda that paved the way for Hildebrand. He found in them a fighting force whose effectiveness, loyalty, and readiness for battle was never again to be met with until the time of the Jesuits. This was a fact of the greatest importance at the moment when the papacy arose from its

debased position and stretched out its hands to seize dominion over the world. The Cluniacs prepared the way for the emancipation of the church and for its attempted elevation above the state.

Hildebrand the power behind the papal throne. Hildebrand was born in Tuscany, and at an early age went to be educated in Rome. The condition of the church was deplorable. Its internal life was demoralized, its prelates were subjected to feudal nobles and kings, and the papacy was largely in the control of the feudal nobility of the neighborhood of Rome and the Germanic emperor. The long minority of Henry IV made the time opportune for an attempt of the papacy to establish its independence of imperial control; and the prospect for internal reform of the church was very promising because of the support of the Cluniacs. Throughout the reigns of five successive popes an inclusive and consistent program of reform was supported by Hildebrand. He seems, however, to have been not so much the guiding intellect of the group of reformers at the papal court as their executive arm. The progressive ideas seem to have originated with Cardinal Humbert, a jurist and statesman. Hildebrand, together with the other reformers, desired to bring about clerical celibacy, the abolition of simony, the ending of appointment to ecclesiastical office by secular authority, and the vesting of papal elections in the College of Cardinals. Leo IX (1048–1054) put him at the head of the papal financial administration where his reforms placed a constant supply of money at the disposal of the curia, and sent him as a legate to Germany, where he learned much about the political and ecclesiastical circumstances of that country that was afterwards very useful to him. The promptings of the reformers soon began to tell. Leo inaugurated the work of changing things for the better that was to continue for a century. He condemned simony and clerical marriage and made many journeys in behalf of a reformation of manners in Italy, France, and

Germany. He also sent Hildebrand as a legate to France, where he visited for the first time, and perhaps the last, the great monastery at Cluny.

Final break between the Greek and Latin churches. It was at this time that the final break came between the Greek and the Latin churches. Estrangement between them began in the fifth century and had continued ever since. The theological genius of the East is different from that of the West. This showed itself particularly in the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost. The Greeks hold that he proceeds from the Father, while the Latins contend that he proceeds from the Father and the Son. Political jealousies and interests were contributing causes of separation; and so, too, was the western attempt to enforce clerical celibacy. At last, in 1054, a bull of excommunication from Rome was placed on the altar of Sancta Sophia. Since then attempts have been made to reconcile the Greeks and Latins, but all have been wrecked upon the two points of papal supremacy and the procession of the Holy Ghost. The papacy was now free, by the act of a pope who was a German, to concentrate all its energy upon the West.

Progress of the reform movement. Hildebrand's influence continued to be felt in the time of Victor II (1055–1057), a pontiff who with tireless zeal carried on the war against simony and in behalf of clerical celibacy. It was in his pontificate that Henry III died in the prime of his life, an event of far-reaching effect upon the relation of papacy and empire, for the long minority of the emperor's son was a source of strength to the papacy. Stephen IX (1057–1058), an austere monk, at once promoted several members of the reform party of which Hildebrand was the leader. He made a cardinal of Pietro Damiani (988?–1072), a dreamy recluse, who, aroused by the corruption and intrigues of the time, had denounced with voice and pen the vices of the clergy in the most vehement manner. Under Nicholas II (1059–1061) the reform movement was distinctly

accelerated. In order to secure political support in the effort to throw off the control of the empire a *rapprochement* was begun with the Normans in southern Italy, and an alliance was negotiated with the democratic and reforming party known as the Paterini in northern Italy. Then, in 1059, the decree was issued which virtually transferred the papal election to the College of Cardinals. True the imperial claim to confirmation was not expressly denied, but it was mentioned only in an ambiguous manner which seemed to give everything and yet really gave nothing. It reduced the influence of the emperor to "an unmeaning consent to a completed choice". An alliance was then concluded with two dukes whose territories, together with the papal possessions, connected all the Norman allies in the south with the Paterini in the north and thus formed a political combination extending almost over the entire peninsula. The strength of the papacy was still further increased for the coming struggle with the empire by its augmented financial resources and its revived spiritual influence. All these measures seem to have been due in no small part to Hildebrand, who by this time had become a dominant personality in the curia. The election decree produced great dissatisfaction in Germany, but the pope was now assured of the protection of the Normans and the effective support of the Paterini in the prosperous cities of Lombardy. During the pontificate of Alexander II (1061–1073) the papal policy was more than ever before dictated by Hildebrand. Political conditions, especially in Germany, were very favorable to the papacy; and great political sagacity and courage were displayed in perceiving this fact and in taking advantage of it. Then a very irregular election put Hildebrand in the papal chair. He took the name of Gregory VII. Thus the man who had already helped to inspire the papal policy with new ideas, endowed it with his impetuous ardor, and given it the support of his iron will, now became the leader, in name as well as in fact, of the church.

The fight for celibacy. Gregory VII (1073–1085) at once proceeded to carry out several reforms, to combat the most violent passions and assail the most tenacious interests. He was a monk, and he was determined to require celibacy of all the clergy. No clergy were to be allowed to marry, and all were to refrain from sexual relations outside the pale of matrimony. Celibacy for priests was not a rule of primitive Christianity. We can see its gradual growth through the scanty records of the first three centuries of our era. There were many causes favoring it. Virginity was lauded more and more by ecclesiastical writers in language of increasing fervor; and then a feeling spread that church revenues should be devoted only to ecclesiastical affairs and not to the families of priests. Laws were passed from time to time to enforce clerical celibacy, but there were numerous secret evasions and open defiances. Several important provincial councils held about this time allowed married priests to retain their wives, among them being that of Rouen in 1063, that of Lisieux in 1064, and of Rouen again in 1072. Since the middle of the eleventh century, however, a vigorous movement for stricter morality, especially on the part of the clergy, had been fostered and led by Cluny. This leadership was now assumed by the papacy. Soon after his election Gregory issued a series of laws designed to enforce clerical celibacy. He believed that greater influence would result from having a priesthood entirely separated from earthly interests. All priests who were married or living in concubinage were forbidden to dispense the sacraments, and the laity were instructed to refrain from seeking the services of any such priest. All such priests were to be deprived of their revenues and turned over to the secular authorities for punishment; and all persons were required to renounce their obedience to bishops who were lenient with such priests. These enactments were too sudden and too severe. They were addressed to a clergy still more or less barbarian and connected by a thousand

ties to the lay society from which they were now to be dissevered. They precipitated harsh conditions in the cases of priests who had to take care of wives and children. They were so stringent and unsparing, so revolutionary, as to go far to defeat their purpose. Frequently they met with stubborn resistance and sometimes with violent opposition. Even when resistance subsided, success was not always what it seemed to be, for concubinage only too often took the place of marriage. A century later more success attended the gentler missionary zeal of the Franciscans and the more persuasive methods of the Dominicans. But it seems likely that had it not been for the iron will of Gregory and the untiring zeal of Cluny the milder discipline of the Greek church, a discipline that is still observed by several eastern churches that are in union with Rome, would have prevailed permanently in the West. Modern thought has sometimes hastened to condemn this insistence upon celibacy. But we should not forget that in the eleventh century feudalism was making all holdings and offices hereditary. The movement was so powerful that it was carrying almost the whole of society along with it, from the great fiefs down to the meanest services. How, then, could parishes and dioceses hope to escape this movement if priests were allowed to marry? Would not inheritance of holdings have become the general privilege of the clergy as well as of the nobility? Would not parishes and bishoprics have been turned into fiefs? Priests, bishops, popes by right of birth! Not even a shadow of religion would have remained.

The fight against simony. Simony, the buying of ecclesiastical offices or emoluments, nowadays called "graft", was widely prevalent. Many prelates, as well as secular lords, sold church offices and incomes within their dioceses and territories. Seller and buyer alike, in all such cases, were guilty of simony. But the custom had prevailed so long and so widely that the problem it gave rise to was very

complicated. Many kinds of vested interests were involved. Leo IX had begun the battle against this evil, but little had been done. Gregory did the best he could; his legates traversed the land suspending or deposing concubinaries and simoniacs; but the matter was still unsettled when he died. It was easy for the evil to disguise itself and then continue a peaceful existence. Gregory, whose bulls and public instructions were so uncompromising, finally realized this. "It is the custom of the church", he wrote to one of his legates, "to tolerate certain things and disregard others, and that is the reason why we have thought it our duty to temper the rigor of the canons with the gentleness of discretion".

The war against lay investiture. Closely connected with the denunciation of simony was the struggle against lay investiture. It is, in fact, impossible to separate them. Abbots and bishops were feudal lords. They held great estates. Many of them had granted fiefs to laymen in return for military service when necessary and other feudal dues. Thus they were lords with vassals, with courts of justice, with all the other rights and privileges of secular lords. Many of them were vassals of secular grandees who had invested them with their fiefs. Not a few of them were direct vassals of the king, and in their cases it was he who had invested them with the temporalities they held from him. Gradually the feudal grandees and the king had acquired the practice of nominating the men to office who, as abbots and bishops, were to hold fiefs from them. And gradually, too, the practice had grown up of investing abbots and bishops with their temporal possessions and their religious office at one and the same time. Lay investiture descended below the ranks of the prelacy to the parish priests. Many of the rural churches were in the power of the lords of the manor. They appointed the priests and collected the tithes. Several popes had already attempted, but in vain, to end ecclesiastical appointments by secular

authorities. Gregory issued a bull in 1075 denying the right of ecclesiastical investiture to the laity; and in 1078 he issued another making lay investiture liable to punishment. Still further he commanded all laymen who held church lands as fiefs, from either secular or ecclesiastical lords, to restore them under penalty of excommunication. In the future papal sanction was to be necessary for all investiture of church lands. Finally, in 1080, the manner of investing a prelate with his office was strictly defined and safeguarded. Gregory had clearly in mind, in all these enactments, the replacing of the power of barons and kings, in appointing to ecclesiastical office, by the papal power. He had, in reality, declared war on the emperors, kings, and the whole feudal system. And naturally he met with the determined resistance of all the threatened interests. Legitimate rights, as well as abuses were threatened. Abbots and bishops owned a very large part of the soil of the continent. They were, therefore, princes of the kingdom in which they lived, or of the empire. The bond would be broken between them and the king or emperor. The only allegiance they would owe would be to the pope. Thus the royal power, in every kingdom in the western part of the continent, would have been ruined, because it rested in large part, economically and politically, upon the great estates controlled by the prelates. If the temporary power had consented to forego all right of investiture it would have signed its own destruction.

The dispute between Gregory and Henry. Henry IV had many troubles to contend with in Germany. He was young and impulsive, and lacked a wise and experienced counselor. When he attempted to assert his rights as suzerain in northern Italy he was sharply rebuked by the pope. The impetuous king was enraged. Quickly he convened a national council which boldly resolved that Gregory had forfeited the papal position. Some German bishops renounced their allegiance to Gregory, Henry declared him

deposed, and he persuaded the Lombard bishops to take similar action. A wave of deep emotion, excited by a sense of wrong, swept over the western world. "Come to our help as much as possible", wrote Gregory to the Abbot of Cluny; "cease not to exhort and encourage those who love Saint Peter". He was sure of the response of the "black monks". He knew that, like the lamp in the sanctuary, those upholders of papal independence and ecclesiastical unity were ever on the watch in their monasteries scattered throughout the kingdoms of the West. Then he excommunicated Henry and released his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. The tide of sentiment supported the act, and many of the German nobles seized the favourable opportunity to further their own particular interests at the expense of the royal power. All the selfish endeavors that were to rule the country for several centuries began to raise their heads threateningly. All the centrifugal forces of the following times began to make themselves felt. Although most of the German bishops and most of the Benedictine monasteries in Germany supported him, the situation was very critical for Henry. His followers were falling away, his enemies increasing; and everywhere the Cluniacs were passionate partisans of the pope. If he was to succeed in crushing rebellion at home it was urgently necessary to make peace with Gregory. So he went to Italy and sought an interview with him in the papal castle near Canossa. There, in the neighborhood of the castle, he waited three days in penitential garb and asked several times for an interview with the pope. At last he was received, and, after promising to submit to papal authority, he was given absolution. That was all he wanted for the moment. He was then better able to deal with his enemies at home.

Henry's revenge. When Henry returned to Germany, after his master stroke of diplomacy at Canossa, it did not take him long to crush the feudal opposition; and then,

early in 1081, he was back in Italy. No genuine reconciliation had been effected between king and pope. No basis for the settlement of the grave questions at issue between them had been agreed upon, and so quarrels had broken out between them again. Gregory had sided with the rebellious nobles. Henry captured Rome; but Gregory shut himself up for safety in the castle of San Angelo and would listen to no compromise. Then Henry set up an antipope, by whom he was crowned emperor. At last Gregory was saved by the advance of Robert Guiscard, with a large force from the south, who compelled Henry to hasten back to Germany.

Character and work of Gregory. Gregory's pontificate came to a gloomy end. Owing to an insurrection against him in the Eternal City he was obliged to flee to Salerno where he died. His stringent and unsparing methods had created many enemies. Yet it would be a mistake to judge his pontificate by the disasters that came at its close. He fought his whole life long with an indomitable courage, and, though he died in exile, he had none the less assured the future of an independent and powerful papacy. It is not easy to present a true picture of his personality. Few actual words spoken by him have come down to us, and one must be chary of taking at their face value the expressions used in his official communications because they were adapted to his momentary aims. And then, too, the judgments of his contemporaries are so obviously inspired by party passion, they oscillate so violently between glorification and abuse, that they could have been invented only by the blind devotion of love or the unbridled hatred of impotence. They show clearly how strongly his personality affected contemporaries, but they are not sufficient to bring him before our eyes in living form. Yet one feature of his character was remarked by those who knew him, whether friends or foes. It was the contrast between a lofty aim and violent passion that ran through his whole character. He

sought to attain ecclesiastical aims by very worldly means. In his intrepid opposition to the mightiest ruler of the age this austere monk displayed the skill of a dexterous diplomat. The inflexible reformer reversed at need the policy of the curia. Whenever opportunity permitted or prescribed he changed his plan of swift and impulsive attack for one of watchful observation. These seemingly irreconcilable contradictions were, however, not due to the personality of the great pope. They must be attributed to the purpose, the ideal, he attempted to carry out. As the years of conflict continued Gregory looked far beyond his original plan of improving the condition of the laity, reforming the morals of the clergy, centralizing ecclesiastical government in the curia, and raising the papacy from the degraded position into which it had fallen and making it independent of the empire. His idea grew until it came to include Augustine's dream of a Kingdom of God on earth under the rule of the church. This claim of the priestly caste to world dominion and to exclusive control of the road to the other world bore its own contradiction within it, for it was compounded of secular and spiritual interests. The kingdom that is not of this world was yet to be realized in this world, and with it and by its means. The religious ideal became involved in the struggle of politics and inevitably sank to their level. The whole interplay of finesse and violence, which is called politics, stained the purity of religious purpose. And in this conflict of interests the "ambition of power" became more and more evident. Gregory became much more interested in the dominion of the church than in its doctrine. His final grandiose aim was a feudal suzerainty over all the realms and rulers of the West.

Henry V. Henry IV lived twenty years after the death of his great opponent. He was unfortunate in that he had to contend with the particularism of the feudal grandees at home as well as the effort of Gregory to establish the

supremacy of the papacy. Yet he holds an honorable place in history as a monarch who strove valiantly for the welfare of his kingdom. He was succeeded by his son Henry V (1106–1125), in whose reign the contest over lay investiture was continued. Thanks very largely to the long struggles of his father the new king soon restored peace at home, and a large measure of success attended his wars along the frontiers against Flanders, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. The Gregorian decrees against lay investiture had been renewed by Paschal II (1099–1118), who in his youth had been a monk at Cluny; but the matter remained quiescent until 1110, when, all attempts to solve the problem by mutual agreement having failed, the decrees were published once more, and were then answered by Henry's invasion of Italy. The moment was favorable for such a descent into the peninsula because the Normans, who thus far had supported the papacy in its struggle with the empire, were busy in the Orient. Paschal, while held a prisoner, acknowledged the king's right of investiture, and then crowned him emperor. Henry's ruthless and cool calculation had proved too much for papal indiscretion, but serious rebellions called him back to Germany, and then the extorted concessions were revoked. Gradually Henry suppressed the old centrifugal tendencies at home and a general peace was declared.

The Concordat of Worms. In this time of surcease from war a desire for a settlement of the investiture dispute spread and deepened; and at last, in 1122, a compromise was reached in the Concordat of Worms. A canonist of the time had pointed the way to a settlement. He had distinguished between the investiture that "created" the abbot or bishop and the investiture that "nourished" him by endowing him with domains. He deemed that when once the prelate was canonically elected and consecrated he might rightfully be invested with his temporalities by the king. Such was the appeasing solution indicated by Ives of Chartres. The

concordat provided that all the confiscated church property was to be restored; that the qualified monks and priests should elect their abbots and bishops, but, in order to insure sufficient influence, in the presence of imperial envoys, and that the emperor could veto the election of persons unacceptable to him; that the prelates should be invested with ring and crozier, insignia of their spiritual power, by the pope or his representative; and that they should be invested with the scepter, emblem of their temporal possessions, by the emperor, thus signifying that the fiefs were held from him and not from the pope. All the ecclesiastical landholders thus remained in the feudal hierarchy. They did homage for their lands to their secular lords, they swore loyalty to them, and they rendered them all the customary feudal services.

Effects of the struggle upon Germany. The long struggle of fifty years was very unfortunate for Germany. The great feudal nobles had occupied a prominent position at every stage. When the crown suffered defeat it was due to their alliance with the ecclesiastical party; just as the few victories it won would have been inconceivable without their support. It was they who profited most by the struggle between empire and papacy. Yet even they did not emerge unscathed from the prolonged warfare. The tendency, noticeable for more than a thousand years, towards the diminution of the power of the great lords and the increase of the middle rank gained in force and velocity. Finally it affected unfavorably the relation of the outlying lands to the empire. In East and West alike the detachment of the frontier lands and states, hitherto included in the imperial sphere of influence was beginning to be adumbrated. There was no longer any question of German influence in Poland and Hungary. And the empire, thus weakened, was faced by a powerful and triumphant church. In France also, and without conflict, the aims of the church were achieved as fully as in Germany.

Effects of the struggle upon the papacy. So it was that the struggle ended more favorably for the papacy than for the empire. Gregory's dream of world dominion was far from being realized, but papal power was extraordinarily enhanced. The general authority of the papacy was incomparably greater than it had been at the inception of the contest. Formerly it had acknowledged its inferiority to the empire, but now it waged war upon it and not without success. It even attempted to bestow the imperial crown upon one of its adherents, as if the empire were a papal fief; and it had learned the possibility of deranging, and perhaps paralyzing, the imperial authority by stirring up strife in Germany.

General character of the struggle. The great struggle, now temporarily called to a halt, was not primarily one between empire and papacy. It was, fundamentally, a contest between secular and spiritual power, between the natural instinct of nationality and the ideas and temperament of the old religious culture. Gregory VII contended not so much against the empire as against the secular power generally. All the western nations were destined to pass through this struggle, but at this time the leading foe of the papacy, the one whom it was the most necessary to defeat, was the empire. The church, as the heir of an old civilization, had the decisive advantage of a spiritual superiority. She dreamed of universal sway. She regarded herself as the continuation, in a spiritual form of the old Roman Empire. Gregory VII, the great reforming prelate, aspired to set up, in full working order, the complete City of God. He was a strange embodiment of all the antitheses of the time. In him we see contemplative mysticism and disputatious dialectic, monasticism and the canon law, asceticism and imperialism, renunciation of the world and achievement of world empire, human consciousness of sin and papal infallibility. This ideal of the City of God, conceived by Augustine and triumphantly proclaimed by all

the popes who upheld the Gregorian plans, was destined never to be completely fulfilled. But it had a powerful influence upon all spheres of life. It permeated the people to their lowest stratum, and even intoxicated those who strove to guard against it. Where was there a more magnificent institution than the church? In her lay all spiritual authority, all hope of salvation. And if suspicions continually arose, even if the most absolute conviction came, that there might possibly be other and better religious ideals than those she gave to the world, what had they to support them? What intellectual power was in a position to formulate and spread such convictions? There was, at this time, no science and no philosophy outside the church. Whoever pondered the deep questions of life remained imprisoned within the prevailing modes of thought and forms of expression. In such an atmosphere it was easy to spread the belief that the church was a divine institution, not to be subjected to the jurisdiction of the state; that the state was merely a human institution whose chief reason for being was to help in carrying out the will of the church. This relation between the spiritual and the worldly power was expressed in the traditional imagery of sun and moon, or of soul and body. The doctrine of the higher authority of the spiritual power was clearly enunciated in the assertion that both the spiritual and the temporal swords had been put into the hands of the church.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for this topic are given in the bibliographies for the first three chapters of the fifth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*. The chief sources of information for the pontificate of Gregory VII are his letters and decrees; and the most important of them are reprinted by Carl Mirbt in his *Quellen sur Geschichte des Papsttums*. The letters of the great pope are now being edited by Erich Caspar in the *Epistolæ selectæ* of the *Monumenta Germaniæ*.

Dom Réginald Biron, *Saint-Pierre Damien*. E. Bernheim, *Das*

Wormser Konkordat und seine Vorurkunden. James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire.* L. Chaumont, *Histoire de Cluny.* An article by Erich Caspar on "Gregor VII in seinen Briefen" is to be found in volume 130 of the *Historische Zeitschrift.* H. A. L. Fisher, *The Medieval Empire.* H. Finke has described the conflict between the papacy and empire, with well chosen evidence, in his *Weltimperialismus und nationale Regungen im Späteren.* Augustine Fliche, *La Réforme Grégorienne.* Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of Rome in the Middle Ages.* A. Hofmeister's *Das Wormser Konkordat* is a thorough investigation of the provisional close of the investiture dispute in 1122 and contains a new edition of the papal charter of concordat based upon a study of all the available sources. Henry Charles Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy.* The seventh volume of Horace K. Mann's *The Lives of the Popes* deals with Gregory VII and Urban II and has bibliographical aids. W. Martens, *Gregor VII, sein Leben und Werken.* A. H. Mathew, *Life and Times of Hildebrand.* G. Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich IV und Heinrich V.* The disputed incidents of the stay of Henry IV in Canossa are ably discussed by Heinrich Otto in an article entitled "Heinrich IV in Canossa" in volume 37 of the *Historisches Jahrbuch.* E. Sackur's *Die Cluniacenser* is still the standard work on that great monastic order. W. Schneider's *Papst Gregor VII und das Kirchengut* contends that the pope did not wish to dispute the imperial right to invest with temporalities. James Westfall Thompson's *Feudal Germany* is one of the most helpful books we have on this subject in English. Pasquale Villari, *Medieval Italy.* G. Weise, *Königtum und Bischofswahl im fränkischen und deutschen Reich vor dem Investiturstreit.* An article by J. P. Whitney in volume 34 of *The English Historical Review* explains how the idea of Gregory VII and his policy has changed under the influence of recent investigation without, however, affecting his real character.

CHAPTER 18

THE NORMANS IN EUROPE

Decentralization and invasion. "Norman", is the diminished form of the Teutonic or Scandinavian word "Northman". Very early we hear of these rovers who came from the misty North. In 808, less than eight years after Charlemagne had been crowned emperor, a king of the Danes, who had ravaged the Frisian coasts, spoke boastfully of leading his hardy pirates to Aachen. It was to ward off their attacks that Charlemagne began to build a navy. When that great ruler died his vast realm soon broke up; and its several parts, like the rest of the continent, were threatened by the internal dissolving force of feudalism and by attacks from without. Among those foreign foes were the Hungarians, the Saracens, and the Northmen. It is the story of the Norsemen we have here to tell, the history of the freebooters, known as Vikings, who gradually became transformed into Normans and profoundly affected the destiny of Europe.

Coming of the Northmen. The first raid of these piratical seamen, as far as we know, was in 787, when three ships descended upon the coast of Dorset, in southwest England, slew the king's reeve, took some booty and sailed away. In subsequent raids they stayed a longer time. Their common course of action was to begin with more or less random predatory descents upon the coast, and then, as their repeated pillagings gradually left nothing to be gleaned in the neighborhood of the sea, they chose some island or peninsula, which they fortified and provisioned, as a base of operations for overland journeys or for voyages which their shallow boats enabled them to make far up the rivers.

They were well armed with axes, spears, javelins, swords, and bows and arrows. The earlier raids were made only in summer; but by and by they ventured to winter in the scenes of their spoliation; and then, as far as that district was concerned, a new epoch began. Resistance on the part of the inhabitants was nearly always ineffectual, and so the plunderers gradually changed into conquerors, settled in the country, and, after a time, became assimilated to their subjects. Then their identity as a separate people was lost, and their history is to be traced only in that of the country at large.

Widespread activity of the Northmen. We have already seen something of the Northmen as founders of Russia and as members of the Varangian guard at Constantinople. They invaded England, Scotland, and Ireland, and made their way across the Atlantic to Iceland, Greenland, and North America. But we are here concerned only with the history in France and Italy of these men who "found the seas too narrow and the land too tame."

Three scenes of attack. There were three separate districts of attack on the continent. One was the mouth of the Scheldt. There the Vikings settled on the island of Walcheren, whence they made forays eastward to the Rhine and westward to the Somme. Owing to the weakness of the imperial power and the internecine struggles among the feudal lords they soon became virtual masters of all the region between those two rivers. The second scene of attack was the valley of the Seine. Year by year their visits became more frequent, their numbers increased, and their courage was more daring. In 841 they sacked Rouen; and four years later they ascended the river to Paris. That city, not yet the capital of the kingdom, was taken and pillaged. Seven thousand pounds of silver was the price of their departure, and also the incentive to return. What wonder, with such rewards, that the sea rovers swarmed along the coasts, passed up the rivers, stormed cities, and

devastated the country more frequently and more furiously than ever before! Four times in forty years they attacked Paris. The third scene of hostilities was the mouth of the Loire. There they had an admirable base of operations in the island of Noirmoutier, on which, in 843, they spent their first winter in that district, and where they seemed bent upon making a permanent settlement. No other region was more frequently ravaged than the lower valley of the Loire. It was a fertile land, rich in towns and monasteries, and so throughout the remainder of the century they were constantly going up and down the river, penetrating as far inland as the country of Auvergne. Far and wide they plundered, burned, killed, and carried off into slavery. Farther south they sailed up the Garonne to Toulouse; and then they fought under the Cross against the Crescent in Spain. On they went. Starting in 844 they pillaged the coasts of Spain, captured Seville and raided Cordova, but were prevented by the Saracens from establishing themselves in that country. Then, some years later on, they ravaged the coast of Morocco, spent a winter at the mouth of the Rhone, and continued eastward as far as Luna on the Gulf of Genoa. Thus with their kinsfolk at Constantinople the heathen pirates had almost put a girdle round Christendom.

The duchy of Normandy. But in only one of the three scenes of attack in France did the sea rovers succeed in making a lasting settlement. It is with that settlement we are here concerned. Terrible as were their forays, severe as was the suffering they inflicted, their influence in the history of France would have been slight if they had not established themselves permanently in the region afterwards known as Normandy. They were well fitted to found a kingdom. From the beginning they were more than detached bands of freebooters. They had laws that were generally obeyed; in the accouterments of war and seafaring expeditions they were in advance of the peoples they

conquered; and when they settled down to a peaceful life they quickly displayed a superior capacity for organization and government. The explicit establishment of the Normans in the region of the Seine took place under Rollo. For nearly thirty years that leader had been a daring pirate; but he was growing old and tired of his restless life. Most of northern France was in the undisputed possession of the sea rovers; for seventy years no mass had been sung in the cathedral of Coutances. Little would be lost by a formal cession to them of the territory they occupied, and much might be gained if thereby the marauders could be changed into peaceful settlers, feudal subjects, and military allies. So, about 911, a treaty was signed at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte between Rollo (911–927) and Charles the Simple of France. Rollo accepted the hand of Gisella, the king's daughter, was baptized a Christian, and became the vassal of Charles. Then he seems to have set himself vigorously to the work of improving the great fief that now legally belonged to him, meeting with no little success. He remained true to his oath of allegiance, but he seems to have taken little part in the general politics of France. The colonists were saved from being lost in their more numerous subjects and neighbors by frequent reinforcements from the North. Rollo died in 927 and was succeeded by Duke William Longsword (927–942), in whose character and accomplishments may be seen something of the influence of French civilization then rapidly permeating the upper ranks of the Normans. Tall, handsome, brave, affable, sensual, he was skilled in military affairs and versed in the learning of the schools. Duke Richard I (942–996), the Fearless, married the daughter of Hugh Capet and became the most powerful vassal of the king of France. It was about this time that further colonists ceased to arrive from Scandinavia; and the Normans born in Normandy were now rapidly becoming Frenchmen in language, in law, and in the consciousness that their duchy was only one of many that owed service

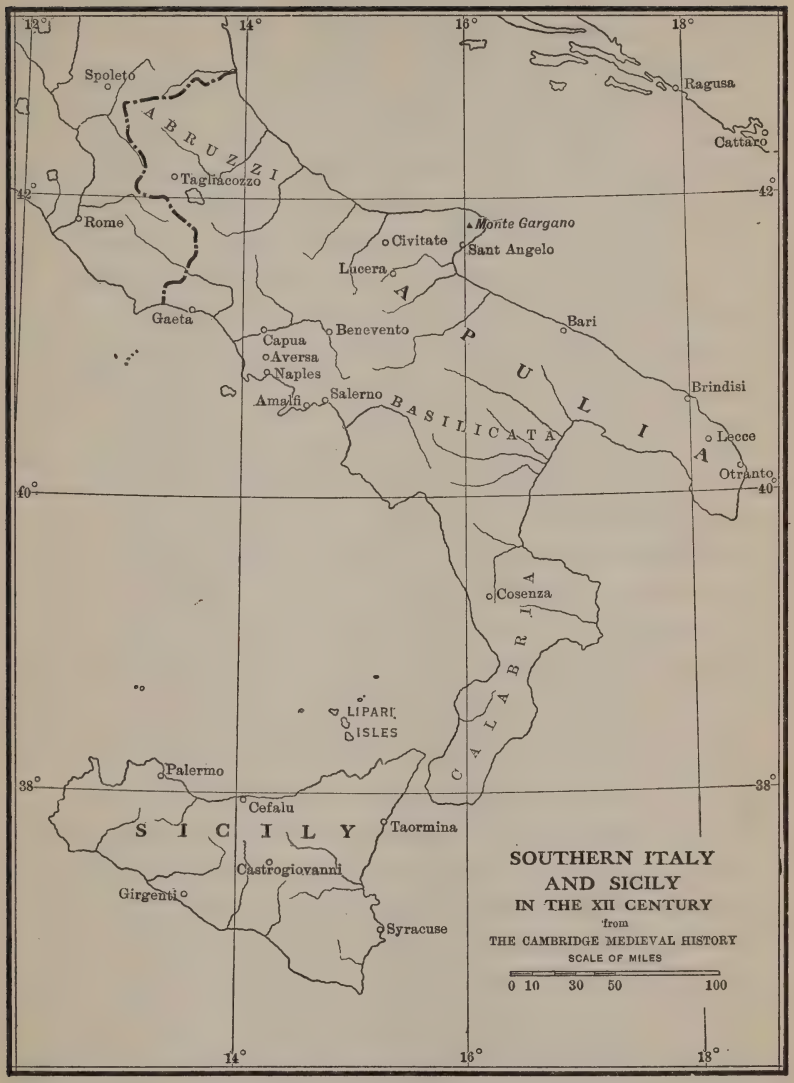
to the king of France. Richard II (996–1026), the Good, was one of the most zealous of all contemporary rulers for monastic reform. Richard III (1026–1027) seems to have been poisoned by his brother, Robert I (1027–1035), the Magnificent, who died while returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, leaving as his heir an illegitimate son by the daughter of a tanner of Falaise. William II (1035–1087) the Conqueror, was less than eight years of age when the news came of his father's death, and the next twelve years were a very turbulent time because of the attempts of his vassals to gain independence. But the great ruler crushed his insubordinate nobles and then defeated his enemies beyond the frontier. In his time the Abbey of Bec was founded, the school of which, owing to the able teaching of Lanfranc (1005?–1089) became the leading seat of learning in Christendom. It became still more illustrious when Anselm (1033?–1109) taught there. It was one of the first outposts of the intellectual movement now beginning to spread from Italy to the ruder countries of the West. In 1062 the County of Maine was formally annexed to Normandy, the boundary of the duchy being thus extended almost to the Loire; while four years later England was conquered. From that moment the great conqueror had cast the king of France into the shade. He had become "the greatest secular figure in the Europe of his day". After William's death quarrels broke out among his sons, and for nearly thirty years anarchy prevailed, order being finally restored by the firm hand of Henry I, king of England, whose natural instinct for learning earned him the name of Beauclerc. Then, for nearly a century, Normandy remained united to England until, in 1204, it was confiscated by King Philip Augustus of France.

Character of the Normans in Normandy. Long before the extinction of the duchy as a feudal fief the Northmen had become changed into Normans. They had intermarried with their subjects and neighbors, and had acquired a new

language, new manners, new customs, new thoughts, new feelings, a new political organization, a new social system, and a new religion. What sort of people were the Normans? They were industrious, able to endure hardships, imitative, given to flattery, cunning, eager for gain and closefisted, fond of law and legal forms in their procedure, and, above all else, extraordinarily adventurous and energetic. They did not submit readily to the intrusions of ecclesiastics; yet they observed the forms of their new religion with special care, and they were generous to priests and monks. The depth and sincerity of their religious feeling may be seen in the Cathedral of Coutances, with its refined and spiritual interior, and, watching over its northern waters, in the island Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel. They were "a high-spirited, masterful, unscrupulous race, eager for danger and ready for every adventure, and needing always the bit and bridle rather than the spur".

Advent of the Normans in southern Italy. Now we must take up the story of the Normans in the lands of the Mediterranean. For a long time the southern cities and provinces of Italy had been politically severed from the rest of the peninsula. They lay beyond the jurisdiction of both pope and the Germanic Emperor. Sicily was ruled by the warlike Saracens whose first capital was Kairwan, an inland town some seventy-five miles south of Tunis, and whose subsequent seat of government was Cairo; the Byzantine Empire still ruled over Apulia and most of Calabria; while north of the Byzantine provinces were the separate duchies of Benevento, Capua, and Salerno, held by the people who had long ago become Catholic and Italian but who were still known as Lombards, and the independent city-republics of Amalfi, Gaeta, and Naples. All of these states were often at war with one another. Each strove to gain the hegemony of southern Italy. The land was ripe for conquest by a vigorous foreigner. And now the moment had come when these states were to resume their part in the history of Italy

and to be connected more intimately with the affairs of western Europe. About 1016, while on a pilgrimage to the renowned shrine of the Archangel Michael on the mountain promontory of Monte Gargano in Apulia, some Norman adventurers were persuaded to enlist mercenaries in their northern home to aid the Lombard cities of that district against the neighboring Byzantines. So it was that shortly afterwards the first Norman adventurers, answering the call of the returned pilgrims, came to seek fortune in a land altogether unlike their own. What picture did these adventurers make in their minds, as they came along the inland sea, of the country for which they were bound? One would like to have an account of the conversations on the way of these rovers in whom pious visions mingled with the sanguinary and lustful designs of pirates. On their arrival in southern Italy they entered the service of various nobles and, thus separated, failed to play an important part in the rivalries of the several states. Then, about 1030, we hear of a band of these mercenaries settled at Aversa, a fortress, newly built and richly endowed with lands, some miles north of Naples, under a leader named Rainulf. There were only about forty of them when we first hear of them at that place, but they were continually joined by newcomers from Normandy whose ambitions had been fired by the exploits of their countrymen, and from this new stronghold they spread in all directions, profiting by the antagonism between Lombards and Byzantines, until they became the most powerful force in the entire region. Among the new arrivals who came to seek fame and fortune in these southern lands were several sons of Tancred, Seigneur of Hauteville, a little fief near Coutances, in Normandy, whose small estate could not support his numerous and adventurous sons nor satisfy their ambitions. "We must remember that Normandy exported in this period a considerable supply of younger sons", says Haskins, "bred to a life of warfare and fed upon the rich nourishment of the *chansons de gestes*, but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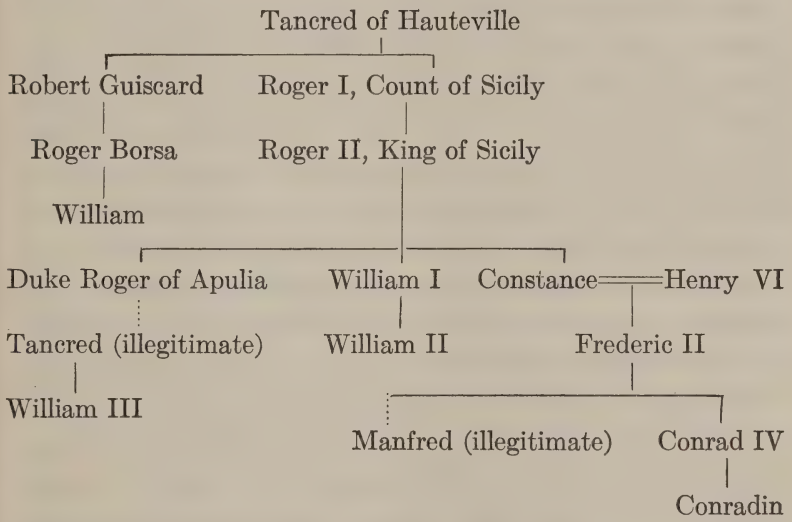
turned loose upon the world to seek elsewhere the lands and booty and deeds of renown which they could no longer expect to find at home". William, the first of the twelve sons of Tancred, eight of whom went to Italy, was proclaimed Count of Apulia. More remarkable was his half-brother, Robert Guiscard (1015?–1085), a big and handsome fellow, with golden hair and blue eyes, shrewd and resourceful, a man of unconquerable will, the most famous of all the Norman adventurers who took part in the conquest of southern Italy.

The Normans and the papacy. Up to the time of their installation in the fortress of Aversa the Normans were merely soldiers of fortune, serving with equal readiness either Lombards or Byzantines; but now they definitely allied themselves with the former against the latter, from whom, in a dozen years, having attracted to their banner many bold and lawless spirits of whatever nationality, they succeeded in wresting the whole of Apulia. A long series of conquests of Byzantine possessions in the southern part of the peninsula was followed by the gaining of lands held by the Lombards. The Normans were then a powerful force in Italy, and were viewed with alarm by Pope Leo IX (1049–1054) who determined to expel them from the peninsula. In 1053 he set out against them with an army of Italians and German volunteers, but his forces were decisively defeated near Civitate. When he went out from the city, however, to meet the enemy, he was well received; homage was performed and fealty sworn to him; while in return Guiscard was invested with all the present and future conquests in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, which he agreed to hold as fiefs of the Holy See. All seemed well. Yet for some ten months Leo was detained in honorable captivity at Benevento. In 1057 Guiscard assumed the title of Count of Apulia, and together with Roger, his youngest brother, began to complete the conquest of the province, while Richard, still another brother, undertook to subdue the principality of Capua. Both undertakings were successful.

An alliance was then formed with the papacy. Nicholas II (1058–1061) now occupied the papal throne. Prompted by Hildebrand and other reformers he was determined to abolish lay investiture and to free the papal elections from the control of the Roman nobility and that of the Germanic emperors. In order to make his position secure he entered into relations with the Normans, now firmly established in southern Italy. In 1059, in the presence of an impressive gathering of notables, he solemnly ratified the investiture of Robert Guiscard with the duchies of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, and Richard of Aversa with the principality of Capua, in return for their oaths of fealty to him as their suzerain and their promise of assistance in maintaining the rights of the church. It was an arrangement, made in the same year in which the cardinals were declared to be the only papal electors, that greatly helped the papacy in gaining independence of both the Eastern and the Western Empires. Thirteen years later the important city of Bari was captured and the Byzantines finally driven from the southern end of the peninsula.

The conquest of Sicily. Even before their possessions on on the mainland were thus rounded out and united the Normans had begun the conquest of Sicily. There they clashed with the Saracens, who for some time had lived under three emirs independent of one another and also of all control from Africa. These men from the eastern Mediterranean countries had begun their raids in Sicily in the middle of the seventh century; their first conquest of territory took place in 827; and in 965 the last Christian stronghold in the island fell into their hands. The victory of the Saracens was a gain for the island, especially for Palermo, which became the capital and grew into a fine city and a notable center of culture. For seventy-three years the island remained in their complete possession. Then a great effort to recover it, only partially successful, was made by the Byzantine Empire, whose representative was

the Patrician of Syracuse. But the Saracens held on to most of the island, and not until 1091 did the Normans succeed in entirely restoring it to Christendom. Thus for two hundred and sixty-three years some part or other was in possession of the Saracens. In that time the Greek language and the Christian religion never disappeared. Greek and Arabic were spoken and written; while Christianity continued side by side with Islam. And when the Normans gained the island they permitted these two languages and civilizations to flourish in neighborly fashion as in the years gone by.



Robert Guiscard. Three brothers led the Norman conquest of Sicily. To the aid of Robert Guiscard and Richard of Aversa came Roger, youngest of the populous family of Tancred of Hauteville. "He was a youth of the greatest beauty", says a contemporary of Roger, "of lofty stature, of graceful shape, most eloquent in speech and cool in counsel. He was far-seeing in arranging all his actions, pleasant and merry with all men; strong and brave, and furious in battle". His courage and military skill were of great aid

in reducing the island. Scattered throughout the island were many groups of Greek Christians, who, for the most part, gave what assistance they could to the invaders, whom they regarded as liberators. In 1084, in the midst of the task of conquering the island, Robert Guiscard was called by a desperate appeal to the aid of Gregory VII, besieged in the castle of Sant' Angelo in Rome by the Emperor Henry IV. Henry retreated upon the approach of the southern troops, and Robert liberated the pope; but the pillage and rapine of the Norman and Saracen soldiers, followed by a fire that damaged the ancient buildings far more than the depredations of the Vandals, so incensed the populace that Gregory was compelled to flee with his allies, and, in the next year, he died in exile at Salerno. A few months later he was followed to the grave by Robert Guiscard. Three years previously, in the midst of the Sicilian campaign, that daring leader had turned to attack the Byzantine Empire, the civilization of which fascinated him, captured Avlona and Durazzo on the farther shore of the Adriatic, and penetrated as far inland as Thessaly. His victorious march ended there only because he was recalled by unfavorable conditions in Italy. It was the first time the Eastern Empire was assailed by one of the new nations of the West. The career of Robert, though his dream of wearing the imperial diadem in Constantinople was never fulfilled, is one of the most astonishing in history. In forty years he had risen from a mere knight-errant to be one of the most powerful sovereigns in Christendom. He had defeated the Saracens, threatened the two empires, and had taken into his protection no less a personage than one of the greatest of the popes. Altogether he was no less masterful than his contemporary William the Conqueror.

Roger Borsa. When, in 1091, the long struggle of thirty years against the Saracens was successfully completed, Roger Borsa (1085–1111), son of Guiscard, ruled in Apulia, while his uncle Roger reigned in Calabria and Sicily. Roger Borsa,

by no means a strong ruler, had a difficult task. He had to meet many baronial revolts. In conquering those wide territories his father had lacked sufficient time to organize them internally. He had left large individual fiefs, the holders of which desired independence. So there were feudal rebellions, threatening the land with disintegration. Things were no better under Roger Borsa's son, William (1111–1127). The feudatories treated the ducal authority with contempt and lost no chance to declare their independence. With William's death the separate history of Apulia came to an end. The duchy passed into the possession of Roger of Sicily.

Count Roger I in Sicily. The rule of Count Roger I (1031–1101) in Sicily was far more effective than that of his nephew in Apulia. No powerful feudal lords were there to dispute control; none whose possession dated previous to the coming of the Normans. Every vassal, whether Norman, French, or Italian, owed the original investiture of his fief to the great captain under whom he had fought as a crusader against the Crescent; and Greeks and Saracens were well content to live under a ruler whose general policy of tolerance permitted them to keep their own religion and develop their own civilization. So peace prevailed. And then an important social change began to take place. Soon the island became predominantly Italian. Many men had flocked from the mainland in the track of the conquerors, and from the beginning of the twelfth century may be dated a gradual assimilation of the Byzantine and Saracenic elements by those that had found their way thither from Italy. Once more Sicily became a part of western Europe and Latin Christendom. And eventually Roger was equally successful on the mainland. After thirteen years of war he gave peace and good government to southern Italy.

Unification of the Norman possessions in southern Italy. Adelaide, wife of the great count, proved a capable regent

for more than a decade; and when, at the age of sixteen, her son Roger II (1112–1154) assumed control he planned from the beginning to unite all the Norman possessions in Italy. When, in 1127, his cousin, William of Apulia, died childless he at once claimed the duchy; in 1136 he secured the principality of Capua; two years later he took Naples, and in 1140 he penetrated to the northern boundary of the Abruzzi; and then, when papal objection and baronial resistance had been overcome, he found himself ruler of all the territory conquered by the sons and grandsons of Tancred of Hauteville. Thus at the very time when the northern part of the peninsula was split into many independent communes and principalities, the southern part was unified, and raised to a higher splendor than it had known for a thousand years, by the Normans. At this time the descendants of the piratical sea rovers ruled half Italy, more than half France, and virtually all of England; and they had made settlements in Ireland and Scotland. On Christmas Day, 1130, Roger was crowned king at Palermo. His rule, however, had not yet been made secure. It required ten years to consolidate his possessions, to put down resistance within and to placate opposition from without, but when that was done Sicily became the leading maritime power in the Mediterranean and Roger II one of the greatest sovereigns in Europe.

Norman rule and civilization in Italy. Everywhere the Normans settled they were gradually lost among the peoples they had subdued. They intermarried with the subject races. In Normandy they spoke French; in southern Italy their language came to be Italian. Yet everywhere they left their impress. They modified racial characteristics, speech, and social customs, and in general they contributed a stimulating influence to the life in which they were finally merged. This is especially true of Sicily. That island is the largest and most interesting in the Mediterranean. It has played an important part in the long

struggle between the East and the West. As the stepping-stone between Africa and Europe and a wedge dividing the great inland sea into two almost equal parts it was predestined to be a meeting place of peoples, a land of composite civilization. There Roger II, remaining aloof from the Second Crusade, developed a distinctly modern government,—centralized, systematic, and almost absolute. He gathered distinguished men of various races to assist him. Saracens made him acquainted with effective financial regulations; Byzantines informed him of desirable provisions of the Roman law; Normans brought customs and institutions developed in northern France; while much more than has usually been thought the case was contributed by the Lombards of Benevento. It was at his suggestion that Nilus Doxopatres, a Greek monk, wrote a history of the five patriarchates in order to dispute the supremacy of the Roman See. Roger's chief scientific interest was geography. Not satisfied with the existing books on that subject he sent for famous travelers from many lands, questioned them carefully, accepted only the facts on which they were agreed, and then superintended the writing by Edrisi, a Saracen scholar, of the inclusive treatise on geography which became famous as *King Roger's Book*. All public acts were set forth in Latin, Greek, and Arabic; while more and more, in the life of the people, some dialect of Italian became the leading language of the kingdom. Toleration was a reality. All the various races and religions of the region lived side by side under his powerful protection. But Saracens were his most faithful soldiers, his most skillful engineers, his most cultivated companions, and his best officials. Sicily enjoyed a renewed and developed prosperity. With its orchards and cotton and sugar plantations it blossomed like an oriental garden; while its sulphur, copper, silver, and gold mines, and its manufactures of rich cloths, crimson silk, figured with gold and embroidered with pearls, gave rise to an active commerce

that connected it with the distant West. Palermo, whose neighboring plain is one of the most fertile in the world, was a very large city for that time. Perhaps it could rightfully claim 300,000 inhabitants. And now, blooming into a new and richer beauty, it became a place where all the streams of culture mixed and mingled, and produced a new learning, refined manners, and a humanistic spirit that heralded an approaching Renaissance. Roger's exquisite little *Cappella Palatina* at Palermo is a striking illustration of the composite culture that surrounded him, with its Norman doors, Saracenic arches, Byzantine dome, and adorning scripts in Arabic, blended with an inspiration truly Byzantine. Sicily was not the only frontier across which came the learning and civilization of the eastern Mediterranean into the West. Much was brought by scholars returning from Constantinople, and still more found its way northward from Spain. But nowhere else do we find so complete a mingling, made possible by the prevalence of peace and a far-sighted policy of tolerance, of the civilizations of the Byzantines, Latins, and Saracens.

Conquest of southern Italy by Henry VI of Germany. The reign of William I (1154–1166), somewhat unjustly known as the Bad, was a time of domestic rebellions and an attempt, that met with only a partial and ephemeral success, of Byzantium to regain its lost lands in Italy. Yet the literary activity at the capital went on with undiminished energy. More translations were made from the Greek and Arabic into Latin, among them being writings of Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, and Ptolemy. The reign of William II (1166–1189), the Good, saw the building of the beautiful cathedral at Monreale which still looks down over the groves of orange and lemon to the blue waters of the Sicilian seas, and close by, a cloister whose inner court, with fluted columns and varied capitals, surpasses all its rivals in poetic grace. William continued the policy of tolerance. "Let each", he said, "pray to the God he adores. He who has faith in

his God will have peace in his heart". To his court he invited Saracen doctors, astrologers, poets, and travelers. William died childless. The succession to the throne was then disputed. Three years previously Henry, son of the Emperor Frederic I (Barbarossa) of Germany, had married Constance, daughter of Roger II. His claim, and that of his wife, to southern Italy was recognized by some malcontent nobles of that kingdom; but Count Tancred of Lecce, a grandson, though of illegitimate birth, of Roger II, assumed the royal office, won popular support, and was favored by the pope. Barbarossa died in 1190 and in the following year his able and energetic son was crowned emperor at Rome. Then in 1192 Henry marched south with a large army to enforce his claims, aided by a fleet fitted out by Genoa and Pisa. Resistance was feeble. On the mainland the unruly barons dissipated the Norman strength, while in the adjoining island the Christians had driven many of the Saracens to seek an insecure safety in the wild mountains of the interior. Henry quickly overran the Norman territory on the mainland, and then the death of Tancred, a brave soldier, a scholar and a poet, a noble and unfortunate prince, removed almost all opposition to his entrance into Sicily. In 1194 he was crowned king at Palermo. In a few months he settled the affairs of the kingdom, put many Germans into office, and then, leaving his wife as regent, he returned to Germany. But all did not go well in the south. The German officials were so tactless and oppressive that an insurrection broke out and the tide of popular feeling turned towards William III (1194), son of Tancred. Henry hastened back, crushed the rebellion with remorseless cruelty, and blinded and mutilated the youthful William. It is not certain what became of this last male of the house of Hauteville. Legend says that he escaped from prison and lived for years as a recluse in a monastery near Chiavenna. After his victory Henry encountered no serious opposition. In 1197 he died, when

only thirty-two years of age, from a cold caught while hunting and was buried at Palermo. Here we come to a pause in the story of the Normans. Later on we shall see something of the last of their kings in southern Italy when we come to the fascinating figure of Frederic II, half Norman by blood and by culture and interests wholly a southern Norman.

The Normans to-day in Normandy. The Normans as a distinguishable element in the population have disappeared in England; and still more have they vanished from southern Italy. We may still find them, however, in Normandy. There they continue to live in a rich and picturesque country, one of the most prosperous parts of France. They are sturdy materialists, individualistic, self-reliant, their qualities disclosed in the poetry of Corneille, in the painting of Millet, and, above all else, in the prose of Flaubert.

Influence of Norman institutions in the north. Their governmental institutions have also disappeared from the south. For the abiding results of their statesmanship we must look to the north. Their institutions, says Haskins, "furnished models of orderly and centralized administration to the French kings after the conquest of the Duchy by Philip Augustus; and they exerted an influence of the first importance upon the constitutional and legal development of England and the countries of English law".

References for Further Reading

The original sources for the early history of the Normans are listed in the bibliographies of chapters 3, 4, 5, and 13 of the third volume, and chapter 4 of the fifth volume, of *The Cambridge Medieval History*.

Much information relating to the character of the Normans is to be found in Henry Adams's fascinating *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*. Michele Amari's *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* is the authoritative work on the subject; while the fullest information on the subject in English is contained in the opening chapters of Edmund Curtis's *Roger of Sicily*. Émile Bertaux's *L'art dans*

l'Italie Méridionale is the best book on the subject and is finely illustrated. Alexander Bugge's *Vikingerne* is a study of the social and moral conditions of the earliest Scandinavians. Erich Casper's *Roger II und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* is a masterly monograph. Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile.* Charles Diehl, *L'art byzantin dans l'Italie méridionale;* and see also his *Palerme et Syracuse.* Léopold Victor Delisle's *Études sur la condition de la classe agricole et l'etat de l'agriculture en Normandie au moyen âge* remains, after more than three-quarters of a century, the outstanding work on the subject. Camille Enlart, *Rouen.* There is an attractive essay on "The Normans at Palermo" in the third series of Edward Freeman's *Historical Essays.* For the Normans in Spain see Reinhart Dozy's *Recherches sur l'Histoire et la Litterature de l'Espagne.* Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantine.* Charles Homer Haskins's *The Normans in European History* carries its great scholarship lightly and is the best general book on the subject; see also his *Norman Institutions.* Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Charles Francis Keary's *The Vikings in Western Christendom* is a history of raids of the Norsemen, to the end of the ninth century, in all the western countries. For conditions in France generally see Achille Luchaire's *French Society in the Time of Philip Augustus.* Allen Mawer, *The Vikings.* Canon A. Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec.* The best introduction to the study of the beginnings of Normandy is Henri Prentout's *Essai sur les origines et la fondation du duché de Normandie;* bibliographical aid in the study of the Normans in Normandy will be found in his *La Normandie;* see also his *Caen et Bayeux.* Bertha S. Phillpotts, *The Northern Invaders.* The *Histoire des Normands* by Jean Revel (the pseudonym of Paul Toutain), planned as a comprehensive work, is still in course of publication. The Norman genius and character are described with insight and literary skill by Albert Sorel in his *Pages normandes.* The development of art in southern Italy during this period is treated by Adolfo Venturi in his *Storia dell' arte italiana.*

CHAPTER 19

THE BYZANTINE AND SARACEN CIVILIZATIONS

Reign of Alexius I. In the reign of Basil II (976–1025) the Byzantine power reached its highest point since the days of Justinian; but fifty years later the incompetence of his successors had produced such widespread disorder as to threaten the dissolution of the empire. The downward trend was checked, at least for a time, by Alexius I (1081–1118), the best general of the imperial forces, a shrewd diplomat, and a gifted statesman. This head of a great feudal family seized the throne and established the new dynasty of the Comneni. Promptly he set about to meet domestic difficulties and foreign dangers. The eastern frontier was threatened by the Turks, who in 1080 had taken Nicæa; the northern by the Petchenegs, or Patzinaks, who more than once had made their way across the Danube; while in the West the Normans, not content with having seized all the Byzantine possessions in southern Italy, sought to conquer territory beyond the Adriatic and even dreamed of capturing Constantinople. There was no time to lose. Already the Normans had crossed the narrow waters and concentrated their forces at Avlona. Alexius sent some discontented Norman nobles, then living in exile at his capital, to stir up trouble in Apulia; and he granted valuable commercial privileges to Venice, which had thrown off all imperial control, in return for her naval aid against the Normans. The Venetians defeated the Norman fleet; but on land the invaders fought their way eastward as far as Larissa, where, however, they were compelled to retreat by the disturbances that broke out in southern Italy upon the death of Robert Guiscard. Then, after a dozen years of intermittent war-

fare, during which he was constantly engaged in strengthening the imperial army and navy, Alexius defeated the nomad tribes north of the Danube. Turning then to the East he took advantages of quarrels among the Mohammedan rulers to regain some of the lost territory in Asia Minor. The empire now seemed to be entering upon a period of peace, a breathing spell, in which the work of restoring law and order within its borders might be continued and the prosperity of the people advanced when new troubles were precipitated by the First Crusade. Yet Alexius was discreet and tactful enough to avoid many of the perils of the disorderly hosts passing through Constantinople on their way to the Holy Land, and his diplomatic skill and military power enabled him to defeat the open hostility of some of the crusaders. The immediate results of the attack of these undisciplined allies upon the Turks were favorable to the empire. Much of the lost territory in Asia Minor was regained, and its situation was improved by the weakening of the Turks.

Later rulers of the Comneni dynasty. John Comnenus (1118–1143), who successfully carried on the work of his father, was one of the best of all the rulers of the Byzantine Empire. Keenly intelligent, generous, brave, upright and austere, he won the respect even of his enemies. Manuel I (1143–1180) was only slightly successful in regaining still more of the lost imperial territory, while the expense of his military adventures and the cost of his sumptuous court laid a heavy burden upon the people and exhausted the resources of the empire. It was in his reign that the armies of the Second Crusade streamed through the imperial provinces, pillaging along their way, like their predecessors, and everywhere creating new troubles. And it is especially in his time, says Haskins, that "we find a steady procession of missions to Constantinople, papal, imperial, French, Pisan, and others, and a scarcely less continuous succession of Greek embassies to the West". Andronicus (1183–1185)

was the last of the Comneni. Handsome, brave, learned, eloquent, unscrupulous, immoral, given to intrigue and adventure, he was the most versatile and accomplished ruler of his dynasty. Though he flaunted his vices in the most cynical manner, he punished with severity all financial officials convicted of dealing unjustly with the people. "You have your choice", he used to say to them, "between ceasing to cheat and ceasing to live". He was a lover of literature and the arts, and surrounded himself with jurists, poets, and artists; but his cruelties greatly impaired his popularity, and when foreign invasion seriously threatened the safety of the capital the angry mob seized him, tortured him in a terrible manner, and put him to death. For more than a hundred years the decline of the empire had been arrested by the Comneni. It was a perilous time. Danger lay in the eastward expansion of the western nations, and in the commercial development and territorial ambitions of Venice. At last the empire was seized by the Westerners at the time of the Fourth Crusade.

Constantinople. The crusaders found two civilizations in the East: one at Constantinople and the other in the lands held by the Saracens. The latter was lighter, softer, and more graceful; but that of the shining city on the Bosporus was the more imposing. Constantinople was the final fortress of the culture of Greece; and ever since the time of Constantine it had been the center of the orientalized and Christianized Greek culture we call Byzantine. It is a city that commands at once two seas and two continents. All the maritime trade, both export and import, of the vast hinterland drained by the great rivers emptying into the Black Sea and of the more eastward territory lying north of the Caucasus and west of the Ural Mountains must pass under its walls. From 330 to 1453 it was the capital of the Roman Empire of the East. Three great walls with towers and terraces surrounded it. They had withheld all the sieges of the barbarians. Christendom had no other such

impregnable city. It surpassed all other cities of the continent in safety, power, wealth, and culture. A system of cisterns filled by pipes contained water sufficient for a million people for four months. There were hundreds of palaces for the nobles, and marble houses for officials and merchants. Rich men, in robes of velvet damask or brocade, wore gold and jewels even on their shoes. Goblets of gold chased by a master's hand stood on their tables. The floors of their houses shone with glazed tiles. Vessels for domestic use were overlaid with heavy goldleaf. This delight in rich and showy material had found its way thither from the East.

The cathedral of Sancta Sophia. The crowning beauty of Constantinople, next to its matchless site, is the cathedral of Sancta Sophia, or Holy Wisdom. It is the finest achievement of the architectural style called Byzantine. Externally the building is not beautiful in lines and composition. Its magic is in the interior, which gives an impression of measureless space, of dignity, of majestic unity. Even were it built of plain stone and unadorned it would have a grand and striking effect; but its richly colored marbles and mosaics make it resemble a gemmed casket on a gigantic scale. The ground plan is that of a square in which may easily be distinguished a cross with four arms of nearly equal length. There were four arches at the intersection of the arms, and the task confronting the architects was that of building a dome more than a hundred feet in diameter on the square base above the arches. The problem was solved with supreme success. The transition from the square base to the round dome above it was completely and triumphantly accomplished. The dome is a thin shell of stone, serving at once as ceiling and roof. Roman architecture had vaults and domes, but they were made of concrete. The dome of the Pantheon in Rome, for instance, is merely an inverted concrete bowl resting on a drum. It is not built of separate stones, and so it knows nothing of the principle of the arch. But in Constantinople Roman architecture had long been

subjected to Hellenistic influences. Sancta Sophia is the work of Greek architects in an environment in which the influence of Greece was at least as powerful as that of Rome. They built the dome with separate stones, employing the principle of the arch with mathematical precision and noble beauty. The stately dome, soaring to the height of one hundred and eighty feet above the floor, sweeps with great freedom and boldness across the central area and seems to be suspended from the sky rather than supported by the earth. It is the lofty imagining of a dream-dowered poet. Forty circular-headed windows pierce the base of this aërial dome and help to flood the interior with light. The whole of the interior, walls, roof, and dome, was covered with variegated marbles, richly colored mosaics, and wide stretches of melancholy gold. Procopius, a Byzantine historian who wrote in the first half of the sixth century, has described the cathedral as it was in the time of the crusades. "It presents a most glorious spectacle", he says, "extraordinary to those who behold it and altogether incredible to those who know it by report only. In height it rises to the very heavens and overtops the neighboring buildings like a ship anchored among them. It towers above the city which it adorns; and from it the whole of Constantinople can be seen as from a watch tower. Its breadth and length are so judiciously chosen that it appears both broad and long without disproportion. For it excels both in size and harmony, being more magnificent than ordinary buildings and much more elegant than the few that approach it in size. Within it is singularly full of light and sunshine. You would declare that the place is not lighted from without, but that the rays are produced within itself, such an abundance of light is poured into it. The gilded ceiling adds glory to the interior, though the light reflected upon the gold from the marble surpasses it in beauty. Who can tell of the splendor of the columns and marbles with which the church is adorned? One would think that one had come upon a meadow full of flowers in

bloom. One wonders at the purple tints of some, the green of others, the glowing red and the glittering white; and those, too, which nature, like a painting, has marked with the strongest contrasts of color. It is, moreover, impossible accurately to describe the treasure of gold and silver plate and gems which the emperor has presented to the church. In the sanctuary alone there are four thousand pounds weight of silver". This description may help us to realize the extraordinary fascination exercised by the cathedral upon the mind and fancy of men for more than nine hundred years. When the Turks captured the city in 1453 they covered the mosaics with whitewash to hide the pictures of the human forms; but even to-day the eye is charmed by the rich and varied decoration of these golden galleries, and the nature of the style remains sensuous, dreamy, and emotional. The latest development of this architecture is to be seen in that strange church, opalescent in the setting sun, that crowns the summit of Montmartre in Paris.

Byzantine mosaics and illuminated manuscripts. Everyone must feel how universal, and how profound, the sense of color is in the East; how interwoven with the character and life of the people. Yet the East has produced no great painting. Its love of color is restricted to costumes, carpets, tapestry, tile, and mosaics. Mosaic, the fitting together of many small pieces of colored glass so as to form a pattern after the fashion of painting, was employed in a lavish manner on the walls and ceilings of Sancta Sophia. The figures are not very lifelike. Niceties of modeling and of light and shade could not be accomplished with little cubes of glass. The artist was thus immediately deprived of the resources by which he could render subtle character in a portrait. Nor could he render a complex movement. Only large contours and masses and the simplest and most evident gestures were within his power. Then, too, all the details were prescribed by rules. But the art of mosaic in losing so much of liberty and life became all the better fitted for

the decoration of great ecclesiastical buildings. Sacred stories were displayed on the golden ground of walls and domes, or against a background of deep sapphire blue, with a ritualistic rigidity that was remarkably appropriate to the desired effect. It was a deeply impressive effect. Byzantine mosaic had little that was original and nothing that was fresh and youthful. It fed on the past and pictured the fatal stillness of decay. But it was sweeping in its scope and breathed the calm of a profound peace. And there, in all its deep and melancholy richness, was the color of the East glowing on the walls with the splendor of the sunset. This fascinating art, carried by craftsmen and ecclesiastics, spread from Constantinople far into the West. Byzantine artists were called to many western courts, while others were employed in western churches and monasteries. Even more was its spirit conveyed by the miniature illustrations of manuscripts with their delicate perfections, their minute and marvelous grace. For a thousand years these manuscripts and mosaics spread far and wide, as far west as Paris, as far east as Persia, and as far north as Kiev in Russia. The influence of this art was often vague and impalpable, but generally it was as specific and as potent as it was widespread. Golden backgrounds with stately figures in jewel-like colors produced an effect of grandeur, an indefinable sense of solemnity, repeated everywhere according to traditional rules, preserved from change by a spirit of intense conservatism. It expressed the gilded and embalmed repose into which religious faith had fallen. Nowhere else, in the course of its extension, did it make itself felt so completely as at Ravenna and Venice. More than anywhere else in the West are the splendor of its color and the stately grandeur of its form to be seen in the miraculous baptisteries of Ravenna and in the incrusted walls and the golden domes of San Marco at Venice. Venice gained independence in the ninth century, but she always looked eastward, her commerce expanded in that direction, her culture came

largely from there, and as she grew in wealth and power she adopted the ideals of Byzantine art and employed many artisans from Constantinople. From them she learned how to light the gloom of her cathedral with flame and jewels and thus produce a beauty that still holds its spectators spellbound. The power of Byzantine mosaic to satisfy the spiritual instinct of many men is attested by the facts that the style prevailed, both in the land of its origin and in the Italian peninsula, for a thousand years, and that it has survived until our own time with no essential change in the devotional painting of Russia.

Byzantine literature. Byzantine literature also reveals the character of the intellectual life throughout the medieval centuries in the Eastern Empire. It shows that while the intellectual interests and ideas of Byzantium flowed directly from the older civilization of Greece many of them, especially political and legal conceptions, were profoundly affected by that of Rome. Many Latin terms, having to do with legislation and administration, and with military and naval affairs, were taken into the Greek language as used in the Byzantine Empire. Many things, too, especially the widespread tendency towards mysticism, had been taken from the Orient. Most important of all, however, was the gradual change wrought upon the old Hellenism by Christianity. The paramount intellectual interests were theological. They occupied the chief place in literature. Greatest of all the Greek theological writers after the era of the Fathers was John of Damascus (700?–753) who put into systematic form the scattered teachings of his predecessors and by his own creative spirit made them more applicable to the future. A Latin translation of the part of his *Fountain of Knowledge* containing the first comprehensive exposition of Christian dogma was perhaps used by Peter Lombard in preparing the famous *Book of Sentences;* and it was known to Thomas Aquinas. Next to theological exposition came the writing of history, a form of literature cultivated

with taste and skill, through all the frequent changes of their fortune, by the Byzantines. Most of their historians followed the beaten track of such ancient writers as Herodotus and Thucydides; but, despite their deep-seated tendency to imitation, they often displayed considerable creative gifts, especially in the delineation of character, and they did not lack the power of independent judgment. A succession of Byzantine historians, far more skilled and interesting than the monastic compilers of annals and chronicles in the West, wrote books that are almost our only source of knowledge for the story of the borderlands of Europe and Asia.

What the Byzantine civilization meant to the Westerners. What did all this look like to the Westerners? They had come from their rude castles, which were for the most part still of wood, destitute of comfort, built for defense. Even their towns were chiefly of wood and thatch, their streets narrow and unpaved. These travelers were astonished to find such an enormous city, with such wealth and refinement, as Constantinople. The amount of merchandise and the number of merchants surprised them, the luxury of dress and table, the size and splendor of the buildings. It was not only the chief distributing place of production within the imperial frontiers, but also the great market, in which the wares of the center and north of Europe met the products of Asia and Africa. The inhabitants of that splendid place were the most learned, artistic, and highly civilized people in Christendom. No such large cities, none of the luxuries and few of the conveniences of life, were to be found in the West. Learning was there confined to the clergy. Night clothing was unknown to the Westerners. They rarely took a bath. Loathsome skin diseases were common among them, and they had no skillful doctors. But in this great city through which they passed they found paved and lighted streets, public parks, hospitals, and homes for orphans. There were flourishing schools in which

not only the elementary studies were taught, but also law, medicine, and science. The crusaders found a civilization at Constantinople several centuries in advance of the rude customs of their own countries. The sight of so much luxury and ceremonial in that city of an ancient civilization could not fail to affect the crusaders, especially those who already had some social refinement, such as the nobles from Provence. Ceremony had its home in that eastern capital, and from there it was taken into the West. Oftentimes beneath the suave veneer, the bright enameled manner, there were subtle and even sinister things, as well as soaring thought and mystical dreams. But quite naturally it was only the material possessions and the social customs, the glittering outward show, the fascinating pageant, that was perceived by the Westerners. The learning and the intellectual interests of the Byzantines were to make their impression upon western Europe in those later centuries we call the Renaissance.

Greater impression made by the Saracenic civilization. Constantinople was only a temporary stopping place for the crusaders. Their eyes were fixed on the Holy Land. Not until they reached Palestine did they find much time to look about. Those who arrived there settled down, some of them for life. Only a small part of those who left for the East found their way back. Yet they numbered many thousands. Being settled in the East they saw the Saracens in peace as well as in war. So those who returned home took back with them new appetites, new habits, new ideas. They also took back new habits of thought. And this was the most important, for it is our mental habits that condition life. The essence of our present civilization is not the mere possession of machinery, but the fact that we have the sense of machinery, that we think of it and through it. The Saracenic civilization made a far greater impression upon the crusaders than did the Byzantine. So let us examine it carefully.

The caliphate of Bagdad under the Seljukian Turks. At this time the world of Islam was divided into three caliphates, one in Asia, a second in Africa, and a third in Spain. The first was now controlled by the Turks. In the first half of the ninth century Turkish slaves were employed as the royal bodyguard at Bagdad; and in a few years they became an important influence in the state. So steadily did their power grow that about a hundred years later the caliph was obliged to relinquish most of the royal functions to their leader. As yet, however, they were numerically a small minority in the caliphate. Who were the Turks? They were warlike nomads who, about 560, had made their way as far westward as the Oxus. Thence they continued their raids, if not actual conquests, farther to the west and south and became Moslems. But at best they were loosely organized; often they were weakened by intertribal quarrels; and so for several centuries they remained in much the same condition in central Asia. Then gradually the tribe known as the Seljuks, ablest of all the Turkish peoples, rose to importance, moved westward in large numbers, and in 1055 became the protectors of the Abbasid caliph at Bagdad. Very soon their leader, who in 1063 assumed the title of sultan, acquired all temporal power in the Asiatic domains of Islam and left only religious functions to the caliph. The Seljukian dynasty lasted almost a century after this, and its later history is involved in that of the crusades. This new racial infusion was detrimental to the declining Saracenic civilization; but at first under the vigorous leadership of the sultans, several of whom were liberal patrons of the pursuits of peace, that civilization enjoyed a new lease of life. So for some time that remarkable eclectic culture, the work principally of Greeks, Jews, and Persians, continued to make those eastern lands a seat of learning and luxury recalling the days of Haroun al-Raschid and Mamun. It was a time of material improvement. Palaces, mosques, hospitals, and colleges were built in many cities;

roads and canals were built and repaired; while art and literature flourished under a very liberal patronage. A wide empire was ruled by the Seljuks. From the Mediterranean it swept eastward to China, and from the snow-covered Caucasian Mountains to the burning desert of southern Arabia. During these years of Seljukian rule the caliphs continued to live at Bagdad. They were still regarded as the head of the empire, and no sultan felt sure of his power until he had obtained a diploma of appointment from the caliph. The religious character of the office became more and more exalted as its secular power faded away; but many of the caliphs lived a relaxed as well as a retired life.

Government of the eastern caliphate. Bagdad was a place of great wealth as well as a center of learning for more than three hundred years previous to the First Crusade. It was the seat of the absolute government of a great empire. All administrative officials were appointed by the caliph. Most important of them was the vizier, the prime minister, who had numerous powers. He was the head of the civil and military services and was the chief adviser of the caliph. There were several departments of state. The ministry of finance had charge of the revenues, which consisted chiefly of the tithe, or income tax, devoted to the poor and levied upon all Moslems; a fifth of all booty taken in war and a poll tax and a land tax required of all subjects who were not Moslems. Among the other sources of revenue were the taxes on salt, mines, fisheries, and imports. Bills were audited, and a national budget prepared. Justice was administered in every district by a cadi, from whose judgment appeal might be made to the court of appeals at Bagdad. A good deal of the Roman civil law, found in the civil courts already existing before the advent of the conquering Arabs in Syria and Egypt, had gradually become incorporated in the traditions of Islam. A courier post was established in imitation of those of the Persians and Byzantines. Of one of the characters in the *Arabian Nights* we

read that "He arose forthwith and wrote letters and despatched them to all the islands of the seas". The system was intended primarily for the imperial service and for consolidating the empire; but it was also at the service of private individuals. The number of provinces varied. Usually there were ten. Each was governed by a prefect. The prefects were given the same unlimited power over their territories by the caliph which the latter claimed for himself as the successor of the prophet. Some of these governors, in the great provinces far removed from the capital, made use of their absolute power to enrich themselves and, with the support of their adherents, to make themselves more and more independent of the caliph. Attempt was made to control them by shifting them frequently before they had time to establish themselves firmly enough to become dangerous, and by having them watched closely by a host of spies. Municipal government was usually under the provincial governors, because most of the large cities were provincial capitals; but, strange as it seems, popular local government was encouraged. This local freedom, so different from the feudalism which prevailed in the western countries, combined with the policy of permitting conquered peoples to keep as many of their customs and institutions as possible, contributed greatly to the strength of the empire. Its abrogation by the Turks did much to destroy the unity of the empire and to pave the way for the conquest by the Mongols.

Saracenic agriculture. "It is one of the chief duties of government", says a Saracen maxim, "to construct the canals necessary for the cultivation of the soil". The rulers acted upon this maxim. They knew that "each mountain bears winter on its head, spring on its shoulders, autumn on its breast, while summer slumbers nonchalantly at its feet". So they built canals for the melting snow and practiced irrigation in Asia, Africa, and Europe. In many parts of their wide realm they found canals built hundreds of years

before, but everywhere they improved and extended them until all the plains were watered from the borders of Armenia to the Persian Gulf. Many other canals were built for drainage in the lower part of the great valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. In Egypt the task was to keep the ancient system in order; while in Spain so many canals were constructed, and so many water wheels put to work, that all the lowlands along the coast became a vast garden. Among the staple crops were wheat, maize, barley, millet, rice, sesame, and beans. Cotton, flax, and sugar were raised wherever possible; and some districts produced large numbers of melons. Many vegetables were cultivated, gathered from far and near by the collecting instinct of the Saracens. In the orchards grew apricots, peaches, oranges, lemons, figs, almonds, olives, plums, pomegranates, and grapes. And the most distant provinces flourished in agriculture as well as the heart of the empire. In the gardens, too, were many flowers; nightingales sang in the trees; and often a fountain was musical with its plashing waters. Pavilions were sometimes built in the gardens, usually of a single room, open at the sides with a vaulted roof, and elaborately adorned. Some of them were beautiful and luxurious. "There was a large pavilion", we are told in one of the *Arabian Nights*, "with a dome of ivory and ebony, and a lamp hung from the center of the dome. The floor was spread with silken carpets embroidered in silver and gold; while under the lamp was a great candle burning in a candelabrum".

Saracenic pottery and glassware. Saracenic manufacture may seem desultory and inconsequential when compared with that of our own land and times; but it was very significant in the Middle Ages. Pottery is one of the oldest arts. It was in a high state of development in Egypt, Syria, and Persia when those lands were conquered by the Arabs; and then under the Saracenic régime it became more varied, refined, and beautiful. Especially did the Persians come to

be masters of the forms suitable to clay, and of decorative design and color such as no predecessors had surpassed. On a ground of slightly toned white, beautiful patterns of foliage and flowers, and of intricate interlacing lines of arabesque, were painted in blue, purple, green, and turquoise. Dishes, cups, vases, ewers, and lamps for the home and the mosque were made. Sometimes these decorative patterns were painted with brilliant iridescent lusters; or their floral scrolls and feathery leaves were laid on with metallic films of changing rainbow hues. Richly colored glazed tiles were used for walls and floors. Many of those employed for friezes were boldly modeled in relief and colored with vivid pigments, while others were delicate with softly painted enrichments. Glassmaking was another ancient industry of these lands of the eastern Mediterranean. The craft was carried on and flourished in many parts of the empire, particularly in Alexandria, Cairo, Tripoli, Tyre, Aleppo, Damascus, and Bagdad. Flasks, vases, goblets, beakers, and lamps for the mosque were made, as before, of richly colored glass; and the new process of enameling and gilding glass vessels was perfected by the Saracens.

Saracenic weaving. Even more important was the manufacture of fabrics. Wool, cotton, flax, and silk were the chief materials used. Silk weaving was one of the great industries of the Saracens. It is said that more than 130,000 persons were employed in that enterprise in Spain. And we are told that in Egypt silk of so fine a quality was woven that an entire garment could be passed through a finger ring. The Saracens produced a wide variety of fabrics. The word "muslin" comes from Mosul; and "gauze" gets its name from Gaza. Damask, a textile in which ornamentation is secured by contrasting sheens in the surface of the stuff, got its name from Damascus; and Baudekin, a textile enriched by golden thread, comes from Bagdad. The beautiful rugs, carpets, and tapestries of these eastern lands were wonderful things to the people of the West. "In Turkomania", said

Marco Polo, "they weave the most beautiful carpets in the world". Dyers held a place of great importance in the industrial life of the Saracens. The love of gay colors made their trade very much in demand. The alum they used made the colors fast so they would not wash out.

Saracenic metal work. Metal working and goldsmithy were carried to a high degree of perfection by the Saracens. They made steel of very fine quality with a peculiar watered or streaked appearance. "As keen as a Damascus blade" was a proverb full of meaning to the crusaders. Goldsmiths plied their trade in all the towns. They learned it in a long course of apprenticeship, as all the other craftsmen of the country learned their trades, for the gild system was in force there as well as in Europe.

Saracenic commerce. A very extensive commerce was carried on by the Saracens. Their capital city was noisy with the babel of many nations in its bazaars. Their merchants ranged far and wide over the land, sailed the seas, discovered new lands, and often served as representatives of the caliph. To the east they skirted all the southern coasts of Asia and penetrated as far as China; to the west they went as far as the Atlantic; to the north they reached the shores of the Baltic; while to the south they traveled along the coast of Africa until they reached the island of Madagascar. From the east they brought silk, tea, pottery, spices, drugs, pearls, and precious stones. From the south they returned with slaves, ivory, and gold dust; while from the north they brought furs and amber. They carried on an active trade with Constantinople and, later on, with Italy. Religious differences were not allowed to interfere with commerce. Many merchants acted as missionaries, and in the distant eastern and southern lands they spread the faith of Islam at a time when those countries were no more than legends to the Europeans. European merchants learned the methods of Saracen commerce in the time of the crusades. The highways in the West were infested with

robbers; but in the East the state saw to the safety of the roads. Great caravans transported goods with more safety and less expense than in the West; ships were better shaped, equipped more lightly, and manned more effectively, and harbors were better protected in Moslem lands than in Christendom. There are many words of Arabic origin telling of the debt of the Europeans to the Saracens in commercial matters,—admiral, arsenal, bazaar, cable, caravan, magazine, tariff, and many others.

Saracenic architecture. The Mohammedans were forbidden by the *Koran* to make representations of living objects. This prevented them from making much progress in sculpture and painting. There are, however, a few notable transgressions of the prophet's command, especially the figures in the Court of the Lions in the Alhambra. In architecture they were unhampered, and so they devoted themselves especially to that art. But Saracenic architecture developed slowly. The Arabs were not at the outset a race of builders. They appropriated churches of the conquered peoples for religious purposes. Then, with slight changes, they copied the buildings of the Byzantines. Gradually, as men of other races were included in their eclectic civilization, they combined Byzantine forms with other motives they found in Persia and the more distant East, or which they invented. Perhaps the first mosque built in a distinctive Saracenic style is that of Tulum, built in 879, in Cairo. It is the earliest example in which the pointed arch is exclusively employed and forms the leading and most characteristic constructional feature. The style was subsequently developed in all the Saracenic lands except Barbary and Spain. In those western countries the circular-headed horse-shoe arch was preferred. But we must not look for the original characteristics of Saracenic architecture in constructional features. We shall find them in the decoration of surfaces. We shall find them in the many fantastic shapes they gave to the arch, in the bulbous domes,

the slender minarets, the stalactite ceilings, the arabesque designs of screen and door in which we see geometry in blossom, the rich colors that everywhere glowed or smoldered in a truly oriental manner, and the extensive use of arcades. Saracenic architecture is light and airy, rather than solid and substantial; and sometimes it is almost ethereal in its loveliness. One can see much of its beauty and spirit, despite alterations and disfigurements of more recent times, in the Alcazar at Seville. There the traveler stands bewildered and enchanted, doubting his eyes, and asking himself if it is a dream. Its open galleries, arcades, inner courts, and even its gardens, are as much a part of the palace as are the halls and rooms under the roof; and they bring the sky and sunshine and the air, fragrant with flowers, into the heart of the dwelling. Even at this distant day the beautiful building breathes a spirit of earthly enjoyment, of the poetry and pleasure of existence, making life, if only for a moment, a dream of delight.

Saracenic music. Music was another art that flourished with the Saracens. It developed in opposition to precepts in the *Koran*. Mohammed regarded music with disfavor because it had been used in the pagan rites he had seen and heard in Arabia. He was willing to sacrifice it in order to break entirely with the old traditions. But music could not long be kept from such a people as the Saracens. Soon it began to creep back; and in a generation after his death it had become very popular. In the *Arabian Nights* we can see a good deal of the musical activities of the Saracens. Most popular of all was that of singing and accompanying oneself on a lute. Much of the music was extemporaneous, and none of it was written.

Saracenic universities. Every large city in the empire had a university. The two most famous of these schools were the one at Bagdad, the most important center of classical study in the eleventh century, and the one, with more than ten thousand students, at Cairo. The chief study was

science, above all else that which had come down from the ancient civilization of Greece. Foreign languages were not taught in the Saracenic schools, and so the Moslem scholars had to depend upon translations from Greek and Syriac into Arabic. Especially were they dependent upon translations from the Greek.

Saracenic mathematics. The Greeks may be said to have originated the science of mathematics, though they based their work upon the fragmentary lines of thought that had come down to them from the Egyptians and Phœnicians. The period in which their mathematical thought flourished began with Thales, who lived about six hundred years before our era, and lasted until 641, when the Arabs captured Alexandria. Mathematics also thrived in India, where it underwent a development somewhat different from that in Greece. In all probability these two streams of mathematical thought met and mingled. There was a constant interchange of merchandise between Greece and India; and it is scarcely probable that such traffic could have been carried on for any length of time without an accompanying transference of ideas. The Saracens drew from both these fountains of mathematical thought. They became the custodians and promoters of the science, while the civilization of western Europe continued to be delayed by internal dissensions. The system of notation now almost universally used by civilized peoples for representing cardinal numbers was originated in India; but it was adopted and spread by the Saracens, and so we speak of it, though incorrectly, as Arabic. Its adoption greatly facilitated the development of arithmetic and algebra. The Caliph Mamun (813–833) began the work of translating Greek and Indian manuscripts, and his successors assiduously followed his example. In about a hundred years the Saracens were in possession of great stores of Greek and Hindu learning. Without this decimal system of numbering, progress in arithmetic, and indeed in mathematics generally, would

have been far more difficult. Bagdad became the most important center of learning in the world. It was a hearthstone about which scientists and philosophers freely made themselves at home, a sanctuary of learning. Mamun is said to have regarded scholars as beings chosen by Allah to extend the boundaries of knowledge and increase the power of human reason, as the lights of the world, the guides of humanity, without whom men would return to primitive barbarism. Arithmetic, algebra, and trigonometry were all developed to a considerable degree, though in geometry the Saracens never succeeded in going beyond Euclid. And not only in the East did mathematics prosper among them, but also in the West, principally at Cordova. But it should not be inferred from the fact that that science contains many Arabic words, such as algebra, that the Saracens were great contributors to mathematical knowledge. Their chief distinction is that in the medieval centuries, when the western peoples were far behind them in civilization, they kept the lamp of knowledge lighted.

Saracenic physics. As physicists the Saracens were chiefly concerned with optics. It is not certain whether they knew the telescope, but their interest in optics, together with their advanced knowledge of mathematics, led to an enthusiastic study of astronomy. They had much to begin with. A steady flow of astronomical knowledge from the East to the West began in the seventh century before our era; and then, for the first time, the data accumulated in the course of untold centuries was formulated into scientific theory by the Greeks. Greek astronomy culminated in the school of Alexandria. Ptolomy flourished there in the first half of our second century. His system of astronomy, which, holding the earth to be the center of the universe and the sun and stars to revolve around it, was universally received until some fifteen centuries later it was displaced by that of Copernicus. From Alexandria the center of astronomical study was transferred in the course of the

eighth century to the banks of the Tigris. Many translations of astronomical writings were made from the Greek; and in 829 a large observatory was built at Bagdad. Cairo and Cordova also became famous as centers of astronomical study, and, to a lesser degree, Toledo. Despite the fact that they had only a rude equipment of quadrant, astrolabe, dial, and globes, the Saracens learned much about equinoxes, eclipses, and comets. They drew up an astronomical table that replaced all its predecessors and was used even in China. They knew the earth is round and attempted to calculate its circumference and diameter. They compiled a table giving the longitude and latitude of the principal places of the known part of the world; and their observations led to a revision of the calendar more accurate than the one we use to-day.

Saracenic chemistry. For a long time the Saracen chemists were primarily interested in two wills-o'-the-wisp,—the philosopher's stone and the elixir of youth. Yet they made a number of discoveries of true chemical nature; and gradually, though never completely losing the character of alchemy, chemistry entered into close relationship with medicine. Galen, a Greek who lived in the second century of our era, had gathered the diffused and rambling thought of ancient medicine and put it into compact and systematic form. The Saracens esteemed his writings more highly than those of anyone else save Aristotle. Most of the writers in the Byzantine school of medicine were compilers and encyclopedists; but Paul of Ægina, who seems to have lived in the early part of the seventh century, did much to advance the practice of surgery. His great book on that subject was early translated into Arabic and exercised a wide and lasting influence. Schools of medicine, often connected with hospitals, were established in many towns in the Saracenic lands from Persia to Spain. They drew their knowledge not only from Greece, Rome, and Byzantium, but also from India. Avicenna (980–1037), who is famous chiefly as a

philosopher, helped to spread the knowledge of medicine by his literary style and expository power. To the knowledge of the Greeks and his Saracenic contemporaries he added, in the composition and preparation of remedies, something gained by personal observation. From the twelfth to the seventeenth century his writings were the chief guide to medical study in the universities of Europe. Last of the famous medical writers who flourished in the Saracenic world was Maimonides (1135–1204), a Jewish rabbi chiefly concerned with harmonizing religious faith with reason, who lived at Cordova, Fez, and Cairo. Saracenic medicine was principally Greek medicine, changed to suit different climates, habits, and tastes, and supplemented by valuable additions from the Orient. Hindu physicians lived at Bagdad. In anatomy and physiology the Saracens were distinctly inferior to their predecessors, for their religion forbade dissection. Their real advance was in pharmacy and the curative use of drugs. They produced the first pharmacopœia; and it is in their towns that we come upon the first apothecary shops. They were intelligently interested in hygiene. Their hospitals, large and airy, with plenty of running water, were carefully planned.

Saracenic philosophy. Saracenic philosophy was an inheritance of Greek thought, expressed in the Arabian language, and modified by influences from the Orient. Begun by the more liberal rulers of the Ommiad dynasty at Damascus it was greatly stimulated by the generous and enlightened patronage of the Abbasid princes at Bagdad, and then, later on, by the caliphs at Cordova. Never supported by popular understanding and approval, it was preserved and developed by the undaunted courage and devotion of a small group of thinkers who carried on their work in the face of the mistrust of the illiterate and orthodox multitude. Few of these thinkers seem to have been Arabs. Most of them were Persians, Greeks, and Jews; and among them were a few Turks and Berbers. Saracen thought and culture was not

Arabic. It was mainly Greek and partly Persian and Indian. It owed little or nothing to the Arabs. Where did the Saracens find the manuscripts of the ancient Greek thinkers? They found them in the possession of the Syrian heretics known as Nestorians. Driven out by the orthodox Christians at the end of the fifth century, this sect flourished and had a long history in and about Damascus and also established another center at Bagdad. They were the earliest missionaries of Hellenism, in the postclassical age, to the East. In their schools and monasteries they and later heretics translated many Greek documents into Syriac, especially the writings of Plato and Aristotle and those of the Alexandrian Neoplatonists. These were then retranslated into Arabic. They were eagerly read by the Saracen thinkers at Bagdad, who were especially interested in Aristotle, made their own commentaries upon the thought of that great master of knowledge, but were all more or less influenced by the Neoplatonism then prevalent in that part of the world. Thus these protégés of liberal princes kept alive that stream of thought from the ninth to the twelfth century, a time unfavorable for its reception in the troubled West. The Saracens were especially interested in the logic and philosophy of Aristotle. All Greek philosophy, they believed, was summed up in his writings, just as they believed a complete codification of Greek medicine was to be found in the writings of Galen. The whole movement is not much more than a chapter in the history of Aristotelianism. It is the continuation of the stream of thought derived from that great thinker changed by the ideas and mental proclivities of Islam. It made no claim to originality. Only in the relation of philosophy to medicine did the Saracens add to the thought of the Greeks. Their purpose was merely to spread the teaching of Aristotle. In this they were highly successful. To their colleges at Bagdad they attracted students from every part of the Moslem world, from the valleys of Andalusia to the upland plains of Transoxiana.

Yet their work was never characteristic of Islam in any general way. It remained the product of a thin stratum of society, made up very largely of members of races that had been conquered by the Arabs.

Avicenna. Avicenna (980–1037) was by far the most distinguished of these Saracen philosophers in western Asia. He was born near Bokhara, of a mother who was a native of the place and a father who was a Persian, and he grew up in the midst of a culture much older than the conquest of the district by the Arabs. To his contemporaries he was better known as a physician, but to us he is interesting chiefly as a writer upon a wide range of subjects and a thinker whose system is largely a codification of Aristotle modified by Neoplatonism and affected by a desire to harmonize it with the teachings of Islam. His writings helped in large measure in making Aristotle known later on in western Christendom.

Philosophy at Cordova. In the eleventh century a vigorous orthodox reaction against Aristotelian thought made itself felt in Asiatic Islam, and this, together with the encouragement of learning by the caliphs at Cordova, caused many Moslem students to seek refuge in that enchanting city, at once the Mecca and the Athens of the West. And there, though its blossom time was briefer, philosophic thought was even more brilliant than it had been in the East. The reign of Hakam II (961–976) saw a remarkable intellectual activity that produced a more widely diffused knowledge in Spain than could be claimed at that time by any other part of Europe. "The most vigorous scientific and philosophical activity of the early Middle Ages", says Charles Homer Haskins, "lay in the lands of the Prophet, whether in the fields of medicine and mathematics or in those of astronomy, astrology, and alchemy". Mosques and schools in the western peninsula were filled with eager crowds who listened to lectures on science and art, on law and religion; and a series of illustrious scholars increased the renown

of Cordova and Toledo. Thence the Aristotelian philosophy, transmitted and somewhat transmuted by the Saracens, found its way to Narbonne, Béziers, Toulouse, Montpellier, and Marseilles. And later on it was carried to Paris, to Padua, to Palermo, and to other places, there to help, as an anti-ecclesiastical influence, in preparing the way for the Renaissance.

References for Further Reading

For the original sources of this study see the bibliographies of chapters 16 and 21 of the third volume, chapters 10, 22, 23, and 24 of the fourth volume, and chapter 6 of the fifth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History.* A faithful portraiture of oriental thought and manners may be found in *The Arabian Nights,* of which Sir Richard Francis Burton's literal translation is the work of a profound Arabic scholar who seems to have understood Arabic thought and feeling as well as Arabic words. In his translation various questions suggested by the stories are treated with a frankness to which we are not accustomed, and so the stories are usually to be obtained only in translations less literal and complete.

G. B. Adams, *Civilization of the Middle Ages.* Ali Syed Ameer, *The Spirit of Islam;* and also his *History of the Saracens.* J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire;* and also his *History of the Eastern Roman Empire.* Louis Brehier's *L'Art Byzantine* is well written and has many illustrations. Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia;* and also his *Arabian Medicine.* Reginald Blomfield's *Studies in Architecture* contains a good chapter on Byzantine influence. Charles Bayet has written on Byzantine art in the first and third volumes of André Michel's *Histoire de l'Art.* Ferdinand Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Commène;* and also his *Jean II Commène et Manuel Commène.* Ormonde M. Dalton's *Byzantine Art and Archæology* is an authoritative work. Charles Diehl, *History of the Byzantine Empire; Byzance, Grandeur et Decadence; Figures byzantines;* and also his *Manuel d'art byzantine.* Useful information about Saracenic philosophers and scientists will be found in the five volumes of Carra de Vaux's *Les Penseurs de l'Islam,* and see also his *Avicenne.* Charles Errard and Albert Gayet, *L'art byzantine.* Reinhart P.

A. Dozy, *Spanish Islam.* George Finlay, *History of the Byzantine Empire.* Edward A. Foord, *The Byzantine Empire.* Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantine.* Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Arthur Gilman, *Story of the Saracens.* E. A. Grosvenor's *Constantinople* is a popular and readable book on the city with fine pictures and interesting descriptions of the buildings. Chapters 11 and 12 of Frederic Harrison's *The Meaning of History* deal with the Byzantine civilization; see also his *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages.* D. C. Hesseling, *Essai sur la civilization byzantine.* Thomas Graham Jackson, *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture.* Baron Alfred von Kremer's *Kulturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen* is a full and fascinating description of Saracenic civilization under the caliphs. Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantischen Literatur.* Edward W. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages.* Gustave Le Bon, *La civilization des Arabes.* Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems;* and also his *Baghdad.* Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages.* W. R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia.* R. B. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire.* Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale.* Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization.* Gaston Migeon's *Les Arts Musulmans* deals with Moslem art from the earliest times to our own day. Chapter six of L. M. Phillipps's *The Works of Man* (also published under the title of *Art and Environment*) deals with the influence of the Arabian environment and character. G. T. Reviot, *Moslem Architecture.* Ernest T. Richmond, *Moslem Architecture.* Chapters 22 and 23 of J. E. Sandys's *A History of Classical Scholarship* have much valuable information. Ferdinand Schevill, *History of the Balkan Peninsula.* R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *Byzantine Architecture in Greece.* Gustave Schlumberger, *L'Épopée Byzantine à la fin du dixieme siècle.* Royall Tyler and Hayford Pierce, *Byzantine Art.* Alexander van Milligen, *Byzantine Constantinople;* and also his *The Byzantine Churches in Constantinople,* which deals with all the erstwhile Christian churches in that city with the exception of Sancta Sophia.

CHAPTER 20

THE CRUSADES

Intolerance of the Seljuk Turks. It will be recalled that the world of Islam became divided into three caliphates,—one in Asia, a second in Africa, and a third in Spain. The first fell into the hands of the Seljuk Turks. We have already seen something of the history of these warlike nomads. In 1076 they captured Jerusalem, and soon they had overrun the whole of western Asia from the borders of Afghanistan to the confines of Egypt and almost to the Bosporus. The caliphate they conquered was unable to offer a vigorous resistance. It had become nothing more than a collection of mutually antagonistic principalities; and to political disunion was added the weakness caused by religious schisms and heresies. A drastic remedy was needed to restore unity to the disintegrating world of Islam. It was found in the invasion of the Turks. These predatory rovers, half highlanders and half children of a monotonous cold plain, whose vigor was as yet unimpaired by town life and who knew nothing of sophisticated indifference to theological creeds, embraced the religion of their subjects with all the fervor of their uncouth souls. They revived the dying state and restored the religious ardor of the Mohammedans. The old tolerance of the pilgrims coming from Europe to the most sacred shrines of their religion gave place to fanatical persecution.

The appeal of Pope Urban II. Pope Urban II (1088–1099), who had risen from the ranks of Cluny, listened to an appeal from the Emperor Alexius I for aid against the Turks. He determined to act. He crossed the Alps, visited many places in France and Burgundy, and summoned a

council to meet in 1095 at Clermont in Auvergne. The meeting was attended by many prelates and also by thousands of feudal nobles and their retainers. There, in the open air, after repeating the decrees against simony, lay investiture, and clerical marriage, he suggested worldly advantages to be gained by defeating the infidels and made a dramatic plea for the deliverance of the holy places in Palestine. So profound was the impression he made that the multitude, thrilled by a sudden current of collective emotion, cried out again and again: "God wills it!" Princes, prelates, townsmen, peasants, with trembling haste took the crusading vow and fastened upon their garments the red cross, which gave the movement its name and was the token of the enterprise.

The fuel and the spark. The papal speech was the spark that lit the fuel. For more than a hundred years events had been leading up to this climax. Papal power had been increasing; ecclesiastical reform had slowly won its way; pilgrims to the holy places had been plundered and killed; the feudal aristocracy had increased in numbers and the impoverished younger sons had perforce to seek lands elsewhere; the astonishing deeds of the Normans in several lands had aroused admiration and envy; and still more had the desire and the possibility of conquest been stimulated and revealed by the successful raids upon Levantine seaports by the maritime republics of Amalfi, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. All was ready, therefore, when at last the authentic voice spoke. None but a pope could have persuaded so many warlike and ambitious nobles to set aside their rivalries for the time being and march together to rescue from the hands of the infidel the burial place of the dead Redeemer.

Multiplicity of motives. What were the motives of the crusaders? How shall the historian answer that question? How shall he discover and reveal the secret workings of the heart? Yet history demands that motives as well as actions be brought to light. At all times it is more profitable to

understand men than to judge them. It is safe to say that mixed motives actuated the overwhelming number of the crusaders. The inner life of each one of us is complex and diverse. Probably only a few of the crusaders were animated by absolute purity of motive, such as Godfrey of Bouillon and Louis IX. Some were inspired by obscure fanaticism, and others by lofty piety. The ascetic spirit and the religious ideals of the time were powerful impulses. But the motives of the crusaders ranged all the way from noble disinterestedness to narrow desire for personal profit. Side by side with the warmth of generous impulse was the motive of selfish gain. Plenary indulgences, canceling all punishment thus far entailed by their sins, were granted the crusaders. And many temporal advantages were offered by the church. Crusaders were freed from arrest for debt, and from usury; they were guaranteed justice; and they were empowered to leave their wives and children at home under the guardianship of the pope. Then, too, it was apparently a wonderful opportunity for plunder. So there were vagabond hordes, quite as eager for spoil as for the recovery of the holy places and the redemption of their sins. Chivalry, the love of war and adventure, was another motive. The tales that returning pilgrims brought back with them were full of a marvelous attraction to the men of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Many were swept away by an ebullition of romantic sentiment. Adventure was the very life breath of the medieval knight; it led him over land and sea; and now the most daring and exciting of all the military enterprises of which he had heard lay open to him. Curiosity, that cardinal sin of the medieval age, sent many a man to the East. The tales of returning travelers stirred curiosity in many a castle, village, and town; and so, too, did the presence of oriental travelers who came from their distant countries to the courts of France and Spain. Many nobles were inspired by worldly ambition. For them the Holy Land was nothing more than a freebooter's Eldorado. Of

these political adventurers a good example is Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard. He had been passed over in the settlement of the succession by his father in favor of a younger son, and so he dreamed of a new and independent dominion across the sea. Such political adventurers were numerous in the ranks of the crusaders. Still another motive was appetite. Many a noble who had gained land and power was restless and unsatisfied. Every gratified desire had only increased his appetite for more. And the more men knew about the enchanted eastern lands, the more they wished to know. For desire itself is seldom appeased. Appetite grows by that which it feeds upon. Still others were impelled by a lust of heaven. Bernard of Clairvaux told them that heaven would open wide to receive all who perished in the attempt to recover the holy places. Burning zeal sent many a man to his death in reckless attacks upon fortified castles and towns defended by the Moslems. Still more were driven to the far-off lands by want brought about by the incessant feudal wars, by bad harvests, and by over-population. It should be remembered that the agriculture of the medieval centuries was far less productive than that of our own time; fewer people could live on a given area then than now; and so what would perhaps be a sparse population to-day was a dense population then. Want and suffering were frequent. Famine often stalked through the land. Bad climatic conditions had prevailed for some time just previous to the First Crusade, and in consequence there was a strong inclination to escape suffering by emigration. Thus it was that the almost hopeless misery of the poor helped to fill the ranks of the crusaders. In *Reinfried von Braunschweig*, an anonymous poem written about the end of the thirteenth century somewhere in the duchy of Swabia, an inquiry is made of the motives that usually led knights to go to the Holy Land. One went because of love of adventure, another to joust, a third because he wanted to see the world, a fourth to do honor to his lady, a fifth to serve

God, a sixth to suffer for God's sake, a seventh to escape poverty at home and win gold and land, an eighth to kill time and a ninth because of ambition. Thus the desire of worldly gain, though not the only incentive, was by far the most powerful of all the motives of the crusaders.

Peter the Hermit and the rabble. From the time of his great speech until his death, Urban ceaselessly incited the Westerners to wage war upon the infidels. Preachers were sent all over the continent to arouse enthusiasm. Most famous of these emotional exhorters was Peter the Hermit, a peasant born in the neighborhood of Amiens. His glowing religious enthusiasm, his wealth of imagination, his shrewd understanding, his blunt and fiery speech, and, above all else, his absolute surrender to the cause he believed holy had a profound effect upon the people in their existing mood. In squalid clothes, riding from place to place on an ass, he was received everywhere as a messenger from heaven, and in pious frenzy thousands of peasants, abandoning their homes, eagerly took the cross at his command. These *pauperes* were too impatient to wait for the feudal nobility. Five bands of them, lacking all prudent limitations, men, women, and children, set off for Constantinople. Only two sections reached that city, one led by Walter the Penniless and the other by Peter the Hermit. Begging and pilfering along the way, and murdering Jews, they tramped across Germany, through Hungary and Bulgaria, and down to the Bosporus. Many perished by the way, some were driven back by the exasperated populations upon whom they preyed, and those who reached Constantinople were so disorderly that the emperor was not loath to see them cross over into Asia Minor. There, despite imperial warnings, they began hostilities and were quickly cut to pieces by the Turks.

Leaders of the First Crusade. In the summer and autumn of 1096 the real army of the crusaders set out for the Holy Land. The more notable leaders were Count Raymond of Toulouse (1043?–1105), oldest and richest of the crusading

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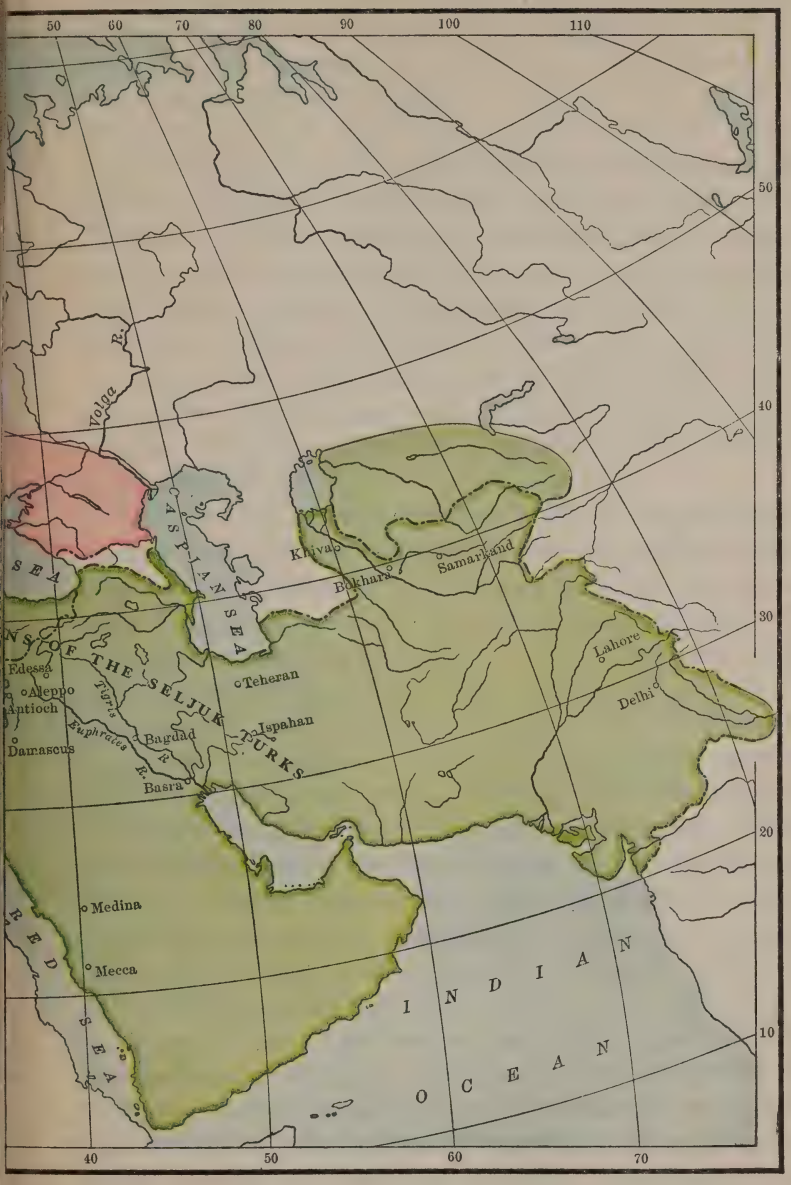
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Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Basra
SELJUK TURKS
Medina
Mecca
RED SEA
INDIAN OCEAN

princes, and the first to take the cross in answer to the papal appeal at Clermont; Godfrey of Bouillon (1060?–1100), duke of Lower Lorraine, a quiet, pious, hard-fighting soldier, who became the first Christian ruler of Jerusalem; Bohemond of Taranto (1058?–1111), eldest son of Robert Guiscard, whose attention was attracted by bands of crusaders passing through southern Italy on their way to Constantinople, Tancred (?–1112), nephew of Bohemond, who crossed the Adriatic and marched with his uncle to Constantinople, and Baldwin (1058–1118), brother of Godfrey of Bouillon. The army, whose number has been greatly overestimated by some writers, was made up of men from all the countries of western Europe; but most of them came from northern France, Lorraine, Provence, and the Norman possessions in southern Italy.

Alexius I and the crusaders. While the peasants met their pitiful fate, the several contingents led by princes set out one after another without any definite plan of action save that they were to meet at Constantinople. There difficulties arose. Alexius I (1081–1118) was not concerned with the recovery of Jerusalem. He desired only to regain the imperial territories in Asia Minor that had been conquered by the Turks. It was for this purpose he had appealed for aid to the pope. And now the Westerners were streaming into the empire in such unexpectedly large numbers that he feared they might seize and retain his capital. Was not one of their armies led by Bohemond who, only fifteen years ago, had crossed the Adriatic and penetrated as far as Thessaly in an attempt to conquer the empire? It behooved him to be cautious. So, as one by one the several divisions of the crusaders arrived, he skillfully persuaded the leaders, after much bickering and several outbreaks of violence, to take an oath of fealty to him and to promise to restore to him all the former imperial lands and cities they might conquer on their way to Syria. In return he agreed to help them in their great undertaking.

Disruption of the Bagdad caliphate. After the Seljuks took Jerusalem in 1076 they penetrated as far west as the Dardanelles; and then, in 1084, made their position in Asia Minor secure by capturing the important city of Antioch. But their empire did not long hold together. Soon the vast fabric split into fragments. Seljuk emirs, who fought against one another, lived at Samosata, Nishapur, Ispahan, Kirman, Damascus, Mosul, Aleppo, and other places. Some of them gravitated towards the Fatimite kingdom of Egypt, while more of them acknowledged a nominal subserviency to the ruler at Bagdad. This was to be expected. All depended upon the character of the sultan at Bagdad. When that ruler proved incompetent the centrifugal forces became too powerful to be resisted. And then, too, the Seljuks were always a small minority in the lands they conquered, and as time went on they became less and less distinguishable from the other Saracens. They were no longer as warlike as once they had been, nor were they such implicit and fanatical believers in their new religion. The crusaders found their opportunity in this disruption of the Asiatic caliphate. When, after a winter of quarreling and intrigue, they crossed into Asia Minor they had to do with only one of several emirates, the one known as the Empire of Rum, whose capital was Iconium, and whose most westerly outpost was Nicæa.

Capture of Nicæa. Nicæa was populated mostly by Byzantines. Before its walls the several divisions of the crusading army came together for the first time. They were assisted in the siege by military forces sent by Alexius from Constantinople. A corner tower was undermined and thrown down; but when the storming attack was about to be delivered the imperial banner was seen floating above the fortifications. Alexius naturally wished to make sure of getting the city and of securing possession of it in as good state as possible, and in order to do this he had carried on negotiations with the Turks. In return for a guarantee of

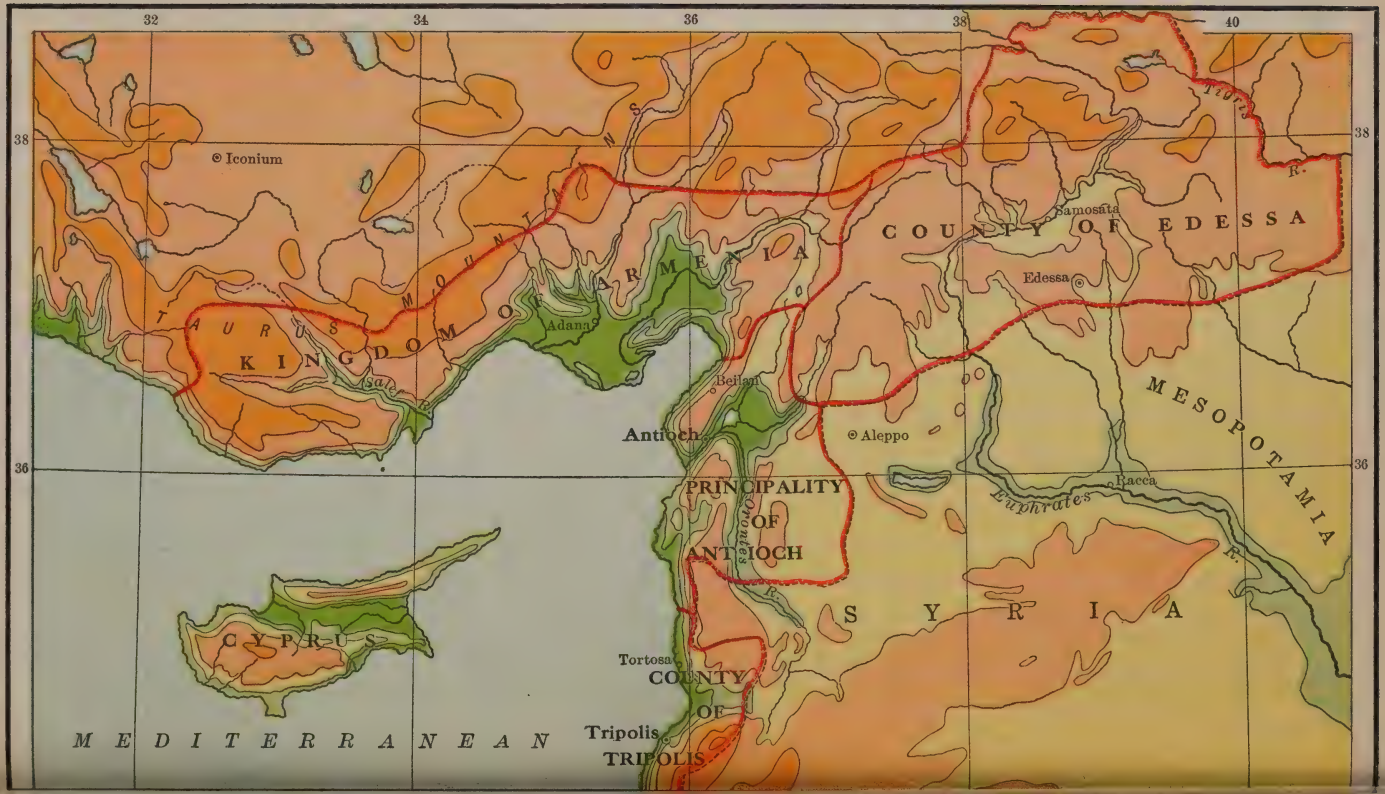
free withdrawal and protection of property the city was surrendered to the Byzantines. This caused bad blood in the crusading army. All booty was lost. But Alexius, as the recriminations subsided, used the same methods he had successfully employed when the several crusading leaders had reached Constantinople. He flattered some and threatened others, gave them rich presents, and renewed his promise of military aid. A division of his troops was attached to the crusading army to take over the conquered places in Asia Minor and to lead the Westerners through the peninsula into Syria.

Establishment of the first crusading state in Syria. It was a difficult and perilous march for the crusaders, who took their way to the south, before turning eastwards, in order to avoid the mountainous interior. Baldwin left the main army with a small force in order to seize the principality of Edessa. This, in 1098, assisted by the Armenian population, he succeeded in doing. It was the first state established by the crusaders in the East. It commanded the main routes from Mesopotamia to the coast; it was nearer than any other of the new settlements to the capital of the caliphs at Bagdad; and it was destined to be for nearly fifty years the outer rampart of all the Christian states in Syria.

Siege of Antioch. As they went on the Westerners reached the great mountain range of the Taurus, which, like a wall, shuts off the peninsula from the rest of the continent. Over the Beilan pass and down the Orentes gorge they made their way to begin the siege of Antioch. That city had been fourteen years in the possession of the Seljuk Turks. It was strongly fortified; its high walls had at least three hundred and sixty strong towers; but the crusaders could not leave it behind, because it was the key to Syria. The siege lasted eight months, through the rains and storms of winter. Famine and infectious diseases thinned the ranks of the crusaders; and so, too, did the attacks of the defenders. That the siege was not abandoned in despair was due mainly to the

Armenians, who organized regular convoys of food and other supplies from the northern regions. Finally Bohemond, who was bent upon securing the city and surrounding country for himself, entered into secret negotiations with a traitorous official who had been slighted by the commander of the garrison. In the quiet hour of dawn sixty of his men gained access to the walls on ladders placed there in the night for the purpose, opened a sally port, and let others of their countrymen in, and soon the Norman flag was hoisted over a tower. A fearful massacre of the infidels then took place. But the citadel was still held by the enemy, and in a few days a large body of Turks appeared and besieged the crusaders in the city. Supplies ran short, and famine set in. The situation was desperate. Many let themselves down from the walls by ropes and ran away to the coast. Then it was that the discovery was proclaimed of the spear that, while he was on the cross, had pierced the side of Jesus. Many ecclesiastics and secular nobles were skeptical of the authenticity of the relic; but, after deliberation, the leaders decided to use it to arouse enthusiasm for an attack upon the besiegers. So the crusading spirit flamed again; while, on the other hand, because of the long delay and the scarcity of food, the spirit of the enemy had fallen. Following the holy spear, borne aloft by a priest, the crusaders marched out of the city and vigorously attacked their foes. After a brief resistance and severe losses the enemy fled. Their entire camp with all its supplies was captured.

The principality of Antioch. The true nature of the crusade now became more apparent than ever before. It was, above all else, an expedition for the conquest and partition of Syria. Baldwin had already created the County of Edessa, was busily engaged in extending its frontiers, and had married an Armenian princess in order to bind more closely to himself the native Christian population. And now Bohemond demanded possession of Antioch and the surrounding country. He was aware of its worth. He knew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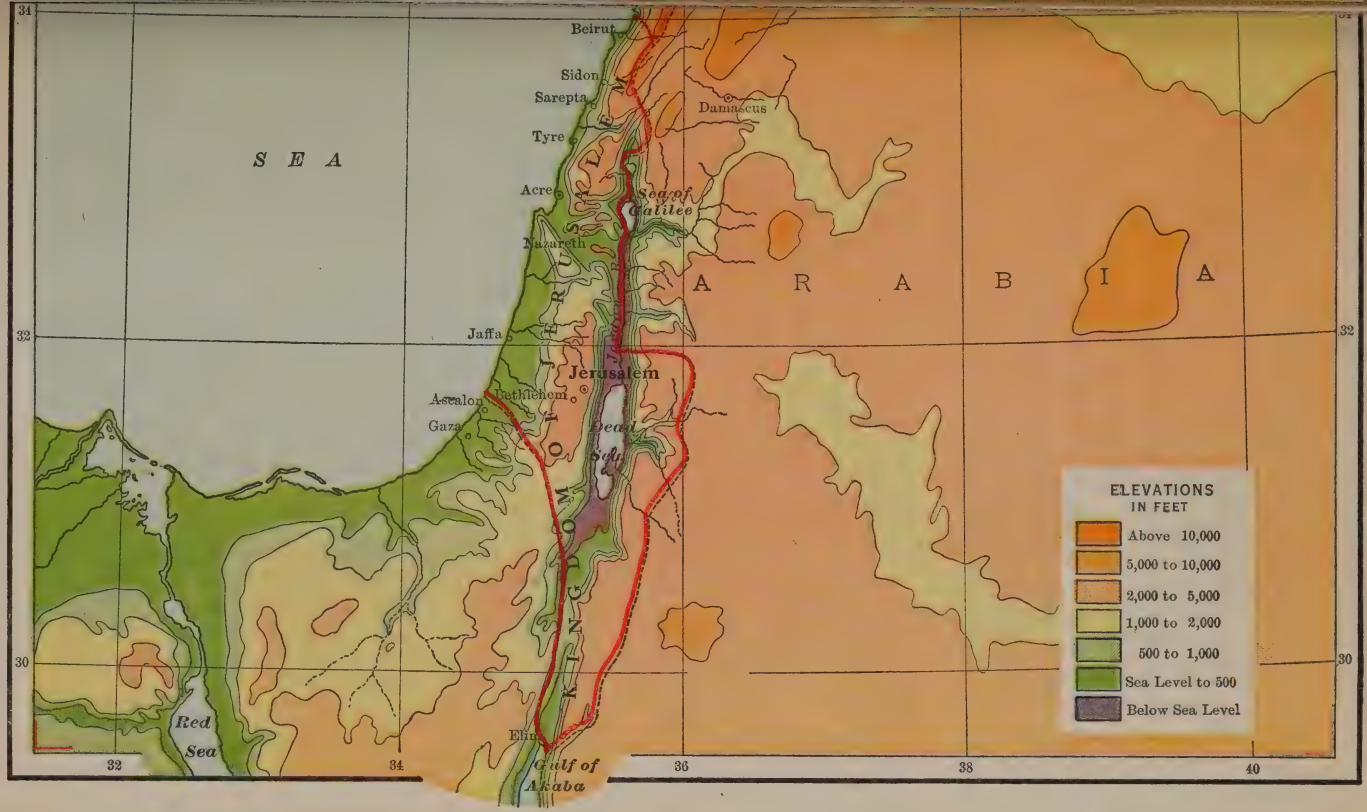
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that the great Mesopotamian and Armenian routes debouched there, and that the city might easily be made the chief storehouse for goods brought from India and China, the great emporium for the Levantine trade of the West. But his demand precipitated another of the many quarrels between the crusading leaders. Raymond bitterly opposed it. There was grave danger of the wreck of the entire crusade upon this dissension. At last, however, Bohemond was recognized as the ruler of the new Principality of Antioch. Naturally he kept most of his followers there to set up and defend his new state.

The march to Jerusalem. Then the crusaders, their ranks greatly thinned, and still lacking centralized military leadership, resumed their march to Jerusalem. Raymond sought compensation for the loss of Antioch. He seemed to find what he was seeking in the lands of the Emir of Tripolis. So, on his way to the south, he gained possession of the important seaport of Tortosa. But only the beginning was possible at this time of the conquest of the Emirate of Tripolis. Many crusaders were impatient of further delay and clamored for a resumption of the march to Jerusalem. That city was then in possession of the Saracen ruler of Egypt who had recently seized it from the Turks. Thus the crusaders had to deal with a far stronger power than would otherwise have confronted them. They had been strengthened, however, by supplies and men brought by Venetian and Genoese ships. Enthusiasm rose again as they neared the goal upon which was focused all the eyes of Christendom. Soon they saw the city of the holiest memories of their religion, with its lofty towers, situated on a hilly plateau stretching like a tongue between two valleys.

Capture of Jerusalem. No quarter was given when the city was taken. Men, women, and children were indiscriminately and ruthlessly put to death. Blood ran everywhere in the streets. When the fearful work was done the pitiless soldiers cleansed themselves of dust and blood to

attend a service of thanksgiving in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The siege of Jerusalem does not rank, as a military event, with that of Antioch. The opposing forces were far smaller; and the struggle, which ended on July 15, 1099, lasted only a few weeks. But the ideal importance was incomparably greater. At last the sacred shrines were redeemed, the cross set up in what was then believed to be the center of the inhabited world, the burning desire satisfied that for so long had filled the whole West.

The Kingdom of Jerusalem. Raymond declined to be made ruler of the captured city. Perhaps he thought it better not to delay completing the conquest of Tripolis. The second choice was Godfrey of Bouillon, who accepted, and who, in a pious mood, took the title of Defender of the Holy Sepulcher. He died in the following summer, and was succeeded by his brother, Count Baldwin of Edessa. On Christmas Day, 1100, the latter was crowned as first King of Jerusalem; and before long, by further conquests, by putting down brigandage, and by bringing about peaceful relations between the various races and religions of his realm, he proved himself a wise and capable sovereign. His successor in Edessa was Baldwin II (1118–1131) of Burg, who was able to retain that Christian outpost only by incessant warfare.

The County of Tripolis. Raymond of Toulouse succeeded eventually in founding the fourth crusading state, though he died before conquering all the territory subsequently included in the County of Tripolis. The work of conquest was continued; the town of Tripolis was taken in 1109, after a five years' siege, and then the latest of the crusading states was ruled over by Bertrand of Cerdagne, son of Raymond.

Geography of Syria and its influence on the crusading states. A glance at the map will show that three of the crusading states formed a long narrow strip extending from the Taurus Mountains southwards to the Gulf of Akaba;

and that the other one, the widest of all, projected eastwards and was made up principally of the valley of the upper Euphrates. The narrowness of these states was determined by the configuration and climate of the country. The land boundaries of Syria may be said to be a line running from the Gulf of Akaba to Rakka on the Euphrates, the eastern watershed of the upper part of that river, and the Taurus Mountains. The extreme length of the country is about five hundred and fifty miles, and its width from the sea to the desert varies from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles. Two mountain ranges run, more or less parallel to the coast, from north to south of the country. They divide it into four parallel belts. There is a narrow littoral strip, of varying width, lying between the sea and the first range of mountains, watered by rains brought by the west wind from the sea, fertile, and subtropical in climate. Next there is the maritime range, a comparatively high barrier, which shuts almost all of the country from the sea, precipitates the rains mainly on the coastal belt, and has some fertile upland localities, especially on its western slope. The third belt is the central depression between the two mountain ranges, which at the northern end is a wide and fertile plain through which the Orontes flows, and in the south is a deep and narrow valley through which the Jordan runs to the Dead Sea. The fourth belt is the inner mountain range, with a plateau on its eastern slope, falling easily to the Euphrates, containing scattered oases and a few irrigated districts of which the largest is that of Damascus. Palestine, being less shut in than most of the country lying in the same belt, enjoys a comparatively generous rainfall. It contains very fertile districts of lowland, and its higher levels are productive grain lands. But aside from this district and the littoral strip, all the country needs irrigation, and since neither of the two large rivers in the inter-mountain belt, flowing as they do in deep beds, is of much use for this purpose, all the rest of the country, except the oases and the

irrigated patches, is occupied by pastures or the monotonous waves of the sandy desert. So it is evident that the physical features of the country and its climate combine to concentrate the greater part of the population in the coastal strip, the upper valley of the Euphrates, and the district of Palestine.

Continuity of the crusading activity. The work of the First Crusade did not come to an end with the capture of Jerusalem. Many of the towns in the maritime belt had still to be taken, and the Westerners had to begin the conquest of the rest of Palestine. There was continuous activity throughout the entire crusading period. The customary division of the enterprise into eight distinct crusades is misleading. Europeans were always coming and going. Many crusaders returned to their homes; while continually the ranks of those who remained were replenished by newcomers. The Westerners never gained possession of all Syria. Moslems always had strongholds in each of the two mountain ranges; and they kept possession of the oases and irrigated districts on the eastern plateau that sloped into the steppes and the desert. No crusading colony was more than a day's march from the enemy; and so, as a natural result, there was, in times of peace, frequent mingling of the two peoples.

Meeting and mingling of Christians and Moslems. In the two centuries of the crusading era there were more years of peace than of war in Syria. Despite all provocation by the militant Moslems who sought to retrieve their losses and the stimulus of the newcomers who continually arrived from the West, peace, more than war, was the condition in which Europeans and Saracens met one another and lived side by side. The meetings and minglings of the two peoples were varied. Agriculture, of course, was the basis of their life. The peasants who tilled the soil in the crusading states were all Syrians; and they were under native overseers. The Westerners were too few in number

to engage in such work, too busy repairing and building castles and towns and in extending their conquests; many of them were only brief sojourners there; and none at first knew the conditions of agriculture in the East. In the towns natives were employed as laborers and craftsmen. Shelter, food, and clothing were all quite different there from what they were in the West. Native workmen were necessary. Peasants and craftsmen were well treated, for otherwise they could easily have escaped from the narrow strip of territory into lands still held by men of their own religion. It mattered little to them of what religion their masters were as long as they were well treated, and so natives and Westerners lived amicably together. In the second half of the twelfth century a Saracen writer declared that, because of better treatment in the affairs of daily life and fairer decisions in the courts, Moslems preferred to work for the Christians. Even with the infidels in the unconquered territory beyond the inland mountain range the crusaders had neighborly relations. Then, too, the Westerners soon began to quarrel with one another over worldly matters, to weaken themselves with domestic disputes, and to seek aid from the Moslems against their fellow Christians. Seldom did the crusading states work together for the common cause. Alliances with the infidels were, therefore, frequently made. Even in religious matters the two peoples got along well together. They became tolerant of each other's beliefs and practices, even praying at the same shrines and worshiping in the same churches. In these and in other ways did the two peoples come to know each other. When we remember that the Westerners were only a thin ruling stratum super-imposed upon a population of a different religion and, in many respects, of a superior culture we shall not be surprised to learn that it was only in political life that western ideas predominated in these new states. In all else the oriental civilization proved superior. Dress, customs, tastes, and ideas were adopted by the newcomers from the natives.

Then, too, mixed marriages soon began to obliterate the original opposition of race and religion and to hasten the rise of a mixed civilization similar to that which had already resulted from the meeting of the two creeds and civilizations in Syria and in Spain.

Italians in the coast towns of Syria. With the help of newly arrived crusaders the conquest of the towns along the coast was undertaken. In this task the Italian maritime states eagerly offered their aid, especially Amalfi, Pisa, and Genoa. These seaports when taken would be very useful for commercial purposes. So the Italians sent their fleets, and they were requited by the grant of a special quarter and important privileges as one by one the towns fell into the hands of the crusaders. "A large and wealthy Italian population soon controlled a great part of the revenues of the coast towns and the surrounding districts and enjoyed a system of communal government, much to the advantage of their trade and commerce." At the end of the year 1124 all the Syrian seaports had been captured except Ascalon.

The Second Crusade. Thus far the crusaders had fought against a divided enemy. A change now took place. A movement leading to unity among the Saracens began in Mesopotamia. Steadily it grew, and then in 1144, taking advantage of the fact that a Byzantine army was about to enter Syria, the Moslems revealed their power by capturing the town of Edessa. The fall of the strongest outpost of the crusading states gave the signal for a renewal of religious agitation in the West. In 1146 Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), whose influence was greater even than that of the pope, appealed with impetuous eloquence for another crusade to a vast crowd gathered to hear him at Vezelay. So great was the multitude that swarmed about him to take the sacred badge that the supply of crosses was exhausted and he had to rend his gown to provide more. Then he traveled through northern France, Flanders, and the Rhine

country, everywhere rousing the wildest enthusiasm. His passionate piety was highly contagious, but he and his recruiting agents were undoubtedly assisted by the fact that for some time a famine had been prevailing in the lands in which they preached. Among the leaders were Louis VII (1137–1180) of France and Conrad III of Germany. Once more the mistake was made of enlisting indiscriminate masses, who did more harm than good, who were of no military use, who increased the numbers to be fed, and who everywhere along the line of march gave rise to bitterness by their pilferings and their unbridled cruelty. Unified leadership was again lacking. Peace made necessary a complete separation of the two nations. The Germans reached Constantinople first, crossed into Asia Minor, where, on the central tablelands, thousands were killed by the Turks and the survivors compelled to retreat to Nicæa. Then the French appeared on the scene. Most of the defeated Germans went home, while others joined the French and took the coastal route to Syria. The two kings finally reached Jerusalem. They decided to attack Damascus; but there was treachery in their ranks, and in five days the besiegers were in full flight. Six weeks later Conrad, disappointed and embittered, sailed for home, followed next year by the crestfallen Louis. Seldom has expedition been more unfortunate or more fruitless. Once more there had been a great misconception of the end in view; a terrible ignorance about the means and cost of attaining it; great drafts on popular sentiment and imagination; and a tragic plunge of valor and enthusiasm into the abyss. For a long time the crusading states were then virtually left to themselves.

Saladin and his conquests. The Moslems were not content with the capture of the town of Edessa. They were humiliated by the fact that Jerusalem remained in possession of the Christians. They had sacred shrines in that city. And then, too, they were well aware of the importance of the

maritime towns of Syria. So they began a crusade of their own. They had a capable leader in *Z*angi (1127–1146), Emir of Mosul. It was he who captured Edessa, the first of the hammer strokes under which the crusading states were to crumble away. He was succeeded by his son Nureddin (1146–1174), with whom the rising tide of unity continued. Then a still abler leader appeared on the scene. When the crusaders were besieging Damascus there was within the walls a boy, afterwards known to them as Saladin (1174–1193), destined to become one of the most famous rulers in the history of Islam. Immediately after the departure of the besiegers his father was made commander of the city; and then for sixteen years the youthful soldier had a full opportunity to gain military experience. Taken as a lieutenant to Egypt, he soon became Vizier. So able and tactful was he that he became the virtual ruler; and when, in 1171, the Fatimite caliph died at Cairo he persuaded all the Egyptian mosques to recognize the caliph at Bagdad. This was a very important step in uniting the Moslems of Egypt and Asia against the Christians. Three years later he set out to put an end to the quarrels among the Saracens in Syria and Mesopotamia. So great was his success that he was proclaimed sultan by the caliph. More than a dozen years went by, however, before the last independent emir in Asia was subdued; but when this was done the crusading states were inclosed on every side, save only the sea, by a hostile power. Then he began preparations to drive the Christians from Syria. In 1187 a holy war, in which all his lands were to take part, was proclaimed. Vassals and allies flocked to him from all parts. The Westerners were defeated with fearful slaughter, and all their leaders, with a few exceptions, fell into the hands of the victorious sultan. Blow after blow fell quickly on the strongholds and cities of the crusaders; and then, on September 17, 1187, intoxicated with victory, the Saracens appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. Two weeks later, after it had been

in possession of the Christians for eighty-eight years, they entered the Holy City.

Beginning of the Third Crusade. Tidings of the great collapse were taken to Italy by a ship with black sails. They made a profound impression throughout western Europe. Clement III (1187–1191) dispatched legates to many cities, castles, and courts, striving to bring about harmony among the belligerent communes, nobles, and monarchs, and to persuade them to take part in the effort to recover the lost shrines. The call was everywhere answered with enthusiastic assent, even in distant Scandinavia. First to complete his preparations and start was the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa (1152–1190), under whose strong sway something like peace and order had been restored in Germany. He had been powerfully affected by the papal appeal; but he had also worldly purposes to further. Plainly his power would be increased were he to restore the crusading states and make them feudal dominions in place of leaving them almost completely Gallicised lordships in Syria. With more than one hundred thousand soldiers he took the overland route. After a long delay the hostility of the Byzantines was overcome, an agreement was reached with the Turkish ruler of Iconium who feared Saladin's growing power; but, as the army was nearing the end of its march through Asia Minor, its imperial leader was drowned in a river, perhaps the Salef. Quickly the splendid army melted away like mist in the sun. Most of its members returned home; others were lost in skirmishes along the way; while only a few thousand succeeded in reaching the camp of the allies at Acre.

Capture of Acre by the Christians. More than a year after the departure of Barbarossa a French army under Philip Augustus (1180–1223) and an English force under Richard the Lion Heart (1189–1199) set sail for Sicily. There they spent the winter, and then proceeded to the Christian camp at Acre. The siege of that town was the

first attempt of the Christians to recover the losses inflicted upon them by Saladin. It had been going on for nearly two years, and in the course of that time a steady stream of new crusaders had made more numerous the ranks of the besiegers which, with the arrival of the two royal armies, were multiplied to a great host. Saladin realized the critical situation. Once more a holy war was preached in all the mosques. Envoys were sent in all directions to summon aid. Once more there was to be a contest between East and West. But the Christian armies were already on the scene; the defenders lacked food and water; Saladin was obliged to withdraw some distance with his relieving forces; his reinforcements came too late; and on July 12, 1191, the city was obliged to capitulate.

Richard the Lion Heart and Saladin. The task of the crusaders was only begun with the capture of Acre. Only a single town had been taken, while in the field was still the unbeaten army of Saladin. But Philip, whose kingdom was far more important to him than any doubtful conquests in the East, sailed for home in less than three weeks after the surrender, leaving the continuance of the undertaking to Richard. The latter began his career as chief commander with an act of extreme cruelty. The large sum demanded for the ransom of the captives was not paid at the appointed time. So he had twenty-seven hundred prisoners, men, women, and children, brought out of the city and pitilessly put to death. Saladin was deeply affected by the news. Such barbarous conduct was not his own custom. He had executed only those captives who had broken their word, who had repudiated their agreements with him. At the siege of Jerusalem he, too, had required the payment of a sum which the inhabitants were unable to meet; but when all the money the defenders could raise had been given to him he had set the remaining prisoners free without ransom. And in the present instance, though greatly embittered, he did not retaliate upon the Christian captives in his camp.

Such was the difference in humanity between the Saracens and the Europeans.

End of the Third Crusade. Richard accomplished nothing of importance, though by his personal valor he deeply impressed the enemy and became a hero of romance. His military forces were continually shrinking, men of other nations looked upon him with mistrust and jealousy, and this, together with his adventurous and unstable character accounts for his vacillating strategy. Then came unfavorable news from England. His brother John was proving more and more untrustworthy. So he decided to return home. It was not difficult to arrange a peace on good terms with Saladin. That leader, too, had difficulties with his heterogeneous army. It was agreed that the Christians should keep the coastal towns then in their possession with the territory belonging to them; free commercial intercourse was to be permitted between Christian and Moslem territories; and pilgrims were to have free access to Jerusalem. All that had been accomplished by the Third Crusade was the capture of Acre.

The Venetians secure control of the Fourth Crusade. Five months after Richard left for home Saladin died; and a few years later the unity of his dominion had disappeared. His simple tomb in the great mosque at Damascus enshrines the memory of one of the noblest men in the history of Islam. The immediate successors of the great sultan made concessions to the Westerners for the sake of peace; but Innocent III (1198–1216) made another crusade one of the principal features of his imperial policy. So successful was he in allaying enmity between princes and arousing enthusiasm for the new enterprise that midsummer day of 1202 was fixed as the date of the starting of the Fourth Crusade. The chief leaders were French feudatories; and the objective seems to have been Egypt. Why did these men whose ostensible purpose was the recovery of the holy places from the infidels decide to spend their strength in an attack upon

the rich country of the Nile? The truth is that, despite papal eloquence and statesmanship, the new crusade was a lay enterprise. For nearly half a century the maritime republics of Italy had realized that the center of Saracenic power had shifted from Syria to Egypt, and only when that country was conquered could they hope to send ships down the Red Sea and take part in the opulent commerce of the Indian Ocean. Venice, however, did not favor that plan. She was on good terms with Egypt, and had a favored position in connection with the Indian trade, carried on by way of Aden and Zebid through the Red Sea to the Nile. She therefore, looked in another direction for political and commercial expansion. Most of the crusaders, knowing only that they were to be taken "across the sea", met in the city of the lagoons. There, kept on an island in a sort of captivity, they found themselves unable to pay all the money ruthlessly demanded of them for ships to carry them to their destination, named so ambiguously by the shrewd traders. Then the Venetians proposed that instead of paying the money the crusaders should help them to conquer the town of Zara, which they had long coveted, on the coast of Dalmatia. So, after a long delay, the allies set sail and the wealthy town fell into their hands; and then the season was so late that they were obliged to spend the winter on the shores of the Adriatic. In the spring the Venetians broached the plan of attacking the Byzantine Empire. Money, food, and ships were promised the Westerners for their aid in subduing that great commercial rival of Venice. At once some of the crusaders began a stormy opposition. The sale of the hallowed military force for the benefit of foreign interests was hotly refused. But those in favor of the plan proved equal to the occasion. They pointed to the wealth of the empire; and from Alexius, son of the recently deposed and blinded emperor, they brought an agreement that, if the crusaders would help him to win the throne, he would restore the Greek Church to the obedience of the pope, give two

hundred thousand marks of silver to the crusaders, provide ten thousand soldiers for a year to help them defeat the infidels, and, throughout his own lifetime, maintain five hundred knights to help them guard the land they should conquer. The lavish promises helped to overcome the opposition. The few crusaders who still held out, together with those who had met in other seaports, went direct to Syria. The others set sail for Constantinople.

Capture of Constantinople by the crusaders. On July 18, 1203, after a siege of only fourteen days, though with great difficulty, the great capital was taken. Alexius and his father were placed on the throne. But the young ruler was unable to fulfill his pledges, while the Westerners continually increased their demands. Then, despite the fact that the pope had forbidden them to attack the Greek Christians and, for their designs and deeds against them, had already excommunicated the Venetians, the allies decided to conquer and partition the empire. On April 12, 1204, the Westerners, who for some months had remained encamped outside, again captured Constantinople. Barbarous acts of many kinds, pillage, wanton destruction of irreplaceable treasures of art and of religion, indescribable orgies of cruelty and lust, were perpetrated, some of the most abominable deeds being committed in the cathedral of Sancta Sophia. Even the Saracens, mourned a contemporary Greek historian, would have been more merciful than these men who fought under the banner of the cross.

The Latin Empire of Constantinople. Count Baldwin of Flanders (1204–1205) was elected emperor, and under him were all the western nobles who had established principalities within the confines of the fallen state. Several things weakened his position from the beginning. The territories under his own immediate rule were scattered; some of his feudatories, only nominally dependent upon him, were occupied with their own special interests; and for money and ships he was forced to rely upon the Venetians. When he

was captured and killed by the Bulgarians he was succeeded by his brother Henry (1205–1216), an able statesman, who for a decade held the reins tightly. Then the precarious structure began to topple. Everywhere the native population was bitterly opposed to it. Three Byzantine states were gradually formed within the boundaries of the former empire; one in the mountains of Epirus along the Ionian Sea; one at Trebizond on the Black Sea; and another having for its capital the ancient city of Nicæa. The last, in which many nobles and prelates had taken refuge, was the true representative of the old empire, and it was its ruler who, in 1261, regained Constantinople. Its initial and inherent weakness made impossible more than an ephemeral existence for the Latin Empire of Constantinople. Surrounded by enemies and rent by irreparable divisions, it was, from the beginning, doomed to speedy destruction. Fifty-seven years was the term of its lifetime. But the consequences of its establishment were far more lasting. It diverted the interests of the West from the hinterland of the crusading states in Syria, and indeed from the latter themselves. Western adventurers and merchants found so wide and rich a territory thrown open to them for lucrative activities that they showed very little disposition to expose themselves to hardships on the soil of Islam. In particular this new field absorbed the interest and activity of the Venetians. And then the transitory state permanently weakened the Byzantine Empire. When that empire was eventually renewed it was a mere shadow of its former self, shorn of territories, financially impoverished, and militarily enfeebled. Never again was it to be the paramount power and the center of the civilization of the eastern Mediterranean. And no longer could it play the part of warder for Europe against the attacks of the Moslems. So permanently had it been weakened that in 1453 it succumbed to the Turks. It was the crusaders who made it possible for the crescent to replace the cross on the cathedral of Sancta Sophia.

The Children's Crusade. Innocent III never allowed himself to be diverted from the purpose that was so close to his heart, even when the crusading army of 1203 slipped out of his hands to conquer Byzantium. It was difficult to inspire enthusiasm once more in the western princes, but the incessant appeals of his preachers had their effect among the common people. Indicative of the feeling among them is the strange movement of the Children's Crusade. It began, near Paris, under the leadership of a shepherd boy who said God had called him to lead the children of the world to Jerusalem, and from there it extended to the valley of the Rhine. Many adults marched with the children,—priests, peasants, artisans, women, vagrants, and thieves. Philip Augustus, after consulting the University of Paris, ordered the expedition to return home; but, inasmuch as the people were favorably disposed to the youthful wanderers, his command was only partially obeyed. Seven ships were placed at the disposal of the children and their companions at Marseilles. Two were wrecked on the way; and when the others arrived at Alexandria the passengers were sold into slavery to the Saracens. Some twenty thousand children and adult companions made their way from Germany over the Alps under the leadership of a boy named Nicholas of Cologne. Many returned home or perished by the way. About seven thousand reached Genoa, where most of them saw for the first time the wide blue plain of the sea, and where some were induced to retrace their steps by some cardinals sent for that purpose by the pope. Others went on to Brindisi, which lies at the end of the Appian Way, and where to-day the traveler embarks for Greece, Egypt, and India. They expected the sea to open and leave a passage for them. There the bishop persuaded them to return home; but they were not given sufficient protection and help, and so on the way back they perished in large numbers. Many of the girls in particular suffered a melancholy fate. Such was the pitiful expedition that illustrates the linger-

ing zeal for the crusades among the people of France and Germany.

The Fifth Crusade. Innocent III was by no means discouraged by the failure of the crusading plan thus far in his pontificate. He sent letters far and wide and summoned a general council to meet in 1215 in the church of Saint John Lateran in Rome. The year 1217 was fixed for the departure of the Fifth Crusade. Preachers then set to work everywhere, especially in France; but the number of enlistments by no means corresponded to the immense efforts put forth, and the only sovereign who went was King Andrew of Hungary. Merchants and nobles were cool and indifferent. They were far more interested in furthering their worldly fortunes; and in castles and cities skepticism was spreading as to the intrinsic worth and expediency of the crusading cause. The whole movement at this time was set going only by the personality of the great pope; and when, in 1216, he fell a victim to a deadly sickness it suddenly lost its mainspring. Nothing was accomplished save the temporary capture of Damietta in the delta of the Nile.

The Sixth Crusade. The Sixth Crusade was entirely secular in character. Frederic II (1215–1250), grandson of Barbarossa, was only a youth of twenty-one when he succeeded to the imperial crown. In the flush of enthusiasm he took a vow to go on a crusade. But the task of consolidating and defending his possessions in Germany and Italy caused him to put off the fulfillment of the obligation. In 1225 he married the heiress of Jerusalem, and then claimed the scepter of that state. This naturally increased his interest in Syria. Still, however, his affairs kept him from departing for the East. At this moment Gregory IX (1227–1241) ascended the papal throne. Far less lenient than his predecessor, and distinctly hostile to the territorial ambitions of the dilatory prince, he excommunicated Frederic. The latter accepted the challenge. While still excommunicate he set sail with forty ships and some ten thousand men for

Acre. There, because he was under the papal ban, his reception was a mixed one. Most of the Westerners received him with joy; but his orders were refused by others. Thus the forces he could depend upon were diminished, and this weakness had to be compensated for by diplomatic skill. The sultan of Egypt was willing to listen to proposals for a peaceful settlement, because the Moslem world in Asia and Africa was by no means as united as in the days of Saladin. So, in 1229, a treaty of peace, to last ten years, was signed by the two sovereigns. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and a few other places, were added to the territory already in the possession of the Christians. But the Moslems retained two mosques in Jerusalem; they were to have the right to worship freely in the city; and there, too, they were to be under the jurisdiction of their own cadi. And, finally, the emperor undertook to prevent any encroachment on the part of the crusading states, and to give aid to the sultan against all his enemies. This left the kingdom a narrow littoral, bulging inland in a few places, and running in a slender strip to include the city of Jerusalem. But it was more than the western armies had gained in nearly half a century. And these results had been obtained without bloodshed, simply by reasonable negotiations, in which the main interests of both parties were reconciled. It was the last real triumph of the crusades. After the treaty was signed Frederic entered Jerusalem, crowned himself in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and then hastily set sail to drive back the papal troops who had invaded his territory in southern Italy.

Recapture of Jerusalem by the Moslems. Jerusalem now remained for fifteen years in the hands of the Christians. Throughout that brief time the native feudal barons, who were concerned only with their own particular interests, struggled against the centralizing tendencies of Frederic II. Each castle and town acknowledged the authority only of its own lord. In 1244 the capital fell into the hands of the

Egyptians, who, three years later, also captured Ascalon. Only a few coast towns and greatly diminished territories in all the four crusading states then remained in possession of the Christians.

The Seventh Crusade. Once more the loss of the holy city aroused papal energy. Innocent IV (1243–1254) summoned a council to meet in 1245 at Lyons. So great, however, was the prevailing dislike of new adventures that the conciliar authorities were saved from a complete fiasco only by the enthusiastic zeal of Louis IX (1236–1270) of France. Already, on his own initiative, the youthful sovereign had taken the cross, and now he persuaded not a few of his feudal grandees to accompany him in what was almost exclusively a French undertaking. In 1248, after solemnly receiving the oriflamme, and the pilgrim's staff and wallet, he set sail from Marseilles on the Seventh Crusade. Unfortunately he allowed himself to be persuaded by his feudal lords to spend the winter in Cyprus, thus giving ample time for the enemy to prepare. Damietta was easily captured, but the rich booty caused further delay; and then the mistake was made of marching inland to Cairo before taking Alexandria. Ignorant of the route, defective in strategy, the crusaders were cut off from their base of supply, famine and pestilence thinned their ranks, thousands were killed, and many others captured including the king. Louis was released only upon the payment of a heavy ransom and the complete evacuation of Egypt. Nothing whatever had been gained by the undertaking.

The Eighth Crusade. A pause of twenty years now ensued in the crusading movement; and then, for a moment, the half-forgotten dream took shape again. Sultan Bibars (1260–1277) of Egypt, who had once been sold as a slave, set himself to complete the task left unfinished by Saladin. It was his powerful offensive against the remaining possessions of the Christians in Syria that once more aroused the West. Louis IX, stirred by the news of the Moslem

conquests, again took the cross. But his expedition was deflected from Syria to Tunis. The new plan was eagerly approved by the feudal lords, who desired a short expedition with great booty, though the rank and file of the soldiers were displeased with the sudden digression. Soon an epidemic broke out in the camp, and the king was one of the first to die. A truce was then concluded with the emir; and the French returned home with the body of their saintly ruler. Prince Edward of England, who arrived just after the truce had been signed, went on with his little fleet of thirteen ships to Acre. There he stayed for more than a year; but nothing of importance was accomplished, and then, in 1272, this last of the western crusaders returned home to claim his kingdom as Edward I. In the meantime the possessions of the crusaders had been falling away. Edessa had fallen more than a century ago. Antioch fell in 1268; and in 1289 Tripolis was wrested from the Christians. Finally, in 1291, the Moslems captured Acre, thus extinguishing the kingdom of Jerusalem and putting an end to all the Christian possessions in Syria.

Why the crusades failed. Why did the crusades fail? The division of the conquered territory into four states was an important cause of the weakness of the crusaders in the East. These states quarreled with one another almost continuously. Even single cities, as time went on, became independent and at their pleasure and convenience made war and peace with the Moslems. And then the rivalries of the Italian maritime republics for commercial supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean introduced another element of discord. They not only fought with one another, and in doing so destroyed naval bases that were necessary to the Westerners, but actually made commercial agreements with the foe whom the crusades were organized to defeat. But behind all these, as the prime cause of the failure of the crusades, was the fact that never at any time had the movement been given the support of a united Christendom.

Selfishness and indifference to the general interest had always kept some cities, feudal principalities, and nations from joining the various expeditions. The western armies, at the most, are to be numbered in tens, not in hundreds, of thousands. And even the papacy, when it attempted to divert the crusading zeal and power to the destruction of the Hohenstaufen in southern Italy, helped to weaken the common cause of Christianity. Yet, after all, it is true to say that the crusades gradually declined, rather than failed, and then silently ceased, because, two hundred years after they began, they were no longer in harmony with the spirit of the time. The monastic ideal, the life contemplative, had gradually given way to secular interests. And then, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the offensive for the recovery of the holy places and the founding of colonies in Syria began to change into a defensive struggle against the oncoming Turks, who, in 1453, captured Constantinople.

The crusades created a demand for better things in the West. What were the results of the crusades? At least one writer has said that modern civilization is the offspring of those expeditions which brought about the first meeting of the East and West. There is now, however, a reaction against ascribing so much to them. We are told that "a cautious writer who seeks documentary evidence for every assertion may be rather inclined to attribute to that influence little or nothing". But in such a case the pendulum has swung to the other extreme. It seems a splitting of hairs to say that the same things would have occurred had there been no crusades. The Byzantine and Saracenic civilizations, it is true, might have spread in other ways to the West. But the demand for the products of these civilizations was created by the crusades, and it is always the demand that is most important. The supply is always there. The chief business of education is to create a desire, a demand, for better things. How far did the crusades breed discontent with old conditions, break down old prejudices,

and create a desire for new things? It is not easy to conceive the effect upon the mind of a medieval youth, who had never before left his native village, of the splendors of Venice, Palermo, or Constantinople. There were many ways in which the influence of the crusades was felt. In the first place they affected individuals who went to the East. The mere absence of the crusaders from the former routine of their lives was an important thing. Some went away for years; some for decades; while many never returned. But all eyes were turned on those who had gone. They were the heroes. They sent back word of their journeyings in letters and messages. Many were the tales of the wonderful world in the East, of the difference in material things, in daily life, and in faith. All this, in itself, must have made a deep impression upon the West. Then the returning crusaders came with fuller information, and with new ideas. Only a small number came back, it is true; a mere handful compared with those who went. Yet many thousands returned; and they were scattered all over Europe. They did not return to live the old life of their earlier years. Their eyes had been opened; they had heard new thoughts; their standard of life had been raised. It is no exaggeration, therefore, to say that the crusades profoundly affected the life of western Europe. Yet a word of caution is necessary. We should not attribute all of the changes of which we are to speak exclusively to the crusades. Many causes contributed to produce these changes. And of these causes the crusades were only one.

Ecclesiastical results. The crusades had ecclesiastical results. They placed the pope clearly at the head of all the Latin Christians. The popes did not go on the crusades in person, so they avoided the dangers which actual participation entailed. No other western power was so fortunate. The clerical tithe, a crusading device, was very profitable. Money poured into the papal coffers; the importance of papal indulgences was greatly increased; only papal author-

ity could remit the vow of a crusader; and every prince who went to the East acknowledged the leadership of the pope. Yet, while the crusades helped to exalt the papal power, they also helped to forge the weapon with which this rule was in the end to be overthrown. They aroused worldly interests, they gave occasion to rivalries that stimulated the sentiment of nationality, a sentiment that eventually was to thwart papal encroachment, and they opened up the forgotten East in which lay buried the emancipating civilization of Greece.

Political results. The crusades had political results. They weakened the emperor at Aachen and also the one at Constantinople. Henry IV (1056–1106), because of domestic troubles and the quarrel over investiture, could not lead the first expedition, although naturally he should have been the commander-in-chief. The pope was the leader. He won immediate power and prestige, and asserted his authority successfully against the emperor. Even when Frederic Barbarossa (1152–1190) went on a crusade he was not the leader of the kings of England and France. And then the Third and Fourth Crusades greatly weakened the Byzantine Empire. Better results accrued to the kings. Not many of them went away, and those who did go soon returned. Many of their unruly feudal vassals, however, went to the East; and while they were gone the kings strengthened their positions. Debt weakened the barons; and many died because of the hardships of travel, battle, and disease. Many of their lands escheated to the kings. This was very marked in France. One by one the smaller fiefs were swallowed up by the great lordships. And one by one the greater lordships were incorporated into the royal domain. Political gains were also made by the towns. Every feudal lord was entitled to aid in going on a crusade from his vassals and from the towns he controlled. But this aid was far too small to meet the expense of going to Syria. So the lords made terms with the towns. They granted them political privi-

leges, a large measure of self-government, in return for money. Slowly at first, and almost hidden from view, the political power of the towns made itself felt in the time of the crusades, undermining the foundations of feudalism in northern and central Italy, in Provence and Catalonia, subsequently in Flanders and some parts of Germany, and in France. The towns were not theoretically opposed to feudalism; but their new life demanded release from the old seigniorial restraints, from its compulsory labor, its frequent payments, and still more from its restrictions upon freedom of movement, of buying, and of selling. They wanted governmental charters that recognized their new conditions; and this desire, though not theoretically opposed to feudalism, often proved antagonistic to it in practice.

Social results. The crusades had social results. They helped greatly to destroy the existing social order. The rabble of the first expedition perished on the way; and after the rabble it was the feudal nobility that furnished the largest number of crusaders. Two classes of the nobility went to Syria, the most aggressive and the most pious. Those who stayed at home were the self-seeking, the sordid, the peace loving. The nobles who went away in quest of adventure and gain were those who most prided themselves upon their feudal independence. Their ranks were thinned by the ravages of war and disease; and many of the remaining nobles were crushed between the hammer of the kings and the anvil of the burghers. In still another way the crusades affected feudalism. Armies were set on foot in which feudal rights and obligations had a diminished importance, or even no place at all. Many volunteers who flocked to the standards from the peasantry and the proletariat were found to be more efficient in the field than the vassals who had hitherto been accustomed to lead. Pay, the love of enterprise, and the prospect of plunder, if we leave aside any higher motive, were quite as useful in enlisting

troops and keeping them together as tenure of land and the solemnities of homage and fealty. The social life of the towns was also affected. Into every western nation there came a better organized and more varied and vigorous municipal life. This was first noticeable in such maritime cities as Pisa, Venice, and Amalfi, poor in cultivable territory, situated as they were among the marshes, or lagoons, or mountains, and thus forced to be the intermediaries between the over-sea lands and the interior of the peninsula. To these places were first brought back the new necessities and articles of luxury, in exchange for which salt and foodstuffs were sent. To the peasants the crusades also brought social changes. We have already seen that by their ability many of them made their way into the higher ranks of the armies. The lords had to have peasants with them. When their squires fell by the wayside or in battle, they had to give peasants the position of squires. Then the lords being with the peasants every day came to know them personally. Some of these tillers of the soil became knights and founded noble families. The general elevation of the country people of the western part of the continent from the condition of serfdom did not come until after the age of the crusades. And then it seems to have been due to the operation of other causes. But the crusades aided in bringing about this result. The softening influences consequent upon the general improvement of manners were directly beneficial to them. And then at this time much property passed over to the church. Thus more peasants came under ecclesiastical masters, and their condition was better than it had been under the warring nobles.

New necessities. Many material changes were brought about by the crusades. Numerous words in the languages of the crusaders derived from the Arabic tell of the origin of things that for the first time became necessary in the life of western Europe. The crusaders took over the Arabic name when they took over the thing for which it stood. In

many instances these words, quite naturally, were changed, more or less, by the various peoples who adopted them. Arsenal, for instance, means workshop or factory in the original Arabic; in the western languages it became narrowed to dock and armory, the wider sense of the word being retained only in Spanish. Admiral comes from an Arabic word meaning commander. Among other such words are amulet, apricot, bazaar, calico, caravan, cotton, damask, damascene, elixir, lute, rice, saffron, salep, and sesame. Many new necessities were taken over by the Westerners from the East. Among them were cotton, which to-day is used more extensively than any other material for making cloth; mirrors of glass coated with a metallic film which replaced those of highly polished steel; and paper, the secret of the manufacture of which was learned by the Saracens from the Chinese after the former had occupied Samarkand. The great central emporium of paper, which seems to have been made principally of linen, came to be Damascus; and its manufacture in Europe was first established by the Moslems in the twelfth century in Spain. In Italy, also, the art of paper making was probably established through the Saracen occupation of Sicily. It was the Moslems, too, who first carried the rice plant, one of the most prolific food grains of the world, into Spain.

New luxuries. Another result of the crusades was to extend the use of luxuries and introduce new ones. Long ago the Greeks had heard that in the far-away lands of the East there were plants that bore wool without sheep, and reeds that gave honey without bees. These incredible tales turned out to be true. Sugar was the first of these new luxuries to be secured by the crusaders. They had only honey before. Nothing else so delighted the western palate. The spices and perfumes and other eastern products which before the crusades had been the luxuries of the few were now brought into far more general use. Pepper became an article of common use in the thirteenth century, though it remained

very costly until, in 1498, the Portuguese discovered the sea route to India. Muslin, velvet, and silk found their way to the West. At the time of the early crusades nearly all the clothes in the western lands were made of wool, save the leather leggins and gauntlets of the nobles, and the crude garments of skins for the peasants. Carpets and tapestry came into vogue. Above all the other luxuries were jewels, of which the Jews were the great purchasers with their headquarters at Lyons. Among the shining stones were amethysts, rubies, and sapphires from Ceylon, emeralds from Upper Egypt, and pearls from the warm and shallow waters of the Persian Gulf.

Expansion of commerce. The expansion of commerce is a change that may very safely be attributed to the crusades. The crusaders themselves, and their equipment, had to be transported. This great increase of transportation stimulated the infant commerce of Italy. It effectively opened up the East to the West. The Levant became the great focus of commerce. The entire plenitude of its products was placed at the disposal of the western merchant, who in exchange took with him goods from Europe. European cities were brought into close commercial relations with the Byzantines and the Saracens. Venice and Genoa were especially active in this commerce. To them the lion's share of this trade necessarily fell, though Marseilles also carried on an active commerce with Syria. Italy was greatly assisted by its geographical position, and by the energy with which its city-states placed their resources at the disposal of commerce. Only the Provençals and Catalans succeeded, despite the jealousy of the Italians, in securing a place beside them in the eastern trade. Nor did the Italians confine their commercial activity to the East. Their ships gradually found their way into the Atlantic, taking with them products of the oriental lands to the ports of Spain, France, and England. A spirit of commercial enterprise began to permeate all classes.

Development of agriculture. Agriculture felt the influence of the crusades. Men returned with new seeds and plants for their fields and gardens, new trees for their orchards. The wealth of the grains and fruits of the eastern lands, grapes, figs, pomegranates, almonds, olives, locusts, sugar cane, was often the subject of the wonder and admiration of the Westerners. Among the new trees brought back with them by the Westerners was the mulberry, which was so greatly to enrich both Italy and France; while orientals brought the sugar cane, which, however of all the western lands, can be grown only in Sicily and Spain.

New inventions. A number of inventions were introduced into western Europe as a result of the crusades. The crusaders learned the use of windmills in the East, and soon these machines were scattered all over western Europe. At first a windmill was called a Turk. About 1180 they first appeared in Normandy. Then there was a needle by which sailors could steer when out of sight of the land, and thus emancipate themselves from the coast and the weather. The first unmistakable description of a pivoted compass is contained in a document written in 1269 at Lucera. Best of all, however, was not the various inventions themselves of which the Westerners came to know, but the new attitude of mind, the spirit of invention, the knack of doing things with tools and machinery.

Industry and the handicrafts. Industries and the handicrafts were greatly affected by the crusades. For the first time they came to occupy a place on a level with agriculture. They even gained advantages over the latter. The townsfolk obtained, from the point of view of economics, the upper hand, and so a great migration took place from the country to the towns. Saracen weavers of rich and ornamental stuffs were employed at Venice, a center whence many oriental goods were distributed throughout western Europe. The weaving of carpets and tapestry was introduced into southern France; and in the north it was estab-

lished at Arras. The Saracens spread the manufacture of silk far and wide. They introduced it into Sicily and Spain. From these lands it spread northward to Florence, Milan, Genoa, Venice, and, later on, to Lyons. The manufacture of the soft and colored leathers of the East was begun. From Cordova we get the words *cordovan* and *cordonnier;* and from Morocco the name of a soft leather.

Rise of modern banking. As a result of the expanded international commerce, the trade in money became international. And then money changers gradually became bankers. The great distances and the increasing rivalry in trade rendered it necessary to devise means whereby capital might be brought into the most rapid circulation possible, the settlement of differences in value carried out in the shortest possible time, and international communication conducted in regular paths and interfered with by no outward disturbances. This was brought about by the formation of a credit, exchange, and banking business that quickly came into vogue. Naturally this was first done in the thriving cities of Italy. Many words and phrases still bear witness to the Italian origin of banking in Europe. Then came the organization of consulates and embassies, which at first served merely commercial purposes, but which laid the foundation of international diplomatic intercourse; and then the conclusion of treaties for mutual protection and commercial relations, as well as the legal regulation of navigation and commercial intercourse. How powerless in the face of these phenomena were the ever renewed denunciations of interest and trade by the church! The merchant's spirit of commercial enterprise deliberately left out of account all political and ecclesiastical considerations; even the Moslems were not regarded as infidels, but as fellow men; and thus trade became an international mediator and the herald of tolerance and humanity.

Intellectual results. The crusades had intellectual results. They carried whole populations into distant countries

and thus broke up the manorial solitude. They stimulated curiosity. Westerners found in the East sources of information that were new to them. They brought back and, in 1124, translated several books of Aristotle, including the works on physics, which previously had been known only in imperfect translations. Then, too, the crusades stirred the imagination, the seed of life. The enchantment of the East, the spiritual element of the crusades, the heroic deeds of crusaders and their adventures, all combined to develop the imagination of the western mind. The bare facts of the writers of the earlier medieval centuries gave place to a rich, romantic, and imaginative literature. The crusades had a marked effect upon language. They were the creation of French-speaking peoples; and, above all others, of the adventurous Normans who carried the language of their adoption wherever they settled. Never since the palmy days of the Roman Empire did Christendom come so near having a common speech. For several centuries French was the most general medium of intercourse from the Atlantic to the Golden Horn and the Jordan. The Saracens gave the name of Franks to all the men from the West. French became the speech of merchants, bankers, lawyers, princes, and poets. The crusades stimulated literature in the vernacular tongues. Medieval poetry was the creation of Frenchmen and the crusades. From the moment of the crusades the world of romance woke into new life. The enthusiasm and the deeds of the crusaders inspired the poets with new themes, and so did the glamour and the mystery of the East. When many thousands of nobles and their attendants were transported to another continent those who stayed at home did not stint their questions, and many of those who returned naturally wished to leave their children some record of their marvelous experiences. *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,* written in the twelfth century, one of the earliest poems in the heroic style that has come down to us, is already steeped in the charm and the wonders of the East. From

this time on the later and more refined romances are full of descriptions of the riches and splendors of those eastern lands. After several rude attempts at a narrative account of a crusade had been made, the fourth of those expeditions gave the world the first notable modern historian. Geffroi de Villehardouin (1150?–1212), whose story of *La Conquête de Constantinople*, written with sincerity and arranged with the order characteristic of his countrymen, is the best picture we have of feudal chivalry in its prime. It is full of vivid and picturesque detail. And even Jean de Joinville (1224?–1317), who followed Louis IX on the Seventh Crusade and spent six years in Egypt and Syria, shrewd as he is and secular in spirit, shows the influence of the spirit of adventure in his *Histoire de Saint Louis*. The influence of the crusades upon art is plainly seen. Saracenic architecture was largely a synthesis of those of the conquered peoples, especially of the Persian and the Byzantine. This eclectic architecture is notable for the predominance of decoration over structural considerations. Geometry and color are the principal elements of its decoration. Arabesque, in which the geometric form is snared into the most intricate patterns, is often a decoration of subtle intellectual power. Modifications of such designs, and the lavish use of rich and delicate colors, found their way into the West. The art and culture of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, were very largely of oriental origin. Syrian glass, the metal work of Damascus, the pottery of Persia, the mosaic of Byzantium, gave the models for Italian craftsmanship and art. Cimabue (1240?–1302) of Florence and Duccio (1260?–1320?) of Siena, the earliest painters of the Renaissance, owed their inspiration to the Byzantine artists who went to the West early in the thirteenth century after the conquest of Constantinople. The seizure of that capital by the crusaders scattered its ruined culture to many parts of the continent.

Religious and moral results. The crusades had religious and moral results. Like all wars they tended to develop

and embitter partisanship, to blind one side to the other. But it is the stay-at-homes who always feel the most bitterly, those who are left behind and do the talking. Those in the war had different ideas. They discovered that the Saracens were not monsters of iniquity and cruelty. The eastern infidels proved very human. When they became known as prisoners, or negotiators, or traders, they were very companionable. They were always outdoing the Westerners in generosity. At times they released prisoners without ransom. When the army of Godfrey de Bouillon entered Jerusalem it inaugurated the Kingdom of God by massacering some two thousand Jews and Moslems. When Richard I captured Jaffa he put to death the three or four hundred hostages that had been confided to him. Raymond of Toulouse tore out the eyes and cut off the arms and legs of prisoners. Such things were common doings of the crusaders. But when Saladin retook Jerusalem he protected the Christian population; and he even supplied the refugees with food and safe-conduct to the seaboard. Then, too, the Saracens provided far better for the sick and insane than did the Christians. They believed insanity to be a kind of disease, and they treated the sufferers from it accordingly, furnishing for them quiet places of abode, recreation, and suitable employment. But the prevailing idea of the pathology of insanity in western countries was that of demoniacal possession. The insane were not sick, but possessed of devils. Cruel forms of punishment were employed to drive out the devils. Some mitigation of the harsh treatment of the insane began at the time of the crusades, though no great advance in the humane and scientific care of them was made in western Europe until the middle of the nineteenth century. The Saracens also had establishments for lepers, while in the West those afflicted with that loathsome disease were driven outside the walls of the cities to take care of themselves as best they might. Contact with the East resulted in improvement. The Order of Saint Lazarus

was founded for the purpose of assisting lepers. And in many places in the western countries lazar houses, imitations of those in the East, were built and endowed. There the unfortunates could go to await in seclusion "their welcome passport to the grave." One such house was built two miles from Venice.

Growth of tolerance. The crusades developed tolerance. The Christians, as a rule, were very ignorant and superstitious when they went to the East. They thought the Saracens were idolaters. They were told that the Easterners worshiped a certain Baphomet, or Mahound, whose wicked body heaven and earth alike rejected, so that it was suspended between both in its coffin at Mecca. But two hundred years of daily contact with them and their civilization wrought a remarkable change in the ideas of Europeans. They found the Saracens were not idolaters. Mohammed was not an idol. He had actually been a man, and much that he taught resembled Christianity. His followers reverenced Jesus as a prophet. Their belief was a simple one and sincere. They were far more tolerant than the Christians. For several hundred years their great cities had shown a tolerance scarcely to be matched in our own time. Christians, Jews, and Moslems spoke the same tongue, sang the same songs, and participated in the same literary and scientific studies. All the theological barriers that separated them were effaced; all worked with one accord in the cause of a common civilization. Schools, mosques, and courts were active centers of philosophical and scientific studies. A concrete example of this wise and beneficent tolerance is the act of Mansur (996–1002) who, ruling in Spain, decreed Sunday to be a day of rest in deference to the Christians. So tolerance grew out of the meeting of East and West. And at last, in the sixteenth century, a book was written about it by Sebastian Castellion.

Spread of skepticism. The crusades produced consequences quite unforeseen. At first they increased the

papal power and that of the clergy, and then they tended to diminish it. Undertaken with the purpose of recovering the holy places and in the expectation of strengthening religious faith, they eventually developed skepticism and subserved the interests of free thought. Many began to distrust the power of indulgences, for some who had gained them seemed worse than before. There were replicas of relics; and some persons refused to believe in the theory, then put forward, of miraculous duplication. They doubted and scoffed. And, anyway, why should they pour forth their blood for an empty sepulcher? Some even thought the three great religions were wrong. They thought Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed were imposters. This was, as yet, only whispered among some with bated breath. But the seed was sown and it grew. The theater of worldly operations seemed to widen out infinitely before men. How limited now appeared the medieval view, with its otherworldliness, of the City of God on Earth! Men began to doubt the divine origin of the church, and her unique power of salvation, which had proclaimed so limited an ideal. And all the more so when, as one after another the crusades failed, victory remained with the unbelievers. How could the failure of these expeditions, all of them solemnly blessed and accompanied by powerful prelates, be otherwise explained? It is easy to understand the bitterness of despair which inspired a Provençal knight to utter these passionate verses: "Pain and grief fill my soul and almost kill me! We are succumbing beneath the weight of the cross that we have taken in honor of him who was nailed thereon. There is no cross, there is no faith, that can avail against these damned Turks! Nay, rather it is easy to see that God himself protects them to our undoing". Was Christianity the only true faith? Men were becoming increasingly skeptical. A dissolving sentiment was spreading in the western countries, a growing estrangement from the church. It made its way so inevi-

tably that even members of the clergy were infected by it. There was an acceleration of the scientific trend of thought, which received new and powerful impulses from the immense widening of the western intellectual horizon, and from the necessity of observing and comparing the three main monotheistic religions. Scholasticism now began rapidly to shape a defense of the church; but distrust increased of the qualifications of dialectic to answer the deep questions of mind and heart. These moods, met with only here and there before the twelfth century, gained ground in the epoch of the crusades and found their way into all the centers of thought in the western world. Everywhere they stirred men's minds, and compelled many to take up an independent position upon the fundamental questions of the religious, moral, and social life. The creeds had met, and faced one another in person, in the East. Men had sought their points of divergence, as well as those they had in common. A century's exchange of thought between Christian and Mohammedan theologians, by word of mouth and in writing, had already paved the way for this, and likewise a far-reaching dialectical propaganda of Judaism, directed principally from Spain. Men were learning to appreciate human virtue and nobility quite independently of creeds. They enriched themselves with the surprising wealth of enlightenment, gathered from many sources, treasured and transmitted by the Saracens. They became increasingly critical. They realized, more than ever before that the wealthy church, engrossed in worldly activities, was untrue to her ideals. So they despaired altogether, or turned elsewhere for a guide.

Development of conscience. The crusades, finally, had a profound effect upon the development of conscience. Conscience is a word, derived from the Latin *conscientia*, which means the knowledge within oneself. All through the medieval centuries men had relied upon the word of authority for guidance, upon the church. Now they began to trust something within themselves. In northern Italy,

in Provence, and in other places, men came to think they could get along without the church, to hold they could live a life directed only by conscience. They thought they could dispense with clergy and sacraments. The church tried to stamp out these heresies. We shall read of her warfare against the Carthari, the Patarini, the Waldenses, and of her crusade against the Albigenses. But the revival of conscience went on. Wider knowledge resulted in wider thought. This wider thought, in turn, led to the spirit of free inquiry. Men began to seek for truth with the aid of their reason. Some of them ceased to believe that a religion, preached twelve centuries before their time, is the last word of God. They denied that humanity is bound down to it for all time. They began to seek their inspiration not in the tomb of the past, but in the conscience of mankind. So the age of implicit faith began to pass away. Many new refinements and interests widened the social horizon in all directions. When Peter the Hermit preached the First Crusade he preached, all unknowingly, the Renaissance.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for the study of the earlier crusades are listed in the bibliographies for chapters six to nine inclusive of the fifth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*. Those for the later crusades will doubtless be given in a subsequent volume More than any other Saracenic book the *Memoirs of Usamah Ibn Munkiah* reveals the character of life in the twelfth century in Syria. Usamah was the ruler of Shaizar, on the Orentes. In his long life of ninety-three years the whole tide, the flow and the ebb, of the crusading effort was felt. His book has been translated into French and edited by Hartwig Derenbourg; and an English version of it has been announced by the Columbia University Press. Villehardouin's *Conquest of Constantinople* and Joinville's *Chronicle of the Crusade of Saint Louis* are both available in English in Everyman's Library. Much original source material dealing with the first expedition to the East will be found in August C. Krey's *The First Crusade*.

Ali Syed Ameer's *A Short History of the Saracens* is a somewhat uncritical, though useful, compilation from a number of European and Eastern sources. A volume on *Christendom and the Crusades* by Paul Alphandéry is announced. Ernest Barker's *The Crusades* is a reprint of the excellent article on the crusades in *The Encyclopædia Britannica.* Mary A. C. Czaplicka, *The Turks of Eastern Asia.* Thomas A. Archer and Charles L. Kingsford, *The Crusades.* Louis Bréhier, *L'église et l'Orient au moyen âge.* From Emil Dreesbach's *Der Orient in der altfranzösischen Kriegslitteratur* we may gain a concise idea of life in Syria as described in the early French crusading literature, the sort of thing that impressed itself on the mind of the Westerner. C. Beasley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography.* Ernst Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreichs von Konstantinopel.* Alice Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea.* Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems.* Stanley Lane-Poole, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages; Egypt in the Middle Ages; Saladin; The Art of the Saracens of Egypt; Islam.* Achille Luchaire, *Innocent III: la question d'Orient.* Dana Carleton Munro's *The Middle Ages* contains two fine chapters on the crusades; and a volume by him on *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* is announced. D. C. Munro and G. C. Sellery, *Medieval Civilization.* William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant.* Pages 24–32 of John Owen's *Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance* deal with certain intellectual results of the crusades. Guillaume Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie.* Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges.* Gustave Schlumberger, *Fin de la domination franque après les derniers croisades.* W. B. Stevenson's *The Crusaders in the East,* a scholarly and trustworthy book, is based entirely upon original sources, chiefly upon Saracenic chroniclers, and is rightly concerned less with the going out of the crusaders than with what happened to them in Syria; but it is almost wholly political; the social conditions and the character of the life of the western colonists in those eastern lands are almost completely ignored. John Kirtland Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades.* Ralph Bailey Yewdale's *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* is a scholarly monograph, with much interesting information and a good bibliography.

CHAPTER 21

POPES AND HOHENSTAUFEN

Emperor Lothair II of Germany. Henry V (1106–1125), last of the Franconian family that had ruled Germany for a hundred years, having no children, left his possessions to his nephew, Frederic of Hohenstaufen. But the lesser nobles, who had gained much power during the struggle over investiture, wished to make the imperial office elective and not hereditary. And the leading members of the clergy were opposed to Frederic because he had supported the emperor in the struggle with the pope. These elements of opposition united, and, after a prolonged contest, succeeded in electing Lothair II (1125–1137) of Saxony, who had been the chief opponent of the late emperor. At once, by demanding the return of certain lands that formerly had belonged to the crown, he increased the enmity of the Hohenstaufen. Then he met with a severe repulse when he attempted to interfere in the internal affairs of Bohemia, and the royal power was still further weakened by a long and desolating war necessary to beat down opposition in southern Germany. Two claimants to the papal tiara then appealed for Lothair's support. Entering the southern peninsula he espoused the cause of Innocent II (1130–1143), who, in return, crowned him as emperor in 1133 and bestowed upon him, as a papal fief, the wide estates that had been willed by Matilda of Tuscany to the papacy. After this the crown recovered some of its lost power in Germany. Peace prevailed at home; and a diet held at Magdeburg in 1135 was attended by representatives from the tributary states of Denmark, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. Yet the monarchy had been permanently weakened. Unceasing warfare, both at home and in Italy, had greatly lessened its force. And

unfalteringly, with sleepless energy, letting no opportunity escape, the feudal lords continually gained greater independence, so that they might well look forward to a time when their power would be equal to that of the king.

Advent of the Hohenstaufen. Conrad III (1138–1152), first king of the Hohenstaufen family, emerged from the election as the creature of the prelates in his own country and of the papacy. Opposed by the most powerful of the secular feudal lords, he was entirely dependent upon the church. Rampant disorder within the kingdom was lessened only by the departure of many of the most refractory feudal nobles on the Second Crusade. It continued, somewhat diminished, during Conrad's own absence in the Holy Land; and when, two years later, he returned it flamed up again, so that he was never able to go to Italy to be crowned emperor. The only gain made by the cause of peace in his reign was the beginning of the effective control of the Slavic tribes east of the Elbe. The founding of the Margraviate of Brandenburg on that frontier helped to make life and property more secure in northeast Germany.

Frederic Barbarossa. Frederic I (1152–1190), surnamed Barbarossa by the Italians, was the choice of all parties for emperor upon the death of his uncle Conrad. The surprising quickness of his election was perhaps due to a desire to give the papal legates no chance to interfere; but other considerations told strongly in his favor. Through his mother, as well as through his father, he had influential relationships; and he had maintained a neutral position in the struggles between the Welfs of Bavaria and the Waiblings of Swabia. His figure was richly colored by the romanticism of a later period, but it also made a strong impression upon his contemporaries. He was the finished type of the feudal lord, handsome, chivalrous, intrepid, harsh to the vanquished, amiable to his friends, with quick perceptions and an innate feeling for the majesty of his royal vocation. His accession marks a halt in the decline of the royal power

in Germany. For seventy-five years it had defended itself desperately in the conflict over investiture against the attack of the church, seeing at the same time the power of the feudal nobles overshadow its own; and then, in the following twenty-five years, it had fallen into a weary resignation. Frederic at once began to restore the prestige and power of the empire. First he effected a reconciliation between the two great hostile houses of Welfs and Waiblings. Then he began a peaceful extension of his personal estates as a firm foundation for his royal power; and, finally, in 1156, he obtained with the hand of the heiress, as his own immediate possession, the important County of Upper Burgundy. Internal peace was maintained by a strict and impartial enforcement of law; robber knights and seditious barons were punished promptly and severely; and cities were greatly encouraged in their economic and social development. For nearly two hundred years the Slavic lands east of the Elbe had been held in subjection by the Germans, but Frederic did much to subdue effectively all the lands lying along the southern shore of the Baltic He encouraged towns already existing there and built new ones, restored bishoprics and established others, and planted colonies of enterprising settlers in the new territories extending to the Oder. And once more vassalage was explicitly acknowledged by Denmark, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. Thus, after the confusion of a century, peace at home and prestige abroad were once more enjoyed by Germany.

Development of the cities in northern Italy. Before all this had been accomplished Frederic's adventurous and imaginative mind had turned to Italy. He dreamed of that *Imperium Romanum* whose departed splendor fascinated all the Middle Ages. But the southern peninsula had seen great changes in the last few decades. In all the northern part a vigorous growth of city life had resulted from the stimulation of trade by the crusades. Italy was, and ever has been, a land of cities; and the bishops, who lived in

them, had really been at the head of the peaceful and industrious part of their population ever since the downfall of the Roman Empire in the West. During the unquiet feudal times the cities in the northern part of the peninsula had acquired episcopal "immunities" by which a city with its surrounding district was freed, more or less completely, from the jurisdiction of the ordinary civil and military authority and placed under that of the bishop. Liberty grew more and more readily under the rule of the bishops than it would have done under the feudal grandees; and by the eleventh century many of them had become communes, republics, managing their own affairs, self-reliant, aggressive, ambitious. Lombardy is a level country, covered with a network of waterways, drained by the navigable Po. Into it debouch the passes over the Alps from France and Germany, and at the mouth of its great river are cities in continual relation with the Orient. During the war of investiture, when the papal and imperial powers bid for their alliance, these northern communes threw off the yoke of their bishops and grew in strength and freedom. Not one of them was confined to the space inclosed by its own walls. Every one spread over the surrounding country and attempted to subject to itself the entire territory of the diocese. Their chief officers were consuls, who varied in number according to custom and to the division of the town into districts. These administrative officials were supported by a deliberative assembly, the *credenza*, selected from the more distinguished townsmen. Then there was a *gran consiglio*, composed of men who had acquired the right to take part directly in public matters. All these formed the aristocracy of the town, who by their birth or wealth held its affairs in their keeping. Below them was the *parlamento*, which included the entire adult male population. The governmental framework of the commune varied in different localities, but this was the type generally followed. It was an oligarchic government, quite fitting as an intermediate

form in the gradual change from feudalism to democracy. Guided by their consuls the communes became prosperous and powerful. They fortified themselves with massive walls, erected splendid private and municipal buildings, and made good roads and commodious seaports.

Arnold of Brescia. A similar revolution, born of the renewed vigor of the people and their hatred of the feudal aristocracy, took place in Rome in 1143, nine years before Frederic's succession to the throne of Germany. The people proclaimed a republic, reorganized the senate by excluding nearly all the nobles, and declared the abolition of the temporal power of the papacy. The pope was asked to relinquish all his worldly possessions and content himself with the tithes and the voluntary offerings of the faithful, and when he refused to do this and marched at the head of the nobles against the republic he was defeated. Then Arnold of Brescia (1100?–1155), a monk filled with the liberal ideas of the religious reformers and aspirants for political freedom in the northern cities, arrived upon the scene. Born in Brescia, some time at the beginning of the twelfth century, he may have studied in Paris under Abelard. If that popular instructor really was one of his teachers the natural independence of Arnold's mind must have been greatly stimulated. Youthful and ardent he returned to his native town, became a monk, and took an active part in the struggle of his fellow townsmen for liberty. But political reform was not his only concern. Passionately, and with singular eloquence, he preached renunciation of all worldly possessions by the clergy. His words, echoed on all sides, spread through the cities of northern Italy, and, penetrating southward, helped to prepare the revolution in Rome. Arnold left his native town when the party opposed to liberty gained ascendancy there and sought refuge in France. Other struggles awaited him north of the Alps. He advocated no heretical doctrines, but he insisted that all prelates who had ignored the primitive rule of poverty were false to their trust and

should no longer be obeyed, and he gave his support to Abelard, who was about to make his last struggle against the champions of orthodoxy. From France he fled to Italy. In 1145, two years after the revolution had broken out there, he arrived in Rome. At once he began to denounce the papal curia, which he described as "a house of merchandise and a den of thieves". His eloquence, wistfully confident, won many followers, especially among the poorer priests. The revolution spread beyond the walls of the Eternal City and threatened with dissolution the entire Papal State. But now a mightier opponent than the pope appeared upon the scene.

Barbarossa's first journey into Italy. In 1154 Frederic Barbarossa made his first journey into Italy. The subjugation of the peninsula was now to be the paramount aim of his policy. It was his purpose to do away with the self-government of the communes, to deprive them of the right to make war upon one another and to exact his regalian rights of forage, food, and lodging for his armies. Mutual jealousy prevented the towns from combining to resist the threatened ending of their liberty. So he made his way southward. Encouraged by his presence with an army in the peninsula, the pope placed an interdict upon Rome. It was the first time such an extreme proceeding had been taken against the Eternal City. Terror filled the hearts of the people; and tumult broke out among them. The pope demanded the expulsion of the mystical reformer before consenting to raise the ban. Arnold was obliged to flee. For nine years he had supported with his eloquence and sagacity the cause of liberty in the ancient capital. And he was one of the few who, in that far-off day, dreamed and fought, not merely for a province, but for the entire peninsula. But now he was abandoned by the people and compelled to wander from castle to castle in the hope of reaching some independent commune in the north where he would be safe from the implacable enmity of the pope. Mean-

while Frederic was making his blood-stained way down the peninsula. Three cardinals were sent to ask him to capture the fleeing reformer, who had taken refuge in the castle of Compagnatico. Frederic at once seized a relative of the lord of the castle and kept him prisoner until he was exchanged for Arnold. Then the latter was turned over to the papal legates, who delivered him to the prefect of Rome. By this official Arnold was hanged, his body burned at the stake, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber, "for fear", says a chronicler, "lest the people might collect them and honor them as the ashes of a martyr". Arnold met his fate courageously, and to-day he holds an honorable place in the history of his country and humanity as a reformer who wished to see the church of his childhood divorced from earthly possessions and interests.

The title of the Germanic Empire. In the same month that Arnold met his cruel death, Frederic I was crowned emperor by the pope in Rome. In the first years of his reign his chancery had made use, indiscriminately, of the expressions "Empire" and "Roman Empire" with which to describe the Germanic Empire, but the second of these two titles appears from the very first year somewhat more frequently than it did under his predecessors. But after 1157 a new description was employed, that of the "Holy Empire". It continued in use and soon became a stereotyped and particularly characteristic ingredient of the official title of the empire. Why should the empire have been called "Holy"? The description of things which stood in close relation with the hallowed person of the emperor as "holy" was very customary in the official language of the Roman Empire. It is frequently to be found in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and Frederic's court became very familiar with this great law book after his first visit to Bologna. The word was used as being identical with "imperial". And the German court was accustomed to use the title of "Most Hallowed Empire" as an honorable description of the Byzan-

tine Empire. Yet there was a special reason for the assumption of the new title. Frederic protested against the idea that the emperor held his authority in fee from the pope. He insisted upon the direct institution of the kingship, no less than the priesthood, by God. He proclaimed the divine origin of the imperial power. The fact that he caused Charlemagne to be canonized in 1165 by an anti-pope shows that Frederic was convinced he represented that standpoint of his great predecessor in his struggle with the church. And he made use of the expression "Holy Empire" because it emphasizes strongly the divine origin of the empire. For almost a century thereafter the imperial possessions were called either "Roman Empire" or "Holy Empire". Soon after his coronation Frederic was compelled to leave the peninsula. The fierce hostility aroused by his attempt to overthrow the communes was too threatening for his forces, made far too slender by diseases resulting from the intense heat. So he left to prepare for a new and more formidable campaign. The best years of his life, devoted to a struggle with the communes and the papacy, were to be spent in Italy.

Barbarossa's second journey into Italy. In 1158 Frederic Barbarossa made his second entry into Italy, this time with a strong army. After a short siege Milan, which had led the opposition to him, was obliged to surrender and was granted a comparatively favorable peace. The designs that had brought about the second invasion then appeared clearly in view. A diet was gathered at Roncaglia, five miles from Piacenza, at which were present representatives from all the communes in Lombardy. The purpose of the meeting was to reorganize imperial Italy. Ever since his first expedition Frederic had been in touch with students of the Roman law at Bologna. Chiefly from them he had gained the idea that the claims of the state could not be abrogated by custom, and that its rights could never lapse with time. This was the principle upon which he undertook to reorgan-

ize the new state of things in Lombardy. Overawed by the imperial army the communes submitted to all the demands made upon them. The Roncaglian decrees gave many useful rights and sovereign powers to the empire. They also placed at its disposal revenues of an extent hitherto unknown, for, among other things, they gave to him the *regalia*, the income from vacant sees and benefices, which the cities had gradually acquired for themselves. And then in every city that had been subdued the consuls were replaced with a royal officer, called the *podestà*, who was to represent the imperial authority and administer justice. It was the first attempt of the imperial power to dispense with feudalism and substitute in its stead a modern system of administration by royal officials. But Frederic's procedure meant still more. In his contest with the feudal nobles at home he no longer intended to rely for support upon abbots and bishops, for the dispute over investiture had freed them very largely from his control. He would, instead, base the imperial power upon his own domains at home and upon a great and coherent domain to the south of the Alps. This new domain he sought to establish was a territory highly favored by nature, one that in its economic development had outstripped every other part of the empire. Such a decision was of great significance in the development of Germany. The chief interest of imperial policy now lay in Italy. The empire's center of gravity shifted more and more decidedly in that direction in the following decades, until under Frederic's grandson, born in the south and by nature and education a southerner, the center of the imperial position lay in Apulia and Sicily, and Germany sank to a subordinate position in the empire.

Resistance of the communes. Frederic's designs threatened every power in the peninsula,—communes, abbots, bishops, secular nobles, the papacy, and the Normans. But the communes were the most immediately and gravely imperiled. Consequently it was they who first resisted his

measures after he returned to Germany. They were led by Milan, who refused to receive his *podestà*. The industrial, commercial, and political primacy of the valley of the Po had early been won by that city. The same geographical conditions which make it to-day the chief center of commerce in Italy favored it then, for it is situated at the meeting point of the great Alpine roads coming down from France, Switzerland, and Germany, and where they cross the Italian roads coming from Genoa, Tuscany, Venice, and the southern coast of the Adriatic. When central Europe awoke to new life after the crusades, when the stream of Italian merchants crossing the Alps passed a similar stream of German merchants descending into Italy, and especially when the new Saint Gothard pass was opened, one of the chief mercantile centers of the peninsula was rapidly built up at Milan. Fresh proof of its strength and riches was furnished by the beginning of the great series of canals, for drainage, irrigation, and transportation, that was to bring additional prosperity to Lombardy. Population rose rapidly until, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the city had more than a hundred thousand inhabitants. To meet the needs of this mass of consumers, and further the interests of their industry, the dominion of the city was gradually extended over the neighboring municipalities until at the end of the thirteenth century it included more than half the present-day Lombardy. No sooner had Frederic left the peninsula than a league was formed against him by some of the communes in northeastern Lombardy. And then the election of Alexander III (1159–1181), who for several years had been the leader of the cardinals antagonistic to the imperial aspirations, added a powerful ally to the opponents of Frederic. The imperial forces in the peninsula chose an anti-pope, and then Alexander openly encouraged the communes arrayed against the emperor. So the war continued. Milan was again besieged, and when starvation compelled surrender, it was totally destroyed, with the exception of a few

churches, by the soldiers of the communes supporting the emperor. Such was the vindictive passion of municipal rivalry! Yet the defeated communes were not dismayed. Quickly they formed a league against Frederic, which every year gained new members, and which was destined to bring about a decided change in the situation.

Barbarossa's third journey into Italy. When, in 1163, Frederic I entered Italy for the third time he had in mind not only the crushing of the communes, which had rebelled against the exactions of his communal governors, but also the subjugation of the papacy, and the conquest of the Norman kingdom in southern Italy. Roger II (1112–1154), King of Sicily, had united all the Norman conquests in the south and extended his territory until it bordered the States of the Church. Then his administrative genius gave his kingdom an importance in the affairs of the continent far transcending its extent, and made it the leading maritime power in the Mediterranean. He did not employ feudal nobles in governmental duties, but chose competent and trustworthy men for his officials from other classes of society. His commands were enforced by Mohammedan mercenaries brought to the mainland from Sicily. Citadels, with standing garrisons of these oriental soldiers, kept all the larger towns in obedience. The only other state that could venture at this time to cripple feudalism effectively was England. Roger forbade all feudal warfare of any kind. Redress of wrongs, prosecution of criminals, was reserved exclusively for his own jurisdiction. And then he gathered distinguished men of various races about himself at Palermo. His active and inquiring mind welcomed scholars from every land, and so a refined and tolerant civilization was developed there. The union of the northern cities, however, and the struggle with the papacy, prevented Frederic from penetrating to the south; and when affairs at home became serious, and the activity of the northern communes threatened his safety, he was obliged to retreat across the Alps. This

withdrawal encouraged more cities to league themselves against him.

Barbarossa's fourth journey into Italy. Frederic invaded the peninsula for the fourth time, in 1166, marched by the hostile cities of the north, entered Rome, and besieged Alexander III in the Coliseum. But still further additions greatly increased the power of the Lombard League. Only two towns remained faithful to him in all the wide plain between the Alps and the Apennines. And then the malaria, engendered in the rank foulness of the Pontine marshes, became a pestilence and destroyed the flower of his army. So he fled for his life, more than two thousand of his soldiers dying on the way, and disappeared over the mountains into Germany.

Barbarossa's fifth journey into Italy. For six years Frederic remained at home. There he had much to do restoring order within the imperial boundaries and repressing tendencies to ignore their obligations as vassals on the part of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. Milan, in the meantime, aided by several allied municipalities, rose from its ashes and regained its power; while other cities improved their laws during this breathing time, refilled their treasuries, strengthened their fortifications, and drilled their military forces. They knew they were still menaced by the imperial sword. Then, in 1174, Frederic invaded Italy for the fifth time, to crush the communes leagued against him. Their strategy was to avoid the risk of the open field, in which the chances would favor the imperial army, and to wear out the invader by compelling him to a succession of sieges. This was done, and then in 1176 they won an overwhelming victory at the village of Legnano, a few miles northwest of Milan. All the valor of the great emperor had broken in vain against the league; and seven years later, having failed to break up the confederation by coming to a separate agreement with each of the cities, he was obliged to sign the famous Peace of Constance. By

this treaty, signed in 1183, Frederic renounced the grandiose policy he had begun a generation ago. He gave to the towns all the regalian rights within their walls, all the rights they had acquired over their surrounding districts, the right to fortify their towns and maintain troops, and the right to govern themselves, though in each city the imperial power was to appoint a judge of appeal for the trial of important civil cases, and certain old imperial rights, which had never been disputed, were to be retained. Such were the results that satisfied the communes. The imperial forces had been decisively defeated by the wealthy and intelligent townsfolk and yet the cities failed completely to take any measures looking towards national independence. Even the idea of a permanent league for the advancement of their common interests seems never to have occurred to them. They were completely satisfied with municipal autonomy, with the right to govern themselves within their own separate districts, to make war upon their neighbors, and to seek their own individual advantage. So the old disunion and weakness continued in the peninsula. No dreamer gave voice to the hope of a united Italy. The coupling of Germany with Italy proved fatal to the national life of both countries. Both bled to death politically in consequence of it. In neither could any unifying state authority be established, and so both broke up into a number of petty states.

Affairs in Germany. For a score of years Germany had been left to itself while Frederic I sought to solve his main problems on the other side of the Alps. The spending of the imperial strength in the southern peninsula gave the German princes full scope for the increase of their power. Internal dissolution went on gradually and steadily. The most daring and vigorous exponent of this stubborn separatism was Henry (1129–1195) the Lion, Duke of Saxony, who extended his territories in the north and was invested with the duchy of Bavaria. Frederic appealed personally for aid to his powerful vassal in 1176, but the latter sent not

a single soldier in response, and so contributed to his suzerain's defeat at Legnano. Frederic placed him under the imperial ban, and in 1181 took the field against him and forced him to submit. Then his territories were dismembered. Bavaria was granted to Otto of Wittelsbach; but it was weakened by the loss of Styria, which was made into a separate duchy. The name of Saxony was given to a small part of the former extensive duchy, which was now ruled by a new Saxon line. Only two small districts were left to Henry the Lion. Frederic's purpose in thus dismembering the two greatest duchies in his kingdom was doubtless to increase the imperial authority. It was perhaps a mistaken policy, for it left his successors to contend with many self-seeking nobles instead of a few great princes.

Barbarossa's sixth journey into Italy. In 1184 Frederic went to Italy for the sixth and last time. This time he went as a friend, with a retinue of nobles, but without an army. Welcomed by the Lombard cities he was tactful enough to grant them new privileges and thus put himself at the head of the league which formerly had opposed him. Then he was free to carry out other plans he had on foot. William II of Sicily, though married, was childless. The birth of an heir to the southern throne was possible, and even probable, for he and his wife were young. But at the present time the heir presumptive was Constance, daughter of the late Roger II. In 1186 this princess was married to Henry, son and heir of Frederic. Seventeen years previously, when only a child of four, Henry had been crowned king at Aachen, and in later years he had been associated with his father in the government of the empire. It was not certain that his marriage to the Sicilian princess would lead to the union of the empire and southern Italy, but there was at least a chance that it might do so. Henry's marriage ceremonies were brought to an end with his coronation in Italy. Then, after a reconciliation was effected between the emperor and the papacy, came the news of Saladin's capture of Jerusalem.

All eyes were again turned to the East, and in 1189 Frederic set out with a great army on the Second Crusade only to meet his death in a river in Asia Minor. When the news of his drowning reached his native land men felt that dark days were coming, for the self-seeking nobles would undoubtedly become bolder now that death had removed the strong hand and the earnest and commanding personality of the great emperor.

The Emperor Henry VI and the conquest of southern Italy. The same year saw the death of William II, the childless king of southern Italy. Henry VI (1190–1197), son of Barbarossa, and by right of his wife heir to the southern throne, then crossed the Alps and received the imperial crown at Rome. But the path of this cruel and unrelenting conqueror was not clear. Though the population of the southern realm was very heterogeneous, a strong national sentiment had been developed there under the Norman rulers, especially in the island of Sicily, and consequently many were averse to the prospect of a foreign king. So Tancred, an illegitimate son of Duke Roger of Apulia, and therefore the grandson of King Roger II, was chosen; and, early in 1190, he was crowned king at Palermo, Henry VI marched to the south, many of the feudal nobles flocked to his banner, but victory rested with the arms of Tancred, and the emperor had to hurry north to quell an outbreak of wild disorder in Germany. The skies cleared again, and then, in 1194, Tancred, who had been strengthening his position, died, leaving his son, William III, a mere boy, as his successor. This time, as we have seen, Henry met with only a feeble resistance when he went to the south, and on Christmas Day, 1194, he was crowned king at Palermo. Then he appointed his wife as regent, put many Germans into office, and, after a brief stay, returned home. There, in 1196, his son Frederic, scarcely more than an infant in arms, was chosen king by the electoral princes. The arrogance and the harsh rule of the German officials in southern

Italy caused a widespread rebellion which Henry suppressed and punished with a savage cruelty unmatched in the annals of that blood stained land; and, shortly after, he died from an illness contracted while hunting in the miasmic marshes near Messina. The dead ruler had dreamed of a wide dominion, and, fearless and skillful as a soldier, able and unscrupulous as a diplomat, he had succeeded in extending his sway from the Baltic to Africa. One other thing should be remembered about his reign. Under him the center of gravity of the imperial policy was to be found in Italy even more than it had been under Frederic Barbarossa. Its focus was the Norman kingdom in the south. When Henry VI took part in German affairs it was generally for the purpose of winning a free hand for those of Italy. Germany was fast becoming of secondary importance in the empire.

The squabbles in Germany. Henry's son, Frederic, had been crowned as German king. But he was only three years old when his father died; and then, too, he was far away in Sicily. Many of the German nobles, therefore, refused to recognize him; and even the friends of his family felt sure he could never win the throne. So those who supported the House of Hohenstaufen chose the late emperor's brother, Duke Philip of Swabia, for their ruler; while those who opposed the family selected Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion. Most of the nobles favored Philip, whose ability and good nature won general respect, and so did a few cities in the west, while he gained a powerful ally in Philip Augustus of France. Otto, harsh and ungovernable, found his supporters chiefly in the north, and had for an ally his uncle, John of England, and, after a while, the far more powerful support of Pope Innocent III. Philip was successful at first, but gradually papal support told materially in favor of Otto. Then fortunes changed, and only his murder in 1208 prevented the final triumph of Philip. At once many of the adherents of the dead prince deserted to the opposite

camp; and Otto, in order to further a general reconciliation, was betrothed to the little daughter of his former rival. Nearly all the nobles now acknowledged him; and, in 1209, he received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope in Rome. Germany then enjoyed a few years of peace; and then, once more, imperial and papal policies clashed. Otto refused to fulfill many of the promises he had made to the pope and reverted to the traditional policy of the Hohenstaufen. Disregarding the papal warnings he crossed the Apulian frontier in order to extend his sovereignty over the Norman kingdom. He conquered almost all the southern mainland and was about to cross into Sicily when news arrived that imperiously demanded his return to Germany. His success had not only estranged him from the pope, but had also aroused the hostile activity of Philip Augustus of France. Both these potentates espoused the imperial aspirations of Frederic, and many of the German princes chose him as their future emperor. Frederic followed Otto across the Alps, and when, in 1214, the latter was completely defeated by the French forces in the battle of Bouvines the disputed succession in Germany was virtually decided in favor of the former. Frederic conciliated the papacy, won the whole of western Germany in a few years, made headway even in the hereditary lands of his rival, and then, in 1218, Otto, after a desultory warfare, died unnoticed and half forgotten.

Frederic II pays a heavy price for peace in Germany. In the course of this struggle the rival claimants, in order to gain followers, had given away property of the crown and granted special privileges in a reckless manner, thus strengthening the nobles and weakening the central government. In 1215 Frederic was crowned for the second time as king; and then five years later, after quelling disturbances in various parts of the country, he succeeded in having the same crown bestowed upon his young son Henry. But in order to keep the royal succession in his own family he was

obliged to increase still further the privileges and power of the great prelates. Episcopal elections were to be quite free from royal control, and thus an end was made of all the advantages gained by the Concordat of Worms. German bishops, moreover, were permitted to appeal to Rome. These and other concessions almost completely emancipated the prelates from royal control. The sovereign of the abbots and bishops in Germany was not the king, but the pope. Such a state of affairs was a grave menace to the integrity of the empire. The imperial power in the old sense of the word was, indeed, never restored after this time.

Further diminution of the royal power in Germany. Frederic left Germany in 1220 and did not return for fifteen years. During this time the country was nominally governed by his son Henry, but in reality, as regent, by the Archbishop of Cologne. Things went well until the latter was murdered, and then the old confusion spread and war broke out in many places. Frederic, seeking to allay the strife, resorted to the desperate expedient of ratifying the Privilege of Worms. This agreement gave still further privileges and powers to the nobles. It gave them complete jurisdiction within their own territories; and for their benefit it curtailed the freedom of the towns. It virtually made them independent rulers. King Henry, who had attained his majority in 1228, and who was far more devoted than his father to the welfare of Germany, flatly and irreconcilably opposed these measures of decentralization. He believed the imperial power could best be furthered by encouraging the towns and restraining the secular and ecclesiastical princes. So he joined the opposition to his father. Then in 1235, Frederic returned and sent his son, who was heard of no more, as a prisoner to Apulia. Two years later he secured the election of another son, Conrad, as king. For more than a dozen years a state of anarchy prevailed in Germany; and it deepened when, on the death of his father, Conrad IV (1250–1254) crossed the Alps to seize the Sicilian

crown. There, after some preliminary successes, he died, and was succeeded by his little son, Conradin, a child of two years. That youthful prince was defeated in 1268 and put to death by Charles of Anjou, to whom the southern kingdom had been given by the pope, and thus an end was made of the House of Hohenstaufen.

The Teutonic Order on the shores of the Baltic. It was in 1229 that the Teutonic Order began its work of conquest and civilization on the shores of the Baltic. Knights eager for gain and fame, and given by papal authority the special privileges of crusaders, flocked thither from many lands to take part in the war against the heathen Prussians. Fortresses were built in strategic places to secure the conquests, settlers were brought from Germany to drain the marshes and fell the forests, and among the towns built and populated with craftsmen and merchants were Königsberg, Thorn, and Kulm. The Order, which had begun as a charitable society, gradually became a governing aristocracy, exercising the rights of sovereignty throughout Prussia, Courland, and Livonia, and maintaining a brilliant court at Marienburg on the Vistula.

The youth of Frederic II. We must now trace the history of the last of the Hohenstaufen in Italy. Orphaned of both parents while yet in his fourth year, Frederic II (1212–1250) was educated at Palermo, nominally as the ward of Pope Innocent III, but really under secular instructors and some of the canons of the cathedral. The environment and vicissitudes of childhood were in the highest degree decisive in the development of the gifted individuality of this boy whom his followers, half in hope and half with indulgent contempt, named "the child of Apulia". He became familiar with all the learning of that cosmopolitan place,—polyglot learning in Latin, Italian, French, Provençal, Greek, and Arabian. It was an intellectual exchange that involuntarily paved the way for religious tolerance. In mosque, synagogue, and church men worshiped without interference.

But the years of the royal lad's minority were filled with lawless confusion and disorder by factious nobles, revolting Saracens, the selfish activity of maritime cities, and the unscrupulous deeds of adventurers from Germany and France, all of whom defied the wishes of the guardian pope. So Frederic grew up without kinsmen and friends, never mellowed by love, in the midst of intrigues, among men whose hollow self-seeking he saw through only too soon. What other lesson did he learn but that he won the race who followed up his advantages most ruthlessly and most cunningly outwitted his competitors? And what other environment could so well have developed the trait that afterwards gave direction to every movement of this richly gifted nature, the autonomy of an unbridled will? Already he longed to take things in his own hand. With gymnastic exercises he steeled his body, with practice he became an expert swordsman, frequently he discussed political questions with officers and diplomats, and thus prepared himself systematically for the work of soldier, strategist, and statesman. But disorder in the south was not yet to know his sharp sword and keen brain. Trouble in Germany summoned him peremptorily across the Alps. In 1212, when he was becoming old enough to assume the leadership in the southern realm, he was called away to dispute the German crown with Otto of Brunswick. Eight years more of anarchy, therefore, followed in the south; but when he returned in 1220 he set about energetically, with severe and sometimes cruel measures, to restore order to his kingdom. He was glad to be home again. The character and climate of his southern island were more congenial to him than that of any other land. Body and soul he was a Sicilian. Vigorously he took up the task at hand. He repressed the unruly barons and restrained the growing independence of the cities. He brought the Saracens who had been compelled to flee to the Sicilian mountains back to the plains and the towns, and established a garrison of them on the mainland at Nocera,

a little town some twenty-three miles from Naples, where they became his most dependable soldiers.

Frederic II as a crusader. Meanwhile, though threatened with the papal ban, Frederic had been unable or unwilling to keep a vow he had made to go on a crusade to the Holy Land. And when at last, in 1227, he set out from Brindisi, a pestilence broke out in his ships and compelled him to lower their sails in the port of Otranto. Then, charged with continual neglect of his solemn agreement, and despite all promises and explanations, he was at once excommunicated by the pope. He sailed again in the following year, but without making submission and seeking restoration to the fold of the church; and for this he was excommunicated a second time and an insurrection raised against him in Germany. He went his way, however, landed in Syria, and, by diplomatic skill rather than military force, secured possession of Jerusalem and the surrounding country. He believed he had a good claim to that kingdom because he had married the daughter of the titular king who had been dispossessed by the Sultan of Egypt. No prelate, however, would have any dealings with the excommunicate crusader; and so, as we have seen, he crowned himself King of Jerusalem. The crusade had more results than the acquisition of territory. Thereafter, to the end of his reign, Frederic carried on commercial and political relations with the Sultan of Egypt; and during the same years Saracenic influence seems to have flown more freely into Sicily. When he returned home Frederic quickly drove the papal troops that had invaded his territory in headlong flight beyond the border and was rewarded with a pontificial plea for peace. The result was, in 1230, the Treaty of San Germano. Absolved from the sentence of excommunication, he agreed to respect the papal territory, and, within his own lands, to grant freedom in the election of bishops and abbots.

Increase of the royal power in southern Italy. Frederic was now free to devote his attention to the complete pacifi-

cation and the improvement of his southern kingdom. And in doing this he pursued a policy quite opposite to that carried out in Germany. In 1231 a series of laws were published that greatly increased the royal power. Absolute authority was imposed upon the feudal lords. Royal officials were appointed for administrative purposes, large estates were recovered for the crown, and fortresses that might have served as strongholds of rebellion were destroyed. The prelates, too, were placed more completely under the royal jurisdiction, while gifts of land to them were forbidden. On the other hand, certain rights of self-government were granted to the towns, their commerce was encouraged, and they were invited to send representatives to sit in the *parlamento*. These laws went far to reduce every form of collective life to a common level, and to increase the centralization of government. Then, too, a comprehensive reorganization of the finances was carried out. Enhanced tolls and commercial dues, a land tax, and finally a monopoly, after the oriental kind, of important necessities of life and luxuries pressed hard on the people, but they made the royal treasury the best filled in the world. Here for the first time the modern state appears. Here the medieval centuries seem to have ended more than two hundred years before they did so anywhere else in Europe. The feudal pact upon which medieval society was founded was here destroyed and the monarchy well supplied with money and an army. All the functions of government hitherto exercised by the feudal aristocracy, by the prelates, and by municipal magistrates were handed over to a set of organized imperial officials. All the important affairs of government were decided and controlled, through his appointees, by the king.

Piero della Vigna. Chief of the imperial officials was Piero della Vigna (1190?–1249) whom Frederic raised from obscurity to be his personal secretary and chancellor of the kingdom. Highly gifted, a patron of science and the fine arts, a poet, an able statesman, and a skillful diplomat, he

had much to do with the new laws looking towards the absolutism of the monarch in church and state and with the development of the brilliant culture of the imperial court and capital. Rightly or wrongly, however, we are uncertain which, Frederic's suspicions were aroused, in a time of vanishing fortune, by the accusations of the envious, and, without giving his most talented statesman a chance to refute the charges against him, he cast him into prison and had him blinded. Thus is the history of the great emperor stained in the same way as the death of Boethius lessens the luster of the life of Theodoric the Great.

Frederic's reliance on Saracenic soldiers. Frederic II was well aware, in the course of his struggle with nobles and bishops, of the uncertain devotion of his troops. So he transplanted Saracenic soldiers from Sicily to the peninsula, gave them many privileges, and thus created for himself a guard secure from the attacks of the strongest power in the world, oblivious of the penalty of papal excommunication. He chose Lucera for his residence on the mainland, seated on a high plateau in the very heart of the wide plain of Apulia, the key of all the surrounding country. There, as their dark eyes scanned the horizon, his infidel warriors, clad in green robes and armor damascened with gold, saw nothing but the ramparts of towns that were hostile to them, because their inhabitants were Christians. On that lonely rock Frederic lived and furnished his castle, which is to-day in good repair, after his complex and cosmopolitan ideas, uniting the magnificence of an oriental monarch with the more refined taste of a classical scholar.

Frederic at war with the northern communes and the papacy. Frederic, even before he had completely pacified his southern realm, found himself at war with the pope and the Lombard League. What gave rise to these struggles? It will be remembered that, in 1059, Robert Guiscard and Richard of Aversa recognized papal suzerainty over southern Italy. The Hohenstaufen rulers, however, refused to be

bound by this Norman oath of fealty; and, furthermore, they attempted to bring about an effective union of the northern and southern sections of the peninsula with their Germanic kingdom. Thus they aroused the papal fears that the future might see the States of the Church reduced to the position of a mere enclave within the empire. Nor were the northern communes less fearful of these imperial designs than the popes. They knew the impending conflict would be a struggle to the death for their municipal freedom, because now, for the first time, they would have to defend themselves against an opponent who could assail them from the south as well as from the north. So they refused to recognize the ambiguous rights left to the empire by the Peace of Constance. Frederic, however, was dissatisfied with the Peace because he thought it had given too much freedom to the cities. "Italy is my heritage", he wrote at this time, "as is well known to the whole world". He was bent upon incorporating the entire peninsula into his kingdom. So, in 1236, he began war against the League which sixty years before had defeated Barbarossa at Legnano. At first he was successful; but the communes had continually grown in power since their victory over his grandfather, though they had not yet learned the lesson of complete and permanent union; they had the support of the papal power, which was bound to exert all its strength in order to escape the threatened encirclement; and within their walls the civilization of a new era was rapidly being developed. Frederic's early successes only doubled the efforts of the papacy to defeat him. No resolute pontiff who favored the curial policy and indorsed the claims of his great predecessors could remain inactive in view of the imminent peril of subordination to a victorious empire. Innocent IV (1243–1254), therefore, renewed the sentence of excommunication, used money lavishly to strengthen the cities, and summoned to the work of undermining the imperial cause the powerful religious orders, especially the Cluniacs, the Franciscans,

and the Dominicans. Everywhere the friars translated the papal fulminations against Frederic into the languages of the common people, the darkest accusations against his private life and the still more serious charge of being an atheist, or, as they said in those days, an Epicurean. No peace was to be signed with him that did not put an end to the danger of encirclement by shattering forever the imperial power in Italy. Frederic replied to the accusations against him by demanding a council to be summoned not by the pope but by the cardinals; he ascribed the struggle to the wealth and secular interests of the hierarchy; he approved the idea, so popular then in many of the communes, of the return of the priesthood to the lowly condition of life in apostolic times; and, finally, he appealed to all the western monarchs to make common cause with him against the common threat of the power and the pride of the papacy. For a time success continued with him; but, in 1248, he was severely defeated at Parma; and in the following year Enzio, his favorite son, fell into the hands of the Bolognese. No prayers of the unhappy father, in whom the hard years of his childhood had repressed but not killed the need of affection, were able to set the captive free. From these blows, though he strove gallantly to retrieve his waning fortune, Frederic never recovered. Less than three years later, grown sullen and suspicious, he died, leaving his wide realm in the greatest disorder.

Frederic's patronage of learning and literature. Frederic's work as a soldier and a statesman perished with him, but not his work as a civilizer. Throughout his troubled reign of nearly forty years he had continued the work of Roger II as a wide and generous patron of learning and literature. And when it is remembered how seldom he was granted even a short repose from political and military cares, the extent of his interests and the range of his information are even to-day astonishing. He encouraged and directed a rational and liberal civilization, a civilization

surprisingly free from medieval limitations, concerned with intellectual progress, devoted to science and art, and wholly indifferent to the theological teaching of the church. The beginning of such a civilization had been made long ago. Southern Italy and Sicily were cosmopolitan places. Classical Greek culture left its impress there; imperial Rome left permanent traces there of its law and its richly colored urban life; for long the region was a part of the Byzantine Empire; from 902 to 1091 the Saracens ruled Sicily; and then, finally, the life of that southern land was stimulated by the energy, the ceaseless enterprise, of the Normans. Elements of all these civilizations were to be found there, living side by side in peace and toleration, and gradually becoming fused into a single eclectic culture. Frederic was himself a poet, one of his sons, his chancellor, and several of his courtiers wrote verse, and he was a liberal patron of the troubadours who flocked to his court from Provence. Probably no medieval man realized more vividly than he that knowledge is power. He invited scholars from every land to his brilliant court, regardless of language and religion. Among them was Michael Scot (1175?–1235?), a native of Scotland, who went to Toledo where he acquired a knowledge of Arabic. Thus he was able to translate into Latin several works of Aristotle, Avicenna, and Averroës. It was he who first made western scholars acquainted with the subtle and suggestive thought of Averroës. "It is characteristic of Frederic's strongly personal policy", says Haskins, "that the intellectual life of his kingdom centers in his court rather than in universities, and that the southern universities in his reign show little vigor of life and leadership. His absolute and paternal ideas of government left no place for independent corporations of masters and students living the free and turbulent life of the northern *studia*". The medical school at Salerno was restricted by royal statute; and the definite and limited purpose of providing trained public servants can be seen in the laws establishing and reforming

the University of Naples. Frederic preferred to have his officials trained in his own kingdom, rather than at Bologna and other cities in the north where public sentiment was against him.

Frederic's patronage of science. Frederic was deeply interested in mathematics, in astronomy, which as yet was closely involved with astrology, and in birds, insects, and all kinds of animals. He observed them with his own eyes, and learned their habits at first hand. When a plague of caterpillars came upon the land he gave orders that, instead of ecclesiastical processions being arranged, each subject should, upon penalty of a heavy fine, collect four measures of caterpillars before sunrise and hand them over to the officers of his district to be burnt. His horses, hounds, and falcons were probably the best friends he had in the world, and he loved nothing else so much as to study them. He kept a menagerie in which were to be found, among the animals unknown to the peninsula, elephants, dromedaries, camels, panthers, gerfalcons, lions, leopards, white falcons, and bearded owls. He wrote a book on falcons, and on the habits of other birds, in which, after making use of Aristotle and other previous writers, he gave the results of his own observation and inquiry carried on throughout many years. The book, says Haskins, is the work of "a first-rate mind, open, inquiring, realistic, trying to see things as they are". Taken as a whole it "gives the impression of being based far less upon books than upon observation and experience, on the part either of the author or of his immediate informants. It is a book of the open air, not of the closet". Frederic was also interested in the breeding and care of horses, and under his direction one of his marshals wrote the first western treatise on the veterinary art.

Frederic's patronage of philosophy. Frederic was also interested in the great questions of philosophy. His many-sided and ever lively mind attempted to learn the nature of the universe and the destiny of the soul. On these and

similar subjects he sent questions to be answered by Mohammedan philosophers in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Yemen, and Morocco. What is the structure of the earth? What are heaven and hell and purgatory? "How is it", he asked, "that the soul of a living man which has just passed away to another life than ours cannot be induced to return by first love or even by hate, just as if it had been nothing, nor does it seem to care at all for what it has left behind whether it be saved or lost"? And so frequent and serious were the discussions at his court of the doctrines of Averroës, doctrines that were dissolvent of the idea of personal immortality, that Moslem writers did not believe him to be a Christian; while many western writers called attention to the stories of his deep skepticism. The very suggestion of doubt respecting immortality was enough, in that age of faith, to justify the current belief that he was one of those heretics "who make the soul die with the body". But we are not sure of his religious beliefs. All that we know is that in all things he was profoundly rationalistic. He had an insatiable curiosity, a restless desire to see and know for himself; he submitted all things to the test of reason; he was not content with the word of anyone else, not even with that of Aristotle or of the church. "He says", complained Pope Gregory IX, "that one ought to believe absolutely only what is proved by natural laws and by the reason of man".

Frederic's character. Frederic II aroused more admiration than love in his lifetime; and that is also the judgment of history. Gifted far beyond the greater number of monarchs, he nevertheless lacked the elements of true greatness. Since the age of fifteen he had worn the crown, felt its cares, known its dangers. He had no youth. And then for almost forty years he had to struggle uninterruptedly with the greatest powers of the world of that time, or to work with them in uncertain agreement. During all this time he revealed himself as a man of invincible courage and penetrating intellect, highly educated, and capable of

independent thought. He was sensual, and often cruel; but he sought truth, loved beauty, and was tolerant far beyond the measure of his day. He stands out as a modern ruler amid medieval conditions. With his support of learning and literature he did much to hasten the coming of the Renaissance.

Establishment of the Angevin Kingdom in southern Italy. The struggle with the papacy did not end with the death of Frederic. It was carried on for another eighteen years. The crown passed to his son Conrad IV (1250–1254), a youth of twenty-two years, who was north of the Alps when his father died, and who thirteen years previously had been elected German king. At once he raised an army and marched into Italy, where with the aid of Manfred, an older and illegitimate half brother, he overran Apulia and captured Naples. Manfred was the true heir of his father's ideas, the only one capable of continuing his work in Italy. From his father he had inherited his boldness, his passion for poetry and art, his taste for luxury and oriental life. All the sympathies and hopes of the imperial party were centered on this young, tawny-haired, and charming prince. When Conrad died he was nominally succeeded by his infant son, Conradin. But the real ruler was Manfred, who, in 1258, on a false rumor of the death of Conradin, was crowned king at Palermo. Gradually he put down the rebellious cities, whose growing liberties had been checked by his father's legislation, and whose treasuries had been drained by his own taxation, and did much to allay the general discontent. Then, perceiving that reconciliation with the papacy, which looked upon him as being politically dangerous, and regarded him as no less a heretic than his father, was impossible, he entered upon a new period of his career, acquired influence in the northern part of the peninsula, and even ventured to hope for the imperial crown. Then the papacy conceived the idea of calling in a foreign prince, one devoted to the Holy See, who should deliver it from the

danger of being caught and crushed between the southern and the northern possessions of the Hohenstaufen. Accordingly Clement IV (1265–1268), himself a Provençal, invested Count Charles of Anjou and Provence with the former kingdom of the Normans in southern Italy. Charles, crowned by the pope, marched in 1266 to take possession of his new realm. Swarms of mendicant friars had meanwhile been filling the minds of the common people with superstitious fears; and dismay and treason had begun their sinister work among the vassals of Manfred. Many fortresses were taken and apostate cities entered on the southward march of the invaders; Manfred was met and slain, in the flower of his splendid manhood, at Benevento; and then the foreigner rapidly overran the entire kingdom. Charles, who came as a deliverer to no class of the people, established his capital at Naples; Sicily sank into the position of a province; and the preponderance in Italian politics passed from Germany to France. The old Norman realm soon had cause to long for the reign of Manfred. It found itself stripped of all its privileges and rights, trodden under the feet of inexorable tax collectors, subject to a despotism that is described, even in papal letters, with horror. Little wonder that the literary center of the peninsula shifted from Palermo to Florence.

The last of the Hohenstaufen. Two years after the Angevin régime was inaugurated, Conradin, then a boy of fourteen, stirred and fascinated by the tales that were told him of the lovely land that had been so fatal to his race, came south into Italy. For a time his cause seemed to thrive. He was welcomed with great enthusiasm by the populace of Rome, upon whom the old imperial dream still exercised its spell. For a moment he was lifted to the height of earthly splendor; but in 1268 he was defeated by Charles in the battle of Tagliacozzo, captured, and beheaded, after the mockery of a trial, as a traitor on a scaffold at Naples. At last, with the death of this unfortunate boy, the papal

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at the end of the
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NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
WALES
ENGLAND
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
CASTILE
LEON
PORTUGAL
NAVARRE
ARAGON
DOMINIONS OF THE ALMOHADS
KINGDOM OF SICILY
MEDITERRANEAN
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Visby
Calmar
Lund
Hamburg
RÜGEN
Stettin
Posen
Bruges
Aachen
Prague
Cracow
Rouen
Paris
Orleans
Strasburg
Augsburg
Nuremberg
Troyes
Ratisbon
Tours
Basel
Constance
Vienna
Budapest
Clermont
Bordeaux
Lyons
Milan
Oviedo
Leon
Coimbra
Lisbon
Toulouse
Genoa
Arles
Marseilles
Pisa
Florence
Narbonne
Zara
Spalato
Ragusa
Barcelona
Rome
Toledo
Seville
Cordova
Granada
Naples
Bari
Brindisi
Durazzo
Otranto
Algiers
Oran
Constantine
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Moscow
Bulgarians
Minsk
Prussians
Volga R.
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Don R.
Khazars
GARY
Semlin
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
GEORGIA
Bulgarians
Nissa
RBIA
Adrianople
Trebizond
DOM OF
SHAH-ARMEN
Tabriz
BYZANTINE
Constantinople
SULTANATE
OF ICONIUM
Nicæa
Iconium
Edessa
Mosul
EMPIRE
Athens
ARMENIA
Principality of Antioch
Aleppo
Bagdad
CRETE
CYPRUS
County of Tripoli
Damascus
Basra
SEA
Acre
Jerusalem
Barca
Alexandria
Damietta
Cairo
ARABIA
PRATER CORP., N.Y.

wishes were fulfilled; and an end had been made of the race, feared and hated, of the Hohenstaufen.

The completed title of the Germanic Empire. It is in this period that, for the first time, we can be certain of the full title of "Holy Roman Empire". From the middle of the thirteenth century the form continued in use until, early in the nineteenth century, it was abolished. But at the same time the simpler titles of "Empire", and "Roman Empire", and "Holy Empire" continued permanently in use, though the full form was used more and more as the real and solemn style of the empire. So it continued until well into the fifteenth century, when the title of the empire was enlarged by the additional words "of the German Nation". Early in the sixteenth century the full title of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" was used. From that time on the full formula was retained in almost all the imperial capitulations down to the end of the empire. What was the original meaning of this elaborate title? What brought about the addition of the words "of the German Nation"? It seems very likely to have been due only to a desire to give special prominence to the German part of the empire. It did not mean that the Roman Empire was subject to German sovereignty. And already at the moment of its adoption in the middle of the thirteenth century the lack of any real imperial power rendered meaningless the title of "Holy Roman Empire". The imperial authority, as a result of its ambitions and of papal enmity, lay in ruins. Without hesitation the princes seized its property and its rights; and so disorderly and insecure was life in Germany at this time that the period has been characterized as the reign of "fist-law".

Pope Innocent III. Of the twenty popes who ruled in the period of the Hohenstaufen by far the greatest was Innocent III (1198–1216). He is, indeed, one of the greatest figures in history. A Roman noble, with northern blood in his veins, he had studied civil and canon law at Bologna and

theology at Paris. In his early years the quiet voices of the great dead spoke to him out of books, alluring him with the problems of thought, weaving the charm of a life of contemplation. Several books written at that time reveal his culture and his earnestness. But he was destined for a life of action. Only thirty-seven years old when the triple crown was placed on his head, he was in the prime of life, well qualified by native ability and by his studies to deal with the difficult problems of statesmanship that confronted him. He was a man of penetrative insight, wide views, dauntless resolution, and deep devotion to what he deemed to be the best interests of the church. Obviously the first thing he had to do was to make the papal power secure in the city of Rome. This, though the people of that turbulent capital were by no means inclined to take the rod lying down, he did in a large degree, though ten years went by before he was able to live there in perfect security. Then, the imperial power being weakened by warring factions in Germany, he lost no time in recovering the Patrimony of Saint Peter, and, by the formation of a friendly league, in strengthening the papal position in Tuscany. Thus, in the first year of his pontificate, he restored the prestige of the papacy in Italy where it had been diminished by the vigorous activity of Henry VI.

The claim of supremacy. Innocent, having consolidated his position at home, was then ready to put into practice his theory of universal dominion. He asserted the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal authority throughout the world. Some of his predecessors had made a similar claim, but none argued it more effectively, nor did any of them come so near to making it a reality. He did not base the claim upon any alleged donation of Constantine. It was deduced, with the perfect logic of which he was a master, from premises then generally admitted. We find it stated with great clearness in his reply to the ambassadors of Philip Augustus of France. "To princes power is given on

earth, but to priests power is also attributed in heaven; to the former only over bodies, to the latter also over souls. Wherefore the priesthood is superior to the kingship in the same degree as the soul is superior to the body. . . . Particular princes have particular provinces, and particular kings have particular kingdoms; but Peter, in the fulness as in the extent of his authority, is pre-eminent over all, since he is the Vicar of Him whose is the earth, and the fulness thereof, the whole wide world and all that dwell therein". The greatness of this imperial ecclesiastic consists, not in the mere assertion of such a sweeping claim, for little men have done as much, but in the strength of character and diplomatic skill that enabled him to assert it successfully. Nothing in all history is more astonishing than the spectacle of this man, physically insignificant, by training a theologian and a canon lawyer, regulating the affairs of the entire continent in a time of general disorder. Kings were disciplined by his threats, and emperors cast down by his displeasure.

Enforcement of the claim in secular affairs. How was this sweeping claim to rule the world carried out in practice? When Henry VI of Germany died his son Frederic II was but a child living in Sicily. Two claimants, as we have seen, appeared for the imperial position, and a twofold election took place. Innocent, withholding his decision for three years while the country was torn with civil war, pronounced in favor of Otto of Brunswick and crowned him in the city of Rome. And then, when that ruler turned against him, he put forward Frederic, the child confided to his care, as emperor. So skillfully, however, were affairs conducted in Germany, prelates being absolved from royal authority and the entire country rendered subject to the papal tribunal, that, throughout his pontificate, the imperial power never became a danger to the papacy in Italy. Still other exactions were made. Otto recognized an extension of the boundaries of the States of the Church and acknowledged papal suprem-

acy over Sicily. Other rulers then felt the indomitable will and the strong hand of the great pope. Philip Augustus of France was the most powerful monarch of the time; but that did not deter Innocent from requiring him to put away Agnes of Meran and take back Ingeborg of Denmark, whom he had wrongfully divorced. Peter II of Aragon was obliged to forego his contemplated marriage with Bianca of Navarre, because of blood relationship, and he consented to come to Rome to be crowned by the pope and receive back his kingdom as a fief of the Holy See. The marriage of Alfonso IX of Castile to his cousin Teresa of Portugal was pronounced void, though the three children were declared to be legitimate. Sancho I of Portugal, who had made priests amenable to secular jurisdiction was required to retract that decree and to pay the tribute, which he had refused, promised by his father to Rome. Ladislaus of Poland was forced to desist from trespassing within his realm upon the privileges and rights of the church. The Archbishop of Trondhjem was sharply reproved for removing the ban of excommunication from the repentant King of Norway. Power to relieve a sovereign from such a sentence, it was declared, belongs exclusively to the pope. Kaloyan of Bulgaria was satisfied to receive the insignia of royalty from the hands of the papal representatives for acknowledging himself a vassal of the Holy See. And likewise John of England, after some years of bluster and defiance, cringed to the papal legate and consented to become a vassal of the pope. Innocent III was, more or less effectively, the supreme temporal power over a considerable part of Europe, over the crusading states in Syria, and even over the still more distant Armenia. No part of the continent or its neighboring lands was too remote to escape his vigilance, no power too strong to suffer his chastisement. Papal dominion over the temporal princes was no longer a dream, but a fact. "He sets them up, he puts them down", said a writer of the thirteenth century, "after casting them hither and thither like a ball".

In achieving all this, though personal ambition may have had its share, the motives of the mighty pontiff were in the main disinterested. His objects were to restore discipline and peace to the religious life of the time, and, in the secular world, to replace feudal warfare with law and order.

Innocent's supervision of ecclesiastical affairs. As in the affairs of secular life, so also in ecclesiastical matters was manifest the systematic and tireless activity of the great pope. Under him administrative centralization was still further developed. The jurisdiction of bishops and archbishops was greatly lessened. In carrying out this policy his minute knowledge of the canon law and his experience as a jurist in the tribunal before which the entire continent came to plead proved very helpful. His encouragement of the war against the heathen Slavs on the shores of the Baltic we have already noticed; and elsewhere we shall note his part in the crusade against the heretical Albigenses. He received Francis of Assisi and a little group of his followers kindly, and, after his fears as to the feasibility of their proposed plan of life had been overcome, he gave them a provisional approval by word of mouth. Likewise, a few years later, he approved the Dominicans on condition that they adopt the rule of some existing monastic order.

The Fourth Lateran Council. The climax of all the activity of this energetic pontiff was the meeting, in 1215, of the Fourth Lateran Council. For seventeen years he had kept the minutest threads of a vast and tangled diplomacy in his own hands; he had found time to deal with inumerable and obscure questions of theology or conduct sent to him for settlement; and he had presided in person over the court in which jurists and financiers were now the deciding personalities, and to which appeals came from far and near. He knew what questions pressed for answer. So he summoned an œcumenical council. More than fifteen hundred prelates were present, princes and ambassadors, from every country in Christendom. Seventy canons he had himself

prepared were read to the assembled fathers, who promptly approved them. The council lasted less than three weeks. A confession of faith, including the dogma of transubstantiation and specially directed against the spreading heresies of the time, was promulgated; detailed measures for the systematic suppression of heresy, including the establishment of the inquisition under the jurisdiction of the bishops, were adopted; procedure in the ecclesiastical courts was defined and improved; in order to prevent increasing diversity and confusion, the creation of new monastic orders was forbidden; Jews and Mohammedans were required to wear a dress different from that of the Christians, lest unwittingly there might be carnal intercourse between them; stricter regulations were enacted for appointments to ecclesiastical offices, for monastic discipline, for the veneration of relics, and for pilgrimages; the law relating to marriage was more strictly defined and otherwise improved; and, serving as one of the most effective weapons against heresy, every believer who had reached the years of discretion was required to make confession to his parish priest at least once a year.

Signs of a coming decline of the papal power. The council was the summit of a pontificate which itself represents the highest point attained by the medieval papacy. Six months later, on his way to effect a reconciliation between Pisa and Genoa and to persuade those maritime powers to join the crusade, Innocent III, without having lived to see any fading of his glory, died at Perugia. Yet signs of decay were already beginning to show themselves in this overlordship of the papacy. Because of the great increase of its secular activity the *curia* had become more than ever a political and financial institution, imperial in its ambitions and arbitrary in its dealings with the princes and the peoples it had made tributary to itself. Two forces that were successfully to dispute its claims and diminish its power were rapidly gaining strength,—the force of nationality and the

force of individuality. The rise of the new nations and the spread of heresy were potent factors in rendering forever impossible the complete realization of the City of God on earth in which all the realms should be united under the scepter of the church.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for the early part of this study are listed in the bibliographies for chapters 11–14 and 19 of the fifth volume and chapters 1–5 of the sixth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History.*

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CHAPTER 22

THE NOBLES

Definition of chivalry. Chivalry was the social code of the feudal nobles. It comprised all the social, moral, and religious ideas and customs that affected their daily life. It was a great international brotherhood of manners, ideals, and aims. But it was less an institution than an ideal, or a spirit. It was more of a dream of golden possibilities than an actual achievement, an ideal that floated before the eyes of medieval men and women, ennobling their aspirations, but finding its truest expression less in their actual lives than in their legends and their literature.

Germanic element of chivalry. Chivalry had a Germanic element. It is mentioned by Tacitus in his *Germania.* Every youth, born of free parents, on attaining to military age and having proved his fitness, was admitted into the fighting ranks, into the war fraternity, of the tribe by the ceremony of investing him with the warrior's spear and buckler and belt and sword. This was their token of manhood. It was bestowed when the boy was old enough to be a fighter. Before that the youth was only a member of a family; after that he was a soldier, a member of the military force. Among the German ideals were personal bravery, truthfulness, and respect for women. These ideals were enjoined upon the youth when he was admitted into the military force of the tribe; and later on they helped to form chivalry.

Christian element of chivalry. Chivalry was a flame that never burned in the classic civilizations of Greece and Rome. Its spark was struck when the spirit of Christianity met the German spirit in the West. The barbarians found

their way into warmer and more fertile lands than the misty shores of the Baltic. And as time went on the ceremony of induction into the fighting ranks became more and more elaborate and solemn. The church lent her sanctity to it. Just as the sacraments consecrated birth, youth, and death, so to the conferring of knighthood was given a religious significance. Under her influence the initiatory ceremony of chivalry was elevated into an impressive ritual. Almost, indeed, she made of it an eighth sacrament. And it was under her influence, too, that the customs and ideals of the primitive northern tribes were elevated into the lofty, if narrow, ideal of life that was called chivalry. When she imposed her creeds upon the barbarians she accepted their military spirit and directed it to the service of religion. Chivalry, then, arose gradually out of the needs and aspirations of the time. It was the social code of the feudal nobles for their own class and the religious aspect of the military profession.

Feudalism a cause of chivalry. What were the conditions of the time that caused the development of chivalry? The arrangements of the feudal régime, the mode of life, rendered easy the prevalence of the forms of chivalry. The spirit of the time did much to encourage it. The sun set, the twilight came, with the death of Charlemagne. One had then to look to the stars for light. There were robbery and fighting everywhere. No road was safe; every forest was infested with thieves. There was widespread terror. Every one sought protection. As soon as people perceived a strong man at arms well established in his wooden keep each pleaded with him: "Take me for your man". But the strong did not protect the weak for nothing. They required homage and fealty and especially military service from those who became their retainers. And it was among this war fraternity that chivalry was developed.

The church as a cause of chivalry. Another cause of the development of chivalry was the necessities of the

church. After the death of Charlemagne the Christian lands were assailed by the infidel Saracens and the heathen Avars, Magyars, Saxons, Slavs, and Northmen. So the church was glad to turn the vigorous military activity of the erstwhile barbarians to her service. Then came the spirit of the crusading age to heighten the conception of the character of religious warfare and make it seem to be a universal duty. Under these conditions entrance into the fighting ranks naturally assumed a religious significance.

Gradual development of the chivalric ideal. The chivalric ideal was not conceived all at once. It was a gradual growth. We find it perfected, somewhere between 1106 and 1110, in the *Chanson de Roland.* In legendary lore its finest embodiment is Roland; but in the actual history of the medieval centuries its finest exponent is perhaps Godfrey de Bouillon. Its entire code is condensed in the phrase: "Death rather than dishonor".

The castle. The medieval nobles lived in castles. What kind of place was such a dwelling? It was no longer the open, peaceful, and richly decorated house of the Roman senator or prosperous Gallo-Roman. Medieval society was not able to devote itself to refined pleasure or the relaxations of peace. It had to arm itself. And so the fortress appeared on the scene. In the early medieval centuries it was usually a crude dwelling of heavy beams, planks, clay, and stones, defended by a circular mound of earth on the flattened top of which was a timber palisade, and surrounded by a moat. But in addition to the inclosure within the mound there was usually a bailey, or outer court, the mound of which was often shaped like a horseshoe, through which one gained entrance to the castle. This bailey, occupied by the servants, formed the first line of defense. In later years stone replaced the timber of the dwellings and palisade. In the long run, however, even when thus strengthened, such a dwelling proved inadequate to withstand the vigorous assaults of those wild times. As the means of

attack were developed it was necessary to improve those of defense. And so, as early as the end of the tenth century, an enceinte of masonry, a rampart of stone, was often built, dominated at one of its angles by a massive square or rectangular tower. A great drawbridge, cleated so that horses might not slip on the steep incline, spanned the moat and led to the second story of the tower. The ground floor, used only for stores and the custody of prisoners, had no entrance from without. There in the gloomy tower, open to the air and light only by hardly visible loopholes, the seigneur shut himself up. Forced upon him by war, his dwelling was made for the uses of war. It was a refuge and a storehouse. It sheltered and fed its inhabitants and defenders. In the inclosure were stores of grain, wine, wood, salted meat, and hay; stables, workshops, bakehouse, and kitchen. Thus defended and victualed, the lord could hold out against his neighbors, and perhaps dominate them.

Improved structure of the castles. A great change took place in the building of castles when the crusades enabled the Westerners to study the strong and skillfully constructed fortresses of the Byzantines and Saracens. Many castles were built in Syria by crusaders in the twelfth century. And then for a hundred and fifty years Europe rang as loudly with the mason's trowel as with the clash of sword and helmet. The enemy against whom the castle had to be defended had crossbolts with long arrows, mangonels and trebuchets to throw stones and beams and firebrands, mattock and spade to undermine the walls, moveable wooden towers to scale them, and battering rams to breach them. Two and three concentric lines of walls, flanked by projecting towers, were built to defend a great donjon tower, or innermost keep. Often each of the towers was a separate fortress, having its own cistern, storeroom, and fireplace, and so, when other parts of the castle were taken, its garrison could still defy the foe. The tops of the walls and towers were so constructed that in time of siege a temporary pro-

jecting parapet of boards could quickly be put in place from which stones and burning missiles could be dropped on the heads of assailants. Sometimes these hanging galleries round the tops of the towers were constructed permanently of stone and thus increased the power of defense and the external beauty of the castle. Against the relatively inferior siege apparatus of the thirteenth century a well-built fortress like that of Courcy in France was almost proof, but the mines and the battering ram gave more and more cause for alarm. If, however, the castle were situated on a steep and rocky hill, mining was impossible. Only a blockade could then reduce it, and a siege of long duration was very costly and difficult in the medieval centuries.

The castle a fortress more than a dwelling. A castle, then, was a stone fortress. If it were situated on level ground it had a moat round it. Sometimes castles were built on islands in the streams, or at confluences of rivers; but more frequently they were situated high up on rocky peaks, or abrupt promontories that jutted into the plain, well-nigh inaccessible. They were generally more abundant in mountainous districts than in the plains. The reason is twofold. It was easier to build an impregnable fortress in the hills; and easier to defend one there than on the plain. There were the rooms in which the people lived, stables, granaries, and other buildings. Sentinels were placed on the tops of the towers. Over the moat was a drawbridge. The gate to which it led was protected by a portcullis, an armored door suspended by chains and made to slide up and down in vertical grooves, which was always dropped at nightfall. The finest of all medieval castles from the military point of view, and also one of the most picturesque, was the Château Gaillard, built on the Seine in 1197 by Richard the Lion Heart. The old ruins of castles are to-day very picturesque and sightly. Fine views may be had from them. But it was necessity that drove the feudal lords to live in such difficult places. Medieval castles performed their function

as fortresses very well; but they were not so successful as homes. There was little room inside. The living quarters were crowded with the men at arms and their servants; while kennels and stables, roughly kept, were full of dogs and horses. Life was crowded. And it was far from comfortable. All the windows that faced outwards were only slit-like openings. Rooms were small, dark, and damp; and only later did the soft voice of luxury begin to speak through such things as oriental tapestries, and the strengthening of the royal power encourage the nobles to build more spacious castles without keeps. There was no adequate drainage; and often the supply of water was scanty. Then they were often remote from supplies. So life in a medieval castle was not one of luxury. Yet it was there that society lived.

The child. The childhood years of every noble youth were spent in his father's castle, playing games, such as marbles and battledore and shuttlecock, and learning lessons; but also in hunting, hawking, and indulging in sports and games with his parents. For playmates he had his brothers and sisters, children of the retainers and officers, and children of the servants who, with the pigs and the poultry, ran about the bailey. Very early, too, he was put on horseback, either behind somebody, or by himself. Often the child of a well-to-do lord had a private tutor in the parental castle, who was always with him. When the boy grew up he was to be a knight. It was a serious thing, however, to enter knighthood, and so somewhere between the ages of seven and twelve he was sent away from home to the castle of as great a lord as the influence of his father could determine. There he was under a master stricter and more illustrious than his parents. The castle of every great lord was a school of chivalry. In such a school the boy was to be trained in knightly accomplishments.

The page. The lad was sent to the castle of a friendly lord to be "nourished" as an *enfant*, a *damoiseau*. Later on,

after chivalry had gone to seed, he was known as a page. There he was associated with a group of pages called haunchmen, a word now changed to henchmen, for one of the things they had to do was to carve and carry the haunches of beef and venison. The pages were bound by ties of friendship to one another. They shared beds, trenchers, and drinking cups. And all of them were under the special care of the lady of the castle, though some of their instruction was received from men.

The lady. One of the most significant features of the civilization of the later medieval centuries is the rise of woman in the social scale, an evolution that culminated, on the secular side, in the devotion of gentleman to lady, and, on the religious side, in the cult of the Blessed Virgin. Several things tended to exalt the position of the lady of the castle. In most of those fortified dwellings there were far more men than women. Every unnecessary woman was a burden usurping the place of a soldier. Only the seigneur, and perhaps one or two of his principal kinsmen or adjutants, were permitted the luxury of a wife. The other men were subordinates, younger sons without means, youths sent to learn their military duty and the ways of the world, and older men too poor to support a wife or even to sustain the rank of knighthood. The wife of the seigneur was highborn. Perhaps she had brought to her husband a dower of fiefs equal to his own, or even greater. No women of similar rank and power were about her. Her daughters had been given away in marriage when they were tender little girls. Her companions were the waiting ladies, the wives of subalterns, and perhaps an aunt or a sister whose only other refuge would have been a nunnery. Round her fluttered the swarm of lads and young men, who had few women of their own age with whom to associate, who looked up to her as the embodiment of that social perfection they were counseled to seek, and who sometimes came under the sway of one of those intoxicating infatuations which are the luxury of

youth. High above this deferentially observant crowd she moved, stately, proud, unquestioned mistress of the place. She was versed in the technic of defending the castle, for it might be besieged when her husband was away; she helped to look over the accounts of the steward and bailiff, settled some of the complaints of the peasants, arranged the distribution of alms to the poor, and kept up friendly relations with the neighboring bishop or abbot. Then, too, she was kept busy directing the weaving, knitting, sewing, and embroidering of the castle women, for though some of the finer cloth was bought in the town or at a fair, most of the clothes were made in the castle. More important for our present purpose is it to learn that it was she who directed the life of the pages. She taught them the courtoisie.

The courtoisie. Courtoisie was the life of the castle, the inclosure, the court. It was the *curialitas*, the courtliness, the breeding, learned at the court, the *curia*, of a noble. It was the perfect bearing and conduct of a finished gentleman according to the code of chivalry. The page had to be taught all this. Especially had he to be taught good manners at the table. Many things which are mere conventions today were full of meaning then. A trencher, a board hollowed in the middle, was used as a plate. The only knives were large ones to cut up the meat before it was served. The only spoons were large ones, commonly made of horn or wood, and used chiefly for lading out the pottage; while it was only at the beginning of the seventeenth century that forks found their way into England. Thomas Coryate (1577?–1617) tells us in his book of travels that he was teased by his friends for using those "Italian neatnesses called forks". Cups were passed round the table from one person to another. Little wonder, then, that Chaucer praises the prioress for her personal cleanliness.

> At mete wel y-taught was she with-alle,
> She leet no morsel from hir lippes falle,
> Ne wette hir fyngres in hir sauce depe.

Wel koude she carie a morsel and wel kepe,
That no drope ne fille upon hire breste;
In curteisie was set ful muchel hir leste.
Hire over-lippe wyped she so clene,
That in her coppe ther was no ferthying sene
Of grece, whan she had dronken hadde hire draughte.

Bernard of Besse, who was Bonaventura's secretary, writing about the middle of the thirteenth century, gives minute details about table manners. "Cleanliness should be observed not only as to thine own and thy fellows' food, but as to the table also whereat thou eatest. Beware, in the name of cleanliness and decency alike, of plunging into dish, cup, or bowl that which thou hast already bitten and art about to bite again. It is a foul thing to mingle the leavings of thine own teeth with others' meat. Never grasp the cup with fingers steeped in pottage or other food, nor plunge thy thumb into the goblet, nor blow upon thy drink in the cup or upon any meat whatsoever. It is indecent for a man to plunge his fingers into the pottage and fish for gobbets of meat or potherbs with bare hands in lieu of spoon, thus (as Hugh of Saint Victor writes) washing his hands and refreshing his belly with one and the same broth." Music and verse making were taught to the pages. Letters were not neglected. In the aristocratic society of that day it was necessary to have some tincture of Latin and French. Not many books were found anywhere two or three hundred years before the printing press began its work. They were rare and expensive. And so learning by heart formed a large part of education. To read and write, to play the lute or the harp and sing, were part of a knight's accomplishment. Checkers and chess were taught. Chess became the favorite indoor game of the medieval nobles. From the opening of the twelfth century the literary references to its popularity become increasingly frequent. In monasteries and nunneries, too, it was eagerly welcomed as an alleviation of the monotony of rainy days and long winter evenings. The

rudiments of gallantry, also, were taught the pages. From the squires they had instruction in outdoor games, fencing, riding, and hunting. Part of their time was spent in the stable, the armory, the kennels, the hawk pens, and the great hall.

The squire. When the boy was about fourteen he was transferred, if he had been an apt page, to the body of squires. He passed into the hands of men to be made a man. Yet it should be remembered that the sharp distinction between pages and squires was only in process of being established in the thirteenth century. There were many things in which a knight, who led the rough life of a hunter and soldier, had to be proficient. These the boy learned when he became a squire. The principal part of his education was then carried on out of doors. Many exercises and games were practiced, compulsory games that taught him to obey in order that he might command, and such exercises as running, wrestling, boxing, leaping, swimming, skating, riding, tilting at the ring and the quintain, bull baiting, and bear baiting. The squires carved in the hall. They handed vessels of plate and served wine, followed by the pages bearing the dishes. They gave water for washing the hands after meals. They made the beds for their knights, and they helped them to dress. They groomed the horses, and broke in the colts. They looked after the armor, keeping the arms of their masters free from rust, bright and polished, and carried them to the armorer for repair. The squire was to serve his knight in everything, to arm him for the tourney or the battle, and to see that all his arms and accoutrements were in perfect condition; to be up early and late and never consider his own convenience. He carried to his knight the *vin de coucher*, the sleeping draught; and slept in his chamber if it were desired, or even at his door, a custom that continued until the seventeenth century. In the tournament the squire had to provide his master with fresh lances and to hold the horses in readiness for the engagement. In battle it was

customary for a knight to be attended by two squires. They carried his arms, supplied him with fresh weapons and horses, and in emergencies fought at his side. From six to ten years one led the life of a squire.

The widening of education. So it was that the idea of education, which had thus far been found only among the clergy, was widened and given a new direction. Education meant no longer merely a number of learned accomplishments. On the contrary, chivalry placed little value upon the arts of reading and writing. It was concerned much more with training in knightly accomplishments, in perfection of personal appearance, and in courtly discipline. It sought to work on the inner nature of man through rules of outward decorum. It aimed, as we shall see when we note its ideals, at a schooling through and for the life of society. For the first time woman emerged from the narrow confines of the home into society and became its mistress. For this new canon of decorum, in which the ideas of gentleness, honor, homage, and loyalty prevailed, arose under her influence.

Knighthood expensive. Many squires never became knights. The state of knighthood was costly. Armor was very expensive. At least three horses were deemed necessary for a knight's equipment. A battle horse led by hand and used only for the onset, another for the route, and a pack horse for the baggage, had to be bought and kept. And at least one squire, and several attendants of low birth, had to be maintained. So, although of noble blood and in all other respects fitted for the estate, many a poor squire was never able to assume the honors and responsibilities of knighthood. It was the highest honor to be made a knight on the field of battle. Francis I (1515–1547), one of the most knightly of all the kings of France, was knighted on the battlefield of Marignano by the Chevalier Bayard. But knighthood was generally conferred in time of peace. From twenty to twenty-five seems to have been the ordinary age at which it was bestowed.

Admission to knighthood. At first the ceremony of initiation was very simple; and it seems to have remained so until the twelfth century was well under way. But more and more the church took part in it. Religious sentiment penetrated into it ever deeper and deeper. An actual union of chivalric and religious ideals was effected by the establishment of such monastic and military orders as the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitalers. And, indeed, knighthood itself, though it had no written *regula*, came to be regarded as an Order. Then, too, certain religious festivals came to be looked upon as peculiarly fitting for the ceremony, such as Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. All the details of the ceremony were symbolical. The medieval centuries were a time of symbolism. Many things meaningless in themselves were looked upon as the vesture of realities. This regard for symbols is one of the most characteristic qualities of the medieval mind. The ceremony of initiation into knighthood varied from time to time and from place to place. Let us, however, attempt a general description. The novice was solemnly stripped of his clothes by his fellow squires and put into a bath. That was symbolical of purification. Then he was clothed in a white robe, symbolical of the chastity with which he was to enter such a noble career; and over it was placed a red robe, symbolical of the blood he was ever to be ready to shed in defense of Holy Church. Then he was shod with black shoes, symbolical of the earth from which he sprang and to which he must some day return. The night before his admission the squire kept the vigil-at-arms in the church of the castle, or in that of a neighboring monastery, armed and alone, or in company with the priest and a few of his most intimate companions. This was the greatest innovation in the exaltation of the ceremony. When the morning came he made confession, heard mass, and took communion. His arms were placed on the altar, where daily the miracle of transubstantiation took place, and the priest blessed the sword.

Thus religious sentiment penetrated deeply into the ceremony. Then the squire made his knightly vows, and was invested with his coat of mail, gauntlets, spurs, and the rest of his armor. Lastly a white belt was placed about his loins and his sword was girded at his side. The investing of the sword was the essence of the military rite. The white girdle denoted a pure life; the spurs signified ready service; and the sword was emblematical of justice. Then the squire was ready to be dubbed a knight. Every knight, no matter how poor and insignificant, had the power to create knights, but not all of them exercised it. Fathers often created their sons knights; but many youths preferred another sponsor, some rich and powerful lord, the one in whose castle they had lived as page and squire. In the earlier and ruder times the patron gave the kneeling squire a heavy blow on the cheek with his fist; but this barbarous buffet, known as the acolée, gave way to the accolade, a triple stroke of the flat of a sword on the shoulder. *Au nom de Dieu,* said the seigneur as he delivered the blows, *de Saint Michel, et de Saint George, je te fais chevalier; sois preux, hardi, et loyal.* Then the youth arose, a belted knight, and was thereafter addressed with the distinctive title of Sir. Largesse was given by the patron to the newly-made knight, and by the latter to his companions and inferiors. This bountiful bestowal of gifts signified the noble liberality which was one of the first knightly virtues.

Knightly vows. What vows did the young knight make? He swore to fear God and revere him, to serve his prince, and to maintain the rights of the weak, of widows, and of orphans. He swore to hold no avarice in his heart, nor to fight more than one against one, to keep his parole on capture, and to aid his fellow knights. Failure to keep the vows of knighthood meant disgrace. A funeral sermon was preached over the recreant knight; and sometimes a shroud was used. His golden spurs, hacked off with a scullion's cleaver, were flung on a dung heap; the tail of his war

horse was cut off; the horse made to do the duties of a common work horse; and a work horse dragged the knight's shield on the ground.

Knightly occupations. Fighting in the service of his lord in the many feudal wars of the time was the principal occupation of the knight. Constant practice, in war and in the tilting yard, made feudal cavalry very skillful. Hunting with hawks and with hounds was pursued with passionate pleasure, and part of the duty of the squires was to take care of the mews and the kennel. The fox, the deer, the boar, and the wolf were the chief animals of the larger breed hunted by the knights. There were outdoor games, such as tennis, which was played without a racket. The most fascinating indoor game was chess. It figures in many a medieval chronicle and romance. The origin and early history of this most cosmopolitan of all games are lost in obscurity, and nothing reliable is known as to how and when it found its way into central and western Europe. The *Chanson de Roland* depicts Charlemagne passing away the time with it beneath the walls of Cordova; but we know that the great emperor never got as far south as that; and historically the game does not appear in the West until the eleventh century. Checkers, known as the *jeu des dames*, and backgammon were also played. The latter is played on a board of two tables with draughtsmen whose moves are determined by throws of dice. Games of dice were played everywhere, in village hut, town house, convent, and castle. The crusaders, many of whom were inveterate gamblers, may have brought back with them a knowledge of cards, but we cannot be certain they were known in Europe before the fourteenth century. Dice were the popular predecessor of cards, and were often the ruin of villeins and nobles, parish priests and prelates. Then there was minstrelsy. Some of the pages, squires, and knights played and sang; and occasionally a strolling soothsayer or juggler, or an itinerant minstrel, a fantastic figure in his finery, who

composed and sang ballads and told stories, came to lighten the dullness of a long afternoon. And many an evening the inmates of the castle listened to some troubadour's songs of chivalric love, a trouvère's recital of *chansons de geste*, or some other wandering minstrel who recited the merry and licentious *fabliaux* and otherwise entertained them by candlelight and firelight in the shadowy hall. At its best, however, life inside those gloomy buildings was so uncomfortable that the inhabitants welcomed the spring, when they could live many hours of the day out in the warm and sunny orchard, amid grasses and scents, the hum of bees, the waving of branches, the wandering of the clouds. The fêtes of the feudal aristocracy were nearly always an occasion of great expense. Many a noble went to the verge of ruin to make a display of generosity and luxury. Delicate foods, choice wines, brilliant decorations, and costly entertainment were all lavishly provided. But, after all, a good deal of the time of the nobles was taken up with the common and necessary duties of life.

Knightly ideals. By the dawn of the twelfth century the code of chivalry was complete. The fellowship of the profession of arms, and the resulting military turn of thought, had proved too strong for distinctions of property and birth. In the domain of chivalry all knights were on common ground. So great was its power that even the humblest knight could stand forth on an equality with the greater nobles and even with the princes. This equalitarianism of chivalry, this class consciousness, gave birth to a new ideal, the first we meet with outside the pale of the church. As may be supposed, it was above all other things distinguished by military and heroic features. But with the exaltation of valor it combined the idea that the possession of arms and the right to bear them was an honor and involved obligations. What were these obligations? What were the knight's ideals? They were, in part, revealed in his vows. He must be faithful to his lord and fulfill all his feudal obligations;

he must respect the weak and take up, if need be, their defense in arms; he must never flinch before a foe; he must not be self-seeking, but liberal and generous to all; he must always be ready to wage war upon the infidel; he must not lie, his word must be his bond; and everywhere he must be the champion of right and justice. "Death rather than dishonor", cried Roland in the Pass of Roncesvalles. In that single phrase he condensed the entire code of chivalry. Tennyson gives the ideals of the medieval knight in *The Idylls of the King.*

> To reverence the king as if he were
> Their conscience, and their conscience as their king,
> To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,
> To ride abroad redressing human wrongs,
> To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it,
> To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,
> To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
> And worship her by years of noble deeds,
> Until they won her.

To be a hero for love's sake! That is the primary and unalterably romantic dream that springs up in the life of men again and again and will ever do so. It springs directly from the need to show his courage before the loved one's eyes, to risk danger, to suffer, the aspiration with which every youth of sixteen is acquainted. But an earlier poet tells us of the ideals of chivalry. Chaucer, in his famous *Prologue,* tells what constituted true knighthood.

> A knight there was, and that a worthy man
> That fro the time that he firste began
> To riden out, he loved chevalrie,
> Truth and honor, freedom and curtesie.
> Ful worthy was he in his lorde's werre,
> And thereto had he ridden, no man ferre,
> As well in Christendom as in Heathenesse.

Knighthood, as thus conceived, was something higher than the self-assertion of the feudal aristocracy. It tempered

pride with humility, and held aloft courage and honor as accompaniments of war. It is true that not all medieval knights lived up to their ideals, just as not all of us live up to our ideals to-day. There were thistles in the garden, tares among the wheat. The shadows were deeper and wider than many of the medieval romances would lead us to believe. Harsh was the contrast between the mode of life indicated by these knightly ideals and the prevailing actuality of cruelty, greed, and lust. *Raoul de Cambrai*, one of the *chansons de geste* is a vivid picture of impiety and brutality. The feudal lord had all the violence and the fickleness of the savage and the child. He was a man of sudden changes, gusts of passion, fearful acts of cruelty, touching moods of repentance, and unexpected emotions. His devotion was intermittent, his religion superstitious. Ah, but it was well that so brutal an age had such ideals! "A man's reach *must* exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?" And is it not true, as the same modern poet has said, that "What I aspired to be, and was not, comforts me"? An ideal cannot wait for its complete realization to prove its validity. To deserve allegiance it needs only to express the aspiration of the soul, and to do justice to existing interests. But something of the ideals of chivalry men *did* reach. True, chivalry went to seed. Its gold became alloyed. It became complicated, a meaningless masquerade. Duty became *devoir*. Courtesy became etiquette. Yet through all its decay, and down into modern times, the ideals of chivalry helped to shape men's lives. They gave color to the atmosphere of the mind. They influenced many men.

The Peace of God. What were the incidents of chivalry? Feudal nobles became obligated to refrain from carrying on private warfare against certain persons, in certain places, and at certain times; and some, though not many, did all they could to see that these restrictions were respected, and that their violation was punished. Humane men tried to make peace in that time of constant warfare. The church,

particularly, regarded it as her duty to diminish private war. The movement of the Peace of God is first heard of in 990 at three meetings, attended by ecclesiastics and laymen, held at Charroux, Narbonne, and Le Puy, in southern and central France, a land that had once known the blessing of the *Pax Romana.* The monks immediately lent their support, especially the powerful Cluniacs; and so, too, did some of the secular nobles, including Duke William V of Aquitaine, the most powerful lord in southern France. The decrees of these and other synods forbade, under pain of excommunication, every act of private warfare against ecclesiastical buildings and their environs, against clerics, pilgrims, merchants, peasants, women and children, and against cattle and agricultural implements. Then the movement spread into northern France and Burgundy. Diocesan leagues were organized to carry out its provisions. Feudal nobles swore to do no violence to noncombatants, to ravage no churches, and never to despoil the poor. The lord, ecclesiastical or secular, in whose territory the Peace was broken was given judicial authority to determine the guilty party, and to call to his aid laymen and clerics of the diocese for the purpose of inflicting the penalty.

The Truce of God. Then came the Truce of God. This second movement attempted to stop all private warfare for short but fixed periods of time. It began as early as 1027 at a synod held at Elne, a little town at the foot of the eastern Pyrenees, which forbade all private warfare from noon on Saturday till prime on Monday. Quickly the Truce spread all over France; and then in 1041 it penetrated into Normandy, Piedmont, and Lombardy. The period of suspension, in the meantime, was extended from sunset on Wednesday to sunrise on Monday; and in many places it included the seasons of Lent and Advent and certain other festivals. In 1063 it made its way into Flanders; in 1089 into Italy; while in 1083 it was proclaimed over the entire Germanic Empire. When the Truce attained its most ex-

tended form scarcely more than a quarter of the year remained for private warfare and fighting; and even that remained restricted by the older provisions of the Peace of God. The means employed for enforcing the Truce were the spiritual penalties of excommunication and interdict, with occasional assistance from the secular lords. For more than a century neither of these efforts to lessen war had any appreciable effect. Such ordinances, renewed again and again, could not be enforced at that time. But their enactment touched the conscience and strengthened those seigneurs who wished to limit the license of their subjects in making war upon one another.

Knight-errantry. Another incident of chivalry was knight-errantry. "Errant" means wandering. The word is applied particularly to those medieval knights who wandered about seeking adventure. Knight-errantry, the quest of adventure for its own sake, was among the first traditions of chivalry. Travel was difficult and dangerous in medieval times. Every sea was scoured by pirates, every forest infested by outlaws. Robber knights rode from their castles to plunder shipmen on the river, or travelers on the roads, or to shut them in their castles to be held for ransom. But to ride in search of adventure was part of a knight's duty, seeing the world, fighting, praying, singing, feasting, making his expenses out of the champions he overthrew in jousts, or from the largesse given by generous lords. At times he would lie at an abbey as the guest of the house, or wrapped in a mantle under the greenwood tree, or, after a preliminary encounter in which his manly spirit was proved and his skill displayed, he would be entertained by a brother knight in some castle on a crag, from which he could see the windings of a river through its valley. Thus he would wander far afield to the shores of the Baltic to have a cut at heathen Prussians and Lithuanians, or over the Pyrenees to help drive back the Moors of Cordova, or through the strange and fascinating lands of the schismatic Byzantines to do battle

with the Saracens in the Holy Land. He served a sort of apprenticeship in that way. Bertrand de Born, one of the most famous of the troubadours, declares that a certain prince whom he knew was "the best jouster and man-at-arms since Roland", because he had ridden for three years as an "adventurer" over many lands and had been victorious in all the tournaments. Knights ride questing to all parts of the world in medieval romances with the most beguiling indifference to geography. These wanderers were always known by being armed and clothed in green, the color of spring and hope. Their descendants to-day are the scientists who go to learn the secrets of the equatorial swamps and their fevers, and the workers who give their lives to lessen the miseries of the slums of our great industrial cities.

Joust and tournament. The joust and the tournament were other incidents of chivalry. These words were sometimes confounded with each other, but they are sharply different. A joust was a combat in which two knights or men at arms on horseback encountered each other with lances. Such encounters were held for exercise or sport. Cavalry was by far the most important element in every army in the later medieval centuries. And this fighting on horseback, with offensive weapons and defensive armor, which every year became technically more perfect and also more costly, required constant practice. Only a specially trained professional class, that of the feudal knights, could hope to succeed in such warfare. In a tournament, or tourney, several combatants on each side were engaged at once. It was a battle in miniature, an armed contest of courtesy, one troop of cavaliers against another. Jousts were often included with the tourney, but frequently they were held separately. The tournament was at first a training for soldiers. Then it came to be a thing of amusement and display. It became highly dramatic and acquired an erotic element. Something of the romance of love could

there be acted and seen as a spectacle. Strength and courage could there be displayed by the man on horseback, wearing the veil or the scarf of his beloved which retained the scent of her hair and her body, and admired by the woman seated in the draped and decorated stand. It seems probable that tournaments were first regularly held in France; and by the twelfth century they were in full operation in every part of Europe. They were then characterized by all the romantic fire of knight-errantry. Very often they were rough and disorderly. Jousts and tourneys were carried on at first with *armes blanches,* with blunted spears and wooden swords. They were called combats *à plaisance.* The license of dueling, however, turned the sham fight into an earnest one. Oftentimes combats *à outrance,* to the flight or death of one of the parties, were held. Such combats, fought like battles, with arms and maneuvers of war, with the same ferocity of attack, made even hunting seem tame, and were a realistic preparation for actual war. They differed from war only in being voluntary and limited to a single day. In order to succeed in war, so a medieval chronicler tells us, a knight "must have seen his own blood flow, have had his jaw cracked under the blow of his adversary, have been dashed to the earth with such force as to feel the weight of his foe, and unhorsed twenty times he must twenty times have retrieved his failures, more set than ever on the combat". Kings and the church did much to discourage such contests. Several papal bulls were issued against them. A good description of a tournament is that in *Le petit Johan de Saintré,* written in 1459 by Antoine de la Sale.

Gallantry. Gallantry was still another incident of chivalry. It is difficult to speak of the relations existing between men and women in the declining years of the age of chivalry. There was a high conception of female virtue and male devotion; but in practice there was much license and brutality. The gallantry of chivalry at once exalted and

debased women. How did this come about? Many a feudal lord had married, not for love, but to secure an advantageous military alliance, or to gain more land and retainers, or to have an heir. Marriage, when such were its only objects, was prefaced by no ardent courtship. Love between husband and wife was, therefore, often lacking. Neither had married for love. Before his marriage the lord had love affairs with other women, sometimes with the wives of other men; and after his marriage he continued so to satisfy his amorous cravings. His wife was to him only a feudal necessity. And, quite naturally, his wife found her lover outside the bonds of matrimony, usually among the pages, or the squires, or the knights of the castle in which she lived, many of whom were without any prospect of marriage, and were forever dangling and philandering about her in the close companionship of their daily life. It was adulterous love. And it was recognized and sanctioned by the aristocratic society in which it flourished. "Love between husband and wife", said courtly society of the time, "is impossible". And so illicit love became accepted as an institution.

The Gay Saber. Up to this time the relations between the sexes had been natural and simple. Now they became highly artificial. There was introduced into chivalry the *gay saber*, or Science of Love. Sometime or other in the first years of the thirteenth century a code of this courteous love was put into Latin by André le Chapelain. This illicit relationship remained with many merely a matter of physical attraction; but with others it was sublimated into something like the poetic passion of Tristram and Iseult. Such a passion was known as chivalric love. Many circumstances gave rise to it. The numerical preponderance of men over women in the castle caused the châtelaine to become regarded as a paragon, as the impersonation of that social perfection which those young men were instructed to seek. And the adulterous love permitted by feudal society gradually developed a morality of its own,—a morality

within immorality. The lady must be true to the knight whom she had accepted as her lover, and he must be true to her. Faithfulness rose from infidelity, honor from dishonor. Lancelot, pattern of knighthood, was unswervingly faithful to his mistress, and so, too, was Tristram. Their "honor rooted in dishonor stood". And the precariousness of the situation must have helped to exalt the lady. Her lover had no right to her favors. In order to win and keep them he had to be faithful and display the distinguishing and romantic qualities of a knight. She was nearly always his superior, often, indeed, far above him; and so, especially if he were a poet and gifted with imagination, she appeared in his dreams as a creature supremely beautiful and divinely endowed. The literature of this romantic and illicit love began to rise, as the eleventh century drew to its close, in Provence. The songs of the troubadours expressed the thoughts and feelings of chivalric love all through the twelfth century until the civilization from which they sprang was extinguished by the terrible crusade against the Albigenses.

The Celtic element of chivalric love. And then, while the troubadours were singing, a new stream of passion found its way into chivalric love at the princely courts of Aquitaine and Champagne. It was a current from the Celtic shores of the Atlantic, from Brittany, Cornwall, and Wales. Poems of love and chivalry from these western and northern lands were recast and amplified to please the taste of the ducal courts at Poitiers and Troyes. Countess Marie of Champagne actively fostered the chivalric view of the social relation of the sexes expressed by the saying that "love between husband and wife is impossible". And it was at her command that Chrétien de Troyes wrote *Le Conte de la Charrette*, a story of Lancelot's love for Guinevere, the wife of King Arthur of Brittany. The verse of this court poet is easy and graceful. Its feminine delicacy belongs to a world quite different from that which rejoiced in the masculine strength of the old *chansons de geste*. Another such

story is that of Tristram, one of the most accomplished heroes in all chivalric romance, the lover of Iseult, wife of King Mark of Cornwall. It was first put into effective literary form about 1210 by Gottfried of Strasbourg. In this literature we find a mingling of love as a resistless passion and as an ennobling virtue. This lyrical poetry of the intimate conflicts of the heart, far more subtle, delicate, and refined than the *chansons de geste*, found its way to all the feudal courts, where it was eagerly received. It reveals the fact that chivalry was fast losing its virile character, its athletic steeliness, that the rude and stern traits of the West were being mingled with those of the subtle, sensuous, and mystical East. It permits us to see that the spirit of chivalry was decaying in an opulent bloom of luxury.

Nobles in a chronic state of debt. One other condition of the nobles in the thirteenth century should be noted here. Many of them were nearly always in debt. Undoubtedly their expensive tastes, rivalry in luxury, and contempt of accountancy and economy had much to do with this state of affairs in which the nobility floundered. Yet some of the blame must be laid upon the circumstances of the time that pressed upon the nobles, and of which they were, on the whole, the victims. The crusades cost millions and very seriously upset the balance of fortunes. Prices changed. The price of a chicken fell; that of a war horse rose. So the seigneur who received fixed dues in money or in kind had a smaller income, while his expenses increased. The financial distress of the nobles was due, therefore, to deep-seated causes. And it continued to go from bad to worse. We can imagine how readily a seigneur would listen to townsfolk and peasants who offered to buy privileges. These multiplying privileges soon accelerated the pitiless evolution setting in against the feudal lords. Then the lords naturally resorted to the desperate expedient of borrowing. Despite their political power and their fits of passion, they became the prey of the professional money lenders, the Jews and the

Lombards, who cared not a snap of their fingers for the ban placed by the church upon the taking of interest. So the noble pawned his jewels, his plate, his costly furs, and did not understand that the economic forces of the time were militating against him, that by degrees the world was changing to a condition in which the town was to be far more important than the castle.

The sunset of chivalry. The sun of chivalry set upon the fields of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. Infantry successfully disputed the supremacy which cavalry had so long enjoyed. Base born fellows on foot with their long bows demoralized and defeated the gentlemen on horseback. And so chivalry, which rested upon the superiority of the horseman in warfare, rapidly declined. And then with the use of cannon, which by the middle of the fifteenth century were able to throw heavy iron balls, it quickly disintegrated and finally disappeared. But its decline was due to more causes than the introduction of new arms that enabled infantry to defeat cavalry. Chivalry had been going to seed long before the first of these three battles was fought. The love of riches found its way into castles, and following it came the laxity of luxury. And then, too, life outside the castles was changing. Cities were arising and expanding. The social center of gravity was shifting from castle to town. A numerous, wealthy, intelligent, and intrusive middle class was making itself felt. Nations were being formed, and the kings forbade dueling as a needless waste of fighting men. Chivalry failed to adapt itself to these changing circumstances. Yet something of its fragrance lingered in that society so fast becoming mercantile and diplomatic; and, impalpable though it be, it has found its way down the centuries to our own time. Surely we need it. There is to-day an industrial feudalism. Multitudes of men are not free in any genuine sense. They are chained to the wheel of labor. The fierce competition between man and man which greater freedom and industrial development have

brought in their train presses heavily upon the weaker or more luckless combatants in the struggle. There are dragons in the roads to-day,—ignorance, crudity, selfishness. The love of truth, the love of justice, the love of beauty, are fair creatures needing to be succored. Yes, the ideals of chivalry are alive for us. *Noblesse oblige!* Rank imposes obligation! So, too, does education. There are many inequalities in the modern régime. And there is more than one kind of chivalry. Lance thrusts are not all. Sebastian Castellion, who pleaded so eloquently for religious tolerance, and Abraham Lincoln, who freed the slaves, were as true knights as Godfrey de Bouillon and the Chevalier Bayard.

References for Further Reading

The *chansons de geste*, the songs of historical facts, written in the late medieval centuries, are the best original source of information regarding chivalry. We find in them, says Leon Gautier, "the truest pictures of chivalry . . . and the most exact representations of the days of chivalry. The authors of these popular poems, whose sincerity is unquestionable, depicted only what they actually witnessed. No other writers have so minutely described the costumes, armor, habitations, furniture, the private lives and the manners of the feudal nobility". Something of the brighter side of chivalry may be seen in Jean Joinville's *Histoire de Saint Louis*, of which a translation into English may be found in Everyman's Library. Jean Froissart's picturesque *Chroniques* contain abundant matter showing both the good and bad side of chivalry. The love story of *Flamenca* is an admirable picture of the manners and customs of the time. See the bibliographies for chapters 22–25 of the sixth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*.

Joseph Bedier, *Les légendes épiques.* Myrrha Borodine, *La femme et l'amour au XIIe siècle d'après les poems de Chrétien de Troyes.* John B. Bury, *Romances of Chivalry on Greek Soil.* Francis Warre Cornish's *Chivalry* is the best brief book on the subject. F. H. Cripps-Day, *The Tournament in England and France.* George T. Denison, *A History of Cavalry from Earliest Times.* William S. Davis's *Life on a Medieval Barony* is one of the most

interesting and helpful books on the subject in our language. B. Ebhardt's *Deutsche Burgen* is an illuminating book on the German medieval castle. Edmond Faral's *Les jongleurs en France au moyen âge* throws some light on castle and court as an intellectual center. Paul E. Guilhiermoz, *L'origine de la noblesse en France au moyen âge.* Leon Gautier's *Chivalry* deals with the period of the reign of Philip Augustus (1180–1223). It is based upon a thorough study of the *chansons de geste,* and is the best general work on the subject. See also his *Les épopées françaises.* Jules J. Jusserand, *Les sports et jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France;* and see also his *Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages.* G. Kohler, *Kreigwesen in der Ritterzeit.* Charles V. Langlois, *La société française au XIIIe siècle d'aprés dix romans d'aventure.* Henry Charles Lea, *Superstition and Force.* Walter C. Meller's *A Knight's Life in the Days of Chivalry* pays more attention to the military life of the knights than to their life in times of peace, but it is in some respects the best book on the subject written in English. Vernon Lee, the pen name of Violet Paget, has a searching study of the difficult subject of medieval love in her book entitled *Euphorion.* Gaston Paris, *Légendes du moyen âge.* The chapter on "The Lady of the Castle" in Emily J. Putnam's *The Lady* is both interesting and informing. J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville.* Charles W. C. Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle Ages.* Sir Walter Scott, *Essay on Chivalry.* J. B. de Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie.* Something of the spirit and ideals of chivalry as revealed in the literature of that time may be seen in the chapters on "Feudalism and Knighthood", "Romantic Chivalry and Courtly Love", and "Parzival" in Henry Osborne Taylor's *The Medieval Mind.* E. E. Violet-le-Duc, *The Military Architecture of the Middle Ages.*

CHAPTER 23

THE PEASANTS

The manor a descendant of the latifundium. Nearly everywhere in the western part of the continent there prevailed a type of agricultural settlement known in England as the manor and in other countries by other names. The manor was an estate owned by a lord and cultivated by dependent peasants. The manorial system was far older than feudalism. It had come down from the *latifundia* of the declining years of the Roman Empire in the West. In the fourth and fifth centuries of our era we can plainly see the beginning of the organization of the manorial estate, the binding of the peasants to the soil, the services rendered by free farmers and by slaves as colonists; and we see such organization being delineated with ever increasing precision in the eighth and ninth centuries after the invasions of the uncouth hordes that swarmed out of the northern forests. Many country estates, especially small ones, were affected only slightly by the boisterous storms that blew over their heads. The barbarians destroyed much politically, and they built up much that was quite new politically; but they made far less change in the economic life of the people, in the legal structure of landed property and in the systems of production. They were too few in number, and too primitive in their needs and methods of work not to continue the existing mode of production and forms of labor. Even where they ruined the *latifundium* they cannot have destroyed the memory of it, the tradition and regret of its loss, preserved, in those unsettled times, in the jealous keeping of the neighborhood. And so agricultural life went on its way with less change than we sometimes think from the old ways in which it had been running for centuries past.

Many things connected with the life of the medieval manor were a continuation or a transformation of the institutions of the old imperial age. Naturally the country estates belonging to ecclesiastics show this continuity in a greater degree and more visible form than do the secular estates. The church was born and grew up in the very midst of the Roman economic organization, a plant native to that soil; and, with the great wealth it had accumulated, it was able to set up again, more quickly than the secular proprietors, the edifice of the great landed estate, the *latifundium*, which everywhere had been disturbed and which in some places had fallen to pieces in the time of the barbarian invasions.

The medieval manorial system a gradual growth. The manorial system, then, was not forged in a uniform and rigid way by a single stroke. It was the result of a gradual and diverse growth. And so there can be no clear and systematic description of it covering all the countries and all the centuries of the medieval period. The facts do not permit it. Manors differed widely in their conditions and customs from place to place and from time to time. And, as the facts of life on the manors varied, so too did the terms used to describe them. The villein of one time or place might be the freeman of another; and the slave of one century or locality might be the serf of another. Yet, through all this multiplicity of shifting details, there are some distinctive features of the manorial system, kept throughout its existence, that may be outlined, and some steps in its development that may be noted.

The lord of the manor and his officers. Let us first look at the people of the manor, or *seigniorie*. Naturally there were, first of all, the lord of the manor and his officers. The lord might be great or small, a knight, count, duke, prince, or king. He might be an ecclesiastic,—an abbot or a bishop. But whatever his rank, the relations between him and the peasantry remained the same. Where the lord owned several manors their administration was intrusted to the *præ-*

positus, or *seneschal*, or steward, who naturally had to have a knowledge of legal lore in order to safeguard his lord's interests. Several times a year he made the round of the manors in his charge. Under him were the officers of each manor. First came the bailiff or beadle, the representative of the lord in the manor, whose duty was to see that the rents and services were paid, to gather in the lord's crops, and to keep a record of the receipts and expenditures of the manor. Under him, on a great manor, such as that of the monastery of Bobbio, were the superintendents of the various services of the estate, among them the custodian of the gardens and orchards and vineyards; the cellarer, to whose care belonged all that concerned the kitchen and refectory, except the fruits and the bread; the chamberlain, who saw to the washing of the textile fabrics, to the cleaning of the leather goods, and to the provision of clothes, shoes, and various implements. To each of these was assigned an appropriate personal staff of carpenters, masons, smiths, weavers, and other skilled workmen, who worked in the shops of the monastery, and women who spun or wove in the women's quarters. But it is a smaller estate than this that we must keep in mind as being more generally representative; one with a smaller staff of officials and skilled workmen. On every such estate the peasants had their own official, the provost or reeve, chosen by them as the best husbandman among them, whose duty was to arrange the distribution of the services owed by the tenants, and, as their spokesman, to help the bailiff in managing the estate. He represented the interests of the peasants, as the bailiff did those of the lord.

Freemen. Highest in the ranks of the peasantry were the freemen. What were they? It is not easy to label the peasants of the Middle Ages. The texts are by no means explicit in regard to them. The masses cut a very poor figure with the medieval chroniclers, who were entirely occupied in staging nobles and clergy. And what light the

charters throw on the laboring classes is surely a wavering light. We have already mentioned the varying nomenclature of different times and different places. But we may say that a freeman was a peasant who was personally free. His rent, paid in labor or produce or both, was fixed. That was one of the chief advantages of the status of freeman. The lord could not increase the required amount of work or produce at his pleasure. Then, too, he could terminate his contract. In the earlier medieval centuries many manors did not have freemen among their peasants; but as the years went on the number of freemen increased, slowly but steadily, usually by formal manumission, but often by taking advantage of occasional opportunities of evasion. Their holdings were not as uniform in size as those of the villeins; and the services and payments required of them varied even from man to man on the same manor. But whatever their inequalities were in these matters they were alike in that they were legally competent to go, come, marry, acquire, and transmit. Some of them were even landowners, though they still lived in dependence on a lord to whom they had pledged their fidelity.

Villeins. Below the freemen, and far more numerous, were the villeins. Their holdings, the amount of land they were allowed to till for themselves, varied from one manor to another, and sometimes on the same manor from man to man. In some cases a villein had only a cottage and a garden for himself and family; but usually, in England, after the Norman Conquest, a villein cultivated for himself about thirty acres. Perhaps the average was larger in earlier years. These holdings, like those of the freemen, were hereditary, and usually, upon payment of the heriot, or inheritance tax, in recognition of the lord's ownership, descended to the oldest son. The duties of the villeins to the lords of the manors in return for their cottages and lands varied from time to time. In winter and summer months a villein usually gave his master about three days' labor each

week. In the spring and autumn, however, the amount was often increased to four, for then it was necessary to till the fields, sow, reap, thresh, and gather into the barns. Villein services were not always clearly defined; and to this were due many infractions of the manorial law, punished by fines that increased the profits of the lord. The villein had for his reward the product of his own land. He could not leave the manor without permission; and the lord might compel him to assume new duties. He had no rights of property against his lord. On some manors the condition of the villeins was little inferior to that of the freemen; but on others harsh masters often made their lot wretched. The chief disadvantage in the villein's condition was its uncertainty. The freeman usually knew what was required of him; but the villeins did not know on one day what would be required of them on the next. In early medieval society money was little used, and exact values were not placed upon services. But as time went on the commercial spirit developed, and greater precision came into the relations on the manors. The duties of the villeins were then more and more strictly defined, and they came to differ less and less from those of the freemen.

Serfs. The less fortunate villeins were known as serfs. They were the belated remains of ancient slavery. Some of them were the younger sons of villeins, who were not allowed to inherit and divide the holdings of their fathers; while, again, others had risen from the rank of slavery. The line of demarcation between them and the villeins was economic rather than legal; and the distinction between them was greater on the continent than in England. They were the poor of the manor, who held a cottage and garden, a few acres, or sometimes even less than one, in the fields. A serf was a peasant in a condition of servitude or modified slavery, distinguished from what is properly called slavery by the facts that the services which the master could require and the master's power of disposal of him were more or less

limited by custom or by law. In most cases the serf was attached to the soil. Neither he nor his children could be removed, except by manumission, from the land he tilled; and he was sold with it, when it was bought by another owner, like the trees, the cattle, and the wild animals of the wastes and the forest. This feature is often given as the distinguishing characteristic of serfdom as opposed to slavery. There seems to have been very few serfs in the medieval centuries who acted as servants in the manor houses and castles. Their services were similar to those of the villeins, only more was required of them, and in return they obtained food and clothing from the lord. The great mass of the serfs were cultivators of the soil. They worked in the fields. From their ranks were usually drawn the shepherd, the swineherd, the cowherd, and the beekeeper of the manor. At the opening of the ninth century they seem to have formed the larger part of the rural population. They were personally dependent upon the lords of the manor. At first, in order to protect the lord's interest, the law declared all marriages between serfs on different manors to be invalid. Then it was held that no marriages whatever between serfs might take place without the lord's permission. Such control resulted in a fee in any case; and if a woman married into another manor her former lord was reimbursed for the loss of a prospective brood either by an agreement for sharing the children with the other lord, or by a fine. Such agreements for sharing children of serfs were by no means infrequent in France and Germany. Peasant children were valuable to the lord. They were put to work at everything for which they could be utilized, weeding, gathering nuts in the forest, carrying water, taking care of animals, and running errands. When a female serf was left a widow the lord wished another brood, and also a strong worker to replace the one taken by death. And so there were at times forced marriages. Such control of marriage, quite naturally, was often bitterly resented. In some places the serf who

married a freewoman became free in right of his wife; but, of course, this could be done only by buying permission of the lord. The serf was legally incapable of possessing property. All he earned belonged to his master. But sometimes a lord, more humane than others, permitted him to collect and save for himself.

Slaves. Beneath all the others were the actual slaves, those who were entirely the chattels of their owners; completely subject to them, without land and without personal rights. They were to be found chiefly in Italy and the other countries of the Mediterranean. Quite late in the medieval centuries slave labor was utilized to supply the shortage of free workmen in Istria, Venetia, Tuscany, and Sicily; and at one time there were as many as twenty thousand actual slaves in the island of Majorca. Traffic in them was carried on, among other places, at Genoa, Venice, and Barcelona. In northern and northwestern Europe the slaves were for the most part Christians; but in the south they were chiefly Jews and Moslems. In the south the slavery of Christians died out gradually during the medieval period, partly from humane and partly from economic causes, and only very slightly because of the circumspect propaganda of the church. Most of the peasants spent their lives on the estate on which they were born. Their ancestors had lived there, too, for untold generations. They were as deeply rooted in the soil as the oak that spread its branches at the village crossroads.

Struggle of the peasants for better conditions. The peasants were the basis of medieval society; by their work and payments the higher ranks of the social structure were sustained; yet at times their misery became so great that they revolted and killed their lords. This almost always resulted in their speedy defeat and punishment; for all the fighting class would make common cause against them. At first these outbreaks were isolated acts of plundering and murder, examples of which may be found in the autobiography of Guibert of Nogent (1053–1124). But there were

uprisings on a larger scale. In Normandy it was such a rebellion that gave its very dramatic coloring to the famous *Roman de Rou* of Robert Wace (1100?–1175?). There were many such revolts in the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century there was the widespread movement of the *Pastoureaux;* and in the fourteenth century the terrible *Jacquerie.* More frequently the peasants fled into the woods to become brigands. Or at times they ran away and sought new homes; for there were always lords who wished more peasants; and so, despite the law, serfs frequently left their lands. The fear of losing his serfs was often a salutary check upon the lord and prevented him from imposing as many burdens as he might otherwise have done. When the towns began to rise in the thirteenth century there were more opportunities for the peasants to flee from the manors. "City air", said a proverb, "makes free". Towns first became prominent in Italy; and in that peninsula the flight of the peasants from their manors assumed a wholesale character much earlier than in other countries. Then, too, if a fleeing peasant could reach an abbey and twist the bell rope around his neck, he was free from capture; or if the abbot secreted him he was safe. If he could remain out of the clutches of his lord for a year and a day he was free.

The demesne. Every manor was divided into two parts. One part, usually the smaller, called the demesne, or domain, was reserved by the lord to be cultivated for his own profit. Usually this *terra indominicata* was not a single stretch of land, but consisted of strips interspersed among the holdings of the peasants and of a compact area situated near the manor house. In its wide sense the demesne meant all the land, including the waste and the forest, held for the lord's use or pleasure; while in a narrow sense it was only that part of the arable land kept by the lord for his own immediate use. On the demesne the peasants worked when they labored for their lord; and the produce belonged to the lord and his household. Ordinarily they worked from dawn to

dark, with a brief interval for the midday meal that was longer in the countries where rest in the noonday heat was necessary. Tillage was very crude in those days, especially north of the Alps. Teams of two oxen sufficed to plow the long-cultivated and well-fertilized land in Italy; but in the north four, or even eight, oxen dragged huge wooden plows that turned only a shallow furrow. Little improvement had been made in the plow since the first recorded form that is to be found on the monuments of ancient Egypt. It broke the soil, but failed to invert it to any such extent as does a modern plow, which thus exposes fresh surfaces to the disintegrating influences of air, rain, and frost. The fields were not as well fertilized as to-day. True a medieval judge said that "horses and oxen were to plow the land, while cows and sheep were to compester it"; but the Archbishop of Rouen, whose manor was only a short distance outside the city walls, actually paid men to cart the manure from his great stables in the city and throw it into the Seine. The soil produced not more than one-third of what the same acreage yields at the present time, and often less than that. Walter of Henley, a writer on husbandry in the thirteenth century, says that six bushels of grain per acre were deemed a satisfactory crop. On the demesne there were grainfields, vineyards, gardens, orchards, meadows, woods, and a fish-pool, whose beauty must surely have been perceived when its waters trembled beneath the starlight.

The tenures. Most of the arable land of the manor was cut up into tenures or holdings. We have seen that the tenure of a villein was ordinarily about thirty acres in England; but the size of these allotments, or *mansi*, varied from manor to manor, and even from man to man on the same estate. This amount of land was not all in one place. It was always divided. The freeman or villein held strips of arable land scattered up and down the manor. These strips lay parallel with one another. They were long and narrow, each one containing perhaps an acre of land; and every

WASTE
FALLOW
ROAD
SPRING
PLANTING
ROAD
MAIN
FALL
PLANTING
WOODLAND
The Lord's Demesne
The Priest's House
Manor House
The Lord's Pond
Church yard
Church
ROAD
ROAD
THE VILLAGE
Village Oven
PASTURE
Mill
Pond
River
COMMON PASTURE
ENCLOSURES
MARSH

one held by any one peasant was separated, often widely, from his other strips by the similar intervening holdings of his fellow peasants. Very often a part or all of the plowland of the lord's demesne consisted of similar strips intermingled with those of his peasants. This plan of strip-holding seems to have originated in the desire to secure equality. The arable land of the manor was sometimes very uneven in quality. One part might greatly surpass another in fertility. And then, too, the distance of the remoter arable land from the village was often considerable. The English system of parceling out the land in scattered strips enabled the peasants to share the good and the poor soil alike, and that which was far and near. These strips were divided from one another by narrower, uncultivated, strips called balks, on which grass and weeds grew,—"hateful docks, rough thistles, keeksies, burs". This scattering of the strips caused the peasants to lose much time in coming and going and hindered the exploitation of the full productivity of the soil. It must have discouraged weeding, for the wind carried seeds from the balks and the strips of shiftless and careless neighbors. The greatest defect of the system, however, was that it bound all the peasants to common tillage. No one was free to manage his own land in his own way, to choose his own time for plowing or getting in his harvest, to change the crops as he thought best, to experiment with new modes of cultivation. His lands were mixed with those of his fellow peasants in such an inextricable manner that it required long custom and the unerring memory of the peasant to decide at a glance what belonged to one and what to the others. The only possible method of cultivation was that done in common. But the system was not without advantage. It prevented undue slackness. Every peasant had to work in harmony with his neighbors and under the constant supervision of the manorial officers. In the southern countries more individual peasant property existed; small allodial possessions still lingered there. And

on the continent there was a great variety of agriculture. Sometimes in the south the entire holding of a peasant was in a single patch; and in consequence the villagers were not so closely united by ties of neighborhood as was the case in the north.

The three-field system of cultivation. In most cases all the plowland of the manor was divided into three parts or fields. All the strips in the first field were devoted to wheat or rye, sown in the late autumn or early winter; all those in the second were planted in the spring with barley, oats, beans, or lentils; and the third field was left fallow. There was a constant rotation, so that each field never bore the same crop twice in succession and was left fallow every third year. In some places, however, tillage was based on a two-field, or, even, on a four-field system. The fields were inclosed from seedtime to harvest, after which the fences were taken down and the cattle turned in to feed on the stubble. This open-field system had long been used. "They change the plowed lands annually and there is land to spare", said Tacitus. With its compulsion to joint husbandry it prevented progress; yet in some places it survived to the nineteenth century.

The common meadowland. There was common meadowland. This, too, was inclosed while the hay was growing. From the meadow the peasants obtained their supply of hay according to the size of their tenures. When the hay was cut the meadow became a pasture common to all, though the number of beasts any one man might turn into it was usually limited. There were no artificial grasses at that time, such as we have now, no timothy, no redtop, no alfalfa, that have been developed in modern times by long continued selection of seeds, but only the wild grasses that flourished best in the low-lying alluvial land along the streams. There were also few and inferior root crops, such as turnips and beets. Hay was, therefore, very valuable. It was almost the only winter food for the live stock, which

consequently were in poor condition in spring. Cattle also had full run of the fallow field throughout the year; and the intermixture consequent on the common-field system was a barrier to the improvement of live stock. Cows were by no means as productive as to-day; while sheep were small and their fleeces light.

The common waste land. Many manors had one or more stretches of waste land. It should be remembered that in many cases a manor was an island in a sea of unredeemed wilderness. There were more fens and marshes and moors then than now, tracts of poor soil on which grew scanty grass, purple heather, golden gorse, bushes, and scrubby trees, almost as solitary as the empty sweep of clouds above; and wherever the mountains were not covered with forests they were likely to be included in the waste land. The peasantry had the right to gather fuel there, and to let their cattle graze on it. The waste was common land, and the peasants were always watchful against seigniorial attempts to inclose portions of it for tillage. Sometimes two or more manors laid claim to a wide moor or waste thicket by reason of their position on its borders. The turning of waste land into cultivated fields and pastures began very early after the northern barbarians found their way into the lands of the fallen Roman Empire and it continued into modern times.

The forest. Finally there was the woodland or forest. In the earlier medieval centuries the forests covered a great part of the continent; and then peasants were given permission to clear and settle in the woodlands. Thus many a village was created by these hardy pioneers. But as the years went by the lords, especially in the more populous districts, did all they could to prevent further deforestation. They wished the forests to remain to satisfy alike their needs and their pleasures. The lord needed wood for fuel, timber for building, and a forest for hunting. Next to war, was not hunting his supreme pastime? The forest was once

spoken of as "the highest franchise of princely pleasure". Sometimes a great lord did not hesitate even to destroy a village, to compel the peasants to move elsewhere, so that in their place might roam again the wild boar, the stag, and the wolf. There was no art of the manor or *seigneurie* over which he maintained a more jealous supervision. He exercised a strict police there. He had his foresters. And it was only sparingly that he yielded to the peasants certain rights, that always remained limited, precarious, and a matter of dispute, of using the forest, of gathering firewood and taking timber, and of sending their swine there for acorns and beech mast. Even the wild apples, pears, and plums were sometimes reserved to the lord. The peasants feared the deep forest. They peopled its gloomy shadows and lonely silences with elves, gnomes, and other frightful creatures. Then, too, it harbored the wild beasts that devoured their little crops. And fearful punishments were inflicted for poaching within its boundaries. Mercilessly the stealers of fish and game were whipped, cast into prison, and their hands and feet cut off. In Germany much of the forest land has been preserved; but savage destruction of trees, such as is going on to-day in our own country, long ago left bare most of the forest regions of Greece, Italy, and Spain.

The manor house. Let us look at the buildings on the manor. The manor house was the center of the life of the estate. It was a fortified dwelling, often surrounded by a moat with a drawbridge. Sometimes it was a castle. There the lord lived. And there in the great hall was sometimes held the manorial court. The hall was usually a large and lofty room, with rafters running from wall to wall, a floor of stone or red tiles, and a great fireplace round which in the winter evenings the family and the immediate retainers sought comfort and cheer while the wind raged outside. There the lord gave hospitality both to strangers and to friends.

The village. The peasants, unlike the farmers of our country, did not live on the lands they held. Their holdings, as we have seen, were made up of narrow strips, often widely separated. Thus they were unable to live on their arable land, had they desired to do so, in solitary huts far away from their neighbors. So they lived in villages. The cottages were close together, as they had been when they were clustered about some villa in the days of the Roman Empire. The word "village" comes from the word "villa"; and the word "villein" comes from "village". The contempt of the feudal aristocracy for the peasantry is seen in the modern meaning of the word "villain". In medieval times, of course, it meant only villager. The peasants built their own cottages, called tenements, each with its little inclosed garden, in which they grew cabbages, onions, parsnips, carrots, and a few other vegetables. These dwellings were poor affairs, even the best of them; and the worst were squalid hovels. Few had chimneys, and none had glass windows. A hole in the roof served to let out the smoke, and oiled cloth or skin to let in the light and keep out the rain. The floor was of beaten earth, or at best of stone; and the bed was often no more than a bundle of straw in the corner. In prosperous districts, and as life in general improved in the later medieval centuries, the peasants' houses were bigger and better. Frequently, in the northern countries, the members of a family and their animals, and all the grain and hay, were housed and stored under the same roof. Thus the peasants could take care of their animals during the long winters of those latitudes without exposure to the inclement weather. Sometimes, but rarely, the village grew to be a town; and then it was walled about. The villages were small, usually containing at most from fifty to a hundred peasants; and the average rustic probably saw fewer persons in his entire life than one of our farmers sees in a year. In these days of trains, automobiles, newspapers, telegraphs, telephones, and wireless it is difficult

for us to realize the isolation of the medieval peasants. But the villagers knew one another well. They played together as children, worked together in the fields and on the roads, danced together on festival days, shared the same hardships and sorrows, enjoyed the same happinesses. They knew one another through and through. They knew who had foresight enough to look out for their interests, the grit to stick tight in a crisis, and so they were seldom at a loss as to whom they should choose for their leader and representative. And in the villages there was a far better chance than there would have been in solitary farmhouses for the development of household arts and crafts, such as wood carving and weaving, and the encouragement of social virtues and graces.

The church. Then there was the manorial church, and near by it the tranquil inclosure of the dead. Sometimes the church, with its tower, was very large in comparison with the little street of cottages that composed the village; but smaller ones were often more interesting in appearance, being the outcome of local tastes and old traditions. They did not rise up and overtop life as did some of the great churches in the towns. They did not belong to another sphere where sorrow and suffering are pitied but not shared. The same hands that held the plow built their walls. The homeliness of common life was theirs. They grew out of life, the life of every day. Many a manorial lord appointed the village priest and compelled him to share with him the fees which the faithful paid for sacred ministrations. He included the church in the demesne, gave the priest a tenure, and kept for himself the revenues, even of a spiritual kind. In the exploitation of the manor the altar was often a remunerative asset. We can understand the tenacity with which he clung to it despite the religious reform that was eventually to set it free. One can easily imagine the character of many of these appointed priests, and how this would effect the prestige of the lower clergy with the people.

Some priests were incontinent, and negligent of the church building as well as its attendants. "Rain drips into the church; and such a wind sweeps down that the lights cannot burn; and, moreover, the books are defective", says a report dealing with conditions in a village in Normandy. Instances of the shameful squalor of church and churchyard were not infrequent. In most places the peasantry built the church, and in many it was they who kept it in repair. Village churches, even more than those in the towns, were centers in medieval times, not only of the religious devotions for which they were consecrated, but also of community life in its various aspects. They were regarded by the villagers with pride and affection. "All that was joyous and gay in their lives", says Augustus Jessopp, "all that was beautiful and ennobling, all that was happy in their recollections, all that was best in what they imagined, all that was elevating in their dreams and their hopes and their aspirations, all came to them from the influences which their churches exercised upon them".

Redevances. What were the duties of the peasants to the lord, and of the lord to the peasants? We have seen something of these manorial rights in noting the terms upon which the peasants held land. Freemen worked a stipulated number of days each week for the lord; while all below them worked on the demesne at the will of the lord. But, in addition to the days of labor, certain payments, varying greatly from place to place and from time to time, had to be made. In the thirteenth century these obligations were of three different forms, known as *redevances*, *prestations*, and *corvées*. *Redevances* were payments in money or in produce. Among them was the tallage, or *taille*, a regular charge imposed one or more times a year upon every rustic family. The name, which has not been found before the eleventh century, means a notch made with a knife on a stick of wood as a record of the payment of the charge. The *taille* in many places was the chief impost levied by the lord.

At first it seems to have been arbitrary, *à merci*, at the will of the lord. Then, after a long time, circumstances here and there compelled the lords to bargain with the peasants, and on such occasions a jury assessed a reasonable sum. Then gradually the custom grew up of a fixed tallage. Sometimes the wife of the lord interceded for the poor country folk taxed at the will of her husband. Such intervention gave rise to the touching legend of Lady Godiva. Other *redevances* were the portions of the crops and of the live stock due, at fixed times, to the lord. He had a share of the wheat grown by the peasants on their holdings, of the oats, the hay, the vintage, the poultry, and the wax. Hives were numerous then, for the wax of the virginal bees was needed for the candles in the churches; and honey was almost the only sweetening until sugar came into more general use in the time of the crusades. There were some peasants who were obliged to furnish oil for the lamps in the manorial church, and who were therefore called *luminarii*. Some of these dues may be traced to servile origins. One of the most odious was the fee required of peasants on the marriage of their daughters. This, though sometimes even freemen had to pay it, was definitely regarded as a badge of serfdom. And when a woman married into another manor a heavier fee was usually exacted. A similar fee had to be paid when a son escaped by going to a school, entering a monastery, or becoming a priest. There were charges to pay when a son succeeded to a holding on the death of his father. The lord took the dead man's best beast, or best movable possession; while, with express permission of the canon law, the priest usually took the second best. This signified that the peasant had no goods of his own, but held movable property only by sufferance and without the right of passing it on to his heirs. It was one of the most exasperating of all these dues. The death of the chief breadwinner of the family was, in itself, a heavy loss; yet this was aggravated by an inheritance tax that pressed cruelly upon the

poor. Then there was a group of monopoly charges called banalities. The word comes from "ban" and gives witness to the power of the lord. The peasants were obliged to have their grain ground at the lord's mill, to have their bread baked in the lord's oven, and to have their grapes or apples crushed in the lord's press. Each time they had to pay a charge, generally a portion of the grain, or the flour, or the vintage. Sometimes these requirements entailed long delays. Only after waiting at the mill a prescribed time, often as long as three days and nights, could a peasant take his grain elsewhere to be ground. Private hand mills were forbidden. The monopoly of the mill was enforced by severe penalties. If a peasant were caught on his way home from another mill, either his meal, or his beast of burden and sometimes both, might be confiscated. Often there were petty exactions and frauds on the part of the miller, and sometimes they were grievous. In 1250 three ovens brought in the price of twenty cows and eighty sheep to the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel. The French adjective reminds us of the manner in which these monopolies were regarded. They were a constant cause of friction. "The lords", says a poet of the thirteenth century, "would like to make us pay for the fresh air, the warmth of the sun, and the blessings of the rain". Yet still one may see peasants going day by day at set hours to bake in the village oven in Normandy.

Prestations. The second group of manorial fees and payments was *prestations*. These irregular charges and requisitions were much less important than *redevances*. The most frequent was the duty of furnishing entertainment to a lord when he came to visit one of his manors, or to hunt there, on which he did not usually reside. The peasants had to lodge and feed him and his retinue, their horses, and their dogs; and sometimes the obligation was little less than ruinous. Gradually this right was converted into an annual tax. Other such payments were contributions towards

the lord's ransom when he was captured in war, at the knighting of his son, and the marriage of his daughter. Then the peasants had to make payments in kind at certain times, usually chickens, eggs, honey, and other such things of small value. Last of this group were the almost innumerable taxes on transportation and exchange. Fairs, markets, rivers, and roads in every district were dependent on the local seigneur. He was master of traffic as well as of exchange. And so he made them yield all he could get out of them. His estate was studded with fiscal barriers which protected it as much as did its fortresses. The merchant had to pay to enter, follow the road, cross a bridge, go through a gate; he had to pay to go up or down a river; he had to pay for storage, for unloading, for setting up his stand; and then he had to pay for selling. Any convoy that went through the land without paying the taxes was sure to be pillaged.

Corvées. The *corvée* was an obligation to work in person. It existed in two forms. The state required work for the maintenance of roads and bridges; and, for his own service, the lord of the manor exacted labor from his tenants. The latter was by far the more important. As rent for their holdings, the peasants had to plow the lord's strips of land scattered among their own, cultivate his inclosed fields and gardens, cut his grain, mow his meadows, cart in his sheaves and hay, dress his vines, gather and crush his grapes, shear his sheep, trim his hedges, dig his ditches and canals, build and repair the dikes, clean out the castle moat and fishponds, carry letters and messages, fetch firewood and fuel, keep up the roads, ways, and paths, and repair buildings. The requirement to carry loads sometimes sent the peasant far from home and put him in peril of evil roads and robbers; and often the peasant with neither ox nor horse had himself to shoulder the load. In times of war he had to assist in both defensive and offensive operations.

Ecclesiastical dues. There were also ecclesiastical dues,—the mass penny, the mortuary, and the tithe. The mortuary was the second best movable possession of a deceased peasant which the manorial priest could seize. Even the bed on which the peasant had died might be taken. The first instance of a law enforcing the payment of tithes seems to be a capitulary of Charlemagne. By that enactment they were to be applied to the maintenance of the clergy, the poor, and to the repair and improvement of the churches. In course of time they were used for less desirable purposes; and often, despite conciliar prohibition, they were sold, like ordinary property, to laymen. Yet sometimes the parish priest was as needy as the peasants. He was fleeced, as well as they, by the clerical capitalists above him. The whole system came to be thoroughly vicious because of the identification of ecclesiastical interests with landlordism.

The manorial court. All differences between the peasants and the lord were settled in the manorial court. There was no state to step in between them as the modern state intervenes between a landlord and his tenants. "Between thy peasant and thee", said a French jurist in the thirteenth century, "there is no judge but God". Almost everywhere on the continent the royal power was too weak to interfere. In the later medieval centuries peasants, like men above them, fled for sanctuary to church and churchyard; but it is obvious that few parish priests would have the courage or the power to shield a rustic from his master. It is true that in theory the peasant was not exposed to the arbitrary will of his lord, but was protected by the custom of the manor as interpreted by the manorial court. The presiding officer was the steward, the bailiff was the lord's representative and public prosecutor, and the tenants, who were required to be present, gave the judgment. The peasants gave the judgment according to the unwritten custom of the manor. But the presiding steward determined the procedure of the court, and, after the judgment was rendered

by the peasants, gave the final sentence; he had many chances of intimidation and bribery; and so only too often through him, the lord was both party and judge. "A lord", said a medieval proverb, "though he be but of straw, can swallow a villein of steel". Sometimes the court was held in the manor house, at other times in the church, under a spreading tree in the village, or, if the manor were prosperous, in a moot hall built of timber. Once every three weeks was the customary time for holding these courts in England. The commonest cases were neglect of duty, trespasses of cattle, questions of weights and measures, theft, abuse and slander, and personal injury. The lord had criminal jurisdiction, even to the death penalty. To him accrued the fees. They were one of his steadiest revenues. It was a lucrative privilege to keep such a court. "Justice", said a medieval legal proverb, "is great profit". And this was true of ecclesiastical as well as secular estates. Yet manorial government often had a patriarchal character, and many fines and punishments were inflicted with a genuine purpose of keeping law and order and insuring justice. In the long run the lord of the manor grasped the fact that his personal interest was in harmony with that of his peasants, and that to show them some consideration was after all the best way to profit by their services. The decay of manorial jurisdiction came about with the growth of the royal power and the gradual spread of better legal processes. It is one of the features that characterize the general disintegration of the manors in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Quite naturally the criminal jurisdiction of the manorial lords was the first to disappear, closely followed by the civil jurisdiction over the free tenants.

The landless folk. The floating population must have found the conditions of life very hard in the Middle Ages. There was little room in a manorial village for others than those who shared permanently in its work. Yet, so we know from fragments of the harsh laws dealing with them that

have come down to us, there were vagrants then as now; and, so far as these occasional glimpses permit us to see, the medieval tramp was very much like the tramp of to-day in character and conduct. "They roam about", says a poet of the middle of the fourteenth century, "and look sharply where they may soonest get a breakfast, or a rasher of bacon, or money or victuals, or sometimes both, a loaf or half a loaf, or a thick piece of cheese, which they carry to their own cabin, and contrive to live in idleness and ease by the labors of other men". There were, however, honest men among these tatterdemalions, as well as rogues, men banished unjustly from their manors, and others who had fled from a cruel master.

The peasants at work. What was the daily life of these tillers of the soil? What were their hopes and fears and aspirations? Much of it remains unknown. The man with the hoe was silent, if not taciturn; and few medieval chroniclers stooped to tell his story. We must guess the structure from the legal and economic scaffolding. The villages were small, containing from fifty to not more than five hundred persons. The people were few and isolated. The ideas and words of the average peasant must have been far fewer than those of the average farmer of to-day. Yet the talk of these country folk, plowmen, millers, shepherds, charcoal burners, like that of many peasants in our own time, must often have been full of a practical philosophy and simple wisdom. They had a wisdom, not to be learned in schools, that comes from the long years of a life given to the things of the woods and fields. They lived in the same fields, by the same stream, near the same forest, so full of memories and secrets, as their innumerable ancestors who had disappeared, as they, too, in their turn would vanish. It is surprising how self-contained were the manors. There was no competition and little concern with the outside world. All their tools were made at home, plows, harrows, rakes, spades, and pitchforks; and so, too, were their clay vessels

and utensils. Roads were few, ill-kept, and infested with robbers, and tolls had to be paid at almost every turn, and so they were used only by the rare caravans of merchants. All the food, with the exception of some luxuries imported by the lord, was produced at home. The peasantry usually lived very much from hand to mouth. The wives and daughters of the villages spun the thread and wove the cloth. The village tanner, shoemaker, smith, and carpenter plied their trades. Only for building the village church or the manor house was much help required from the outside; and local labor and skill appear to have sufficed even for them in a way we should hardly suspect. The beautiful wood carving and stained glass, the ironwork for the church door and that of the manor house, the engraving on the memorial brasses, even the casting of the sweet-toned bells were achieved by local labor, we hardly know how.

The peasants at play. Life was not all work, though a very large part of it was. Village feasts and sports, romping, tumbling, practical joking, throwing weights, cock-fighting, and bull baiting, often unruly and tumultuous, had their charms for the simple and unlettered peasants. Ball games and wrestling, in which men of one village were pitted against men of another, sometimes resulted in bloodshed; and frequently dancing on the green was by no means a gentle pastime. Sometimes they witnessed miracle plays and historical dramas, or even took part in them; though it was the townsfolk, rather than the peasants, who enjoyed such opportunities. Occasionally they gathered in the late afternoon or twilight to listen to a wandering player, some poor amuser of the crowds; but such diversions must have been comparatively few; and many, if not most, of the peasants had brutal tastes and habits. Usually they went to bed at dark, for why should they burn a lamp or candle when there was nothing to look at and reading was almost as rare an accomplishment as flying? There was much drinking and brawling. The nobles were a lawless

lot, and how could the peasants be expected to be better? The women, too, were often as bad as the men, furious beldams, without shame, without mercy, and without remorse. Gin, rum, and whiskey were unknown in the medieval centuries, as were also tea, coffee, and tobacco. Yet there was wine in the southern lands; while in the north many flagons were emptied and the peasants were often sodden with beer. It is scarcely to be wondered at. There were few times and ways in which they could escape their dreary round of toil, its aimless and purposeless monotony.

The punishment of poachers. The peasants suffered grievously from the passion of the nobles for hunting and fighting. The wild animals of the wastes and forests, carefully protected by the lords, preyed upon their crops; and the peasant could fight them only, so to speak, with one hand tied behind his back. Many restrictions were placed upon the peasants in defending their fields, poultry, and live stock from the rabbits, foxes, deer, boars, and wolves. They were forbidden to kill them, and could only scare them off with stones. Even to the end of the eighteenth century "beasts were set before men". And when the lord went hunting it was often at the peasant's expense. He and his retinue rode over the seeded fields, trampled the standing grain, and broke down the hedges. One of the chief causes for the peasants' revolt in Germany in 1525 was that "huntsmen and hounds ran about without regarding the damage they did". On the other hand, as we have seen, there were terrible penalties for poaching. Perhaps more peasants were maimed and hanged for poaching than for any other two crimes together.

Suffering inflicted by war. The peasants were sorely afflicted by the constant feudal wars. They were always the first and most continual sufferers. They were forced to take part in the struggles; battles were fought in their fields; fruit and shade trees were cut down; haystacks, barns, and dwellings were fired. Every lord, whenever he could, laid

waste the lands of his enemy. "As soon as two nobles quarrel", said Peter Damiano, writing in the eleventh century, "the poor man's thatch goes up in flame". Pitilessly they ravaged the land and the villages of the helpless peasantry. Because of this, many villages were fortified, and their inhabitants tilled the fields in constant expectation of the alarm bell, summoning them and their cattle to flee for refuge within the walls. Little sympathy with the peasants is to be found in medieval literature. The whole of the later chivalric literature is full of complaints and ridicule at the attempts of the peasants to imitate court dress and court manners. Legislation forbade the rustics to carry arms with how little success may be gathered from the frequent repetition of such laws.

Lack of sympathy with the peasants. It was proverbial among the lords that oppression, if not too severe and long continued, was good for their laborers. "The peasant is best when he weeps", was one of the sayings, "worst when he is merry". Ages of oppression and misrule passed over the heads of the common people; sun and rain, with all their caprice, were often kinder friends to them than were their earthly masters. But they were taught to endure their hardships patiently. The parish priest, who every week promised them eternal felicity in the future, was in his ingenuous way a marvelous economist. To those who had no land he showed the flowery lands of heaven. We do not know the author of *Piers the Plowman's Creed*, a poem probably written near the end of the fourteenth century, but his abundant and accurate information is in harmony with other descriptions of country life at that time.

> Then turned I me forth and talked to meself
> Of the falsehood of this folk, how faithless they were.
> And as I went my way, weeping for sorrow,
> I saw a poor man o'er the plow bending.
> His coat was of a clout that cary was called,
> His hood was full of holes and his hair sticking out,

His shoes were patched and clouted full thick;
His toes peeped out as he the ground trod,
His hose o'erhung his gaiters on every side,
Two mittens had he, scanty, and made all of rags,
And the fingers were worn out and filled full of mud;
This wight was bemired in the mud almost to the ankle.
Four oxen were before him, that feeble had become,
One might reckon rib, so rueful they were.
His wife walked by him with a long goad,
In a cutted skirt cutted full high,
Wrapped in a winnowing-sheet to keep her from the weather,
Barefoot on the bare ice, so that the blood followed.
And at the field's end lay a little bowl,
And thereon lay a little child wrapped in rags,
And twain of two years old upon another side;
And all of them sang a song that sorrow was to hear,
They cried all a cry, a sorrowful note,
And the poor man sighed sore, and said: "Children, be still".

Advantages of the manorial system. There is another side to the story of the peasants on the manors. We are told that though the peasant had little liberty he also had fewer worries than he has at the present time. He had to struggle less keenly for mere existence, he was more certain of shelter and food than he is under the economic conditions of to-day. The lords had to pay a certain amount of attention to the tillers of the soil, just as they had to take care of their horses and their cattle, because their usefulness depended upon their health and strength. There is truth in this. One of the greatest evils of our present industrial system is the workman's fear of losing his job, the economic helplessness, the uncomfortable feeling of insecurity of the man who, having nothing to store up against a rainy day, lives in perpetual fear of sickness or discharge. But after all has been said in favor of peasant life in the medieval centuries it must be admitted that the level was far below ours. Those forgotten toilers "were more wretched in their poverty, they were incomparably less prosperous in their pros-

perity, they were worse clad, worse fed, worse housed, worse taught, worse governed". Not all the peasants, however, lived and died in the dumb, impassive silence of the daily round of common tasks. Some, by their ambition and natural ability, rose above the level of their fellows. Prosperous villeins and serfs bought their freedom. And in the last of the medieval centuries a variety of causes brought about a general improvement in the condition of the country folk. Towns were rising; rebellion and flight became more successful and frequent, assuming, indeed, a wholesale character in Italy.

Gradual decay of the system. In the thirteenth century the manorial system showed signs of change. The natural economy of such estates gradually gave way before the growing use of money and the increasing demand for things that could be supplied only by the craftsmanship of the gilds or by importation from abroad. We can see this transition beginning first of all in Italy. Especially is it to be seen on such great estates as those of the monastery of Bobbio. That monastery had many scattered manors. Like many other large landowners in the peninsula the monks aimed to produce themselves all that ministered to their needs,—olive oil, salt, wines, flax, wool, and other commodities. For this purpose they secured estates at considerable distances from Bobbio. They had, for instance, an olive plantation on a northern lake and a salt mine at Comacchio. They had wagons on the roads and boats on the rivers with which to bring these supplies to the central estate. This transport, of course, was not commerce in the modern sense, because it was carried on as an imposed burden by peasants and was confined to the lands of the same lord; but it concentrated products, improved the means of transport, especially by river, developed a technical personnel of transportation, and thereby greatly facilitated commerce. Then the estate began to sell its surplus of raw materials to the towns and to buy from them

what manufactures it required. All this was also true of the great monastery of Fulda in Germany, and that of Saint Germain des Prés in France. Such estates, of necessity, followed economic criteria more than military or political. Monks and peasants alike bought more and more clothing, tools, and many other products from the artisans of the towns which they had formerly made for themselves at home. Country and town benefited each other reciprocally by their labor. At first this was done by barter. Gradually, however, money appeared on the scene in this rural economy as a familiar medium of exchange. In the thin pennies which he took home with him from the town market as the proceeds of his sales, the peasant learned to recognize the surplus of his labor. With such a surplus he could improve his condition. Unregulated statute labor was exchanged for regulated; and in many cases regulated labor was exchanged for money payments. Money also bought freedom of marriage, release from the inheritance tax, and even redemption from bondage. So the peasants floated on the tide of an economic revolution. This transition from the manorial system to modern agricultural conditions, plainly perceptible in the thirteenth century, was greatly accelerated in the fourteenth. Ideas of life were then changing more swiftly than before; the supply of money was increasing; and everywhere towns were expanding and multiplying. The payment of rent in labor and produce was giving way to payment in money; and with the money he obtained from his tenants the lord found it more profitable to hire free laborers to cultivate his demesne. Thus many a lord became in part a landlord and in part a farmer who hired labor on his demesne. Other lords made a still more radical change. They ceased the direct exploitation of all their land. They rented or leased all their arable land to tenants and lived on the rents. They were then no longer medieval farmers. They were modern landlords. There was no uniformity, of course, in this transition. One manor

might be far advanced in the change from payments in customary service and produce to payments in money while its neighbors still clung to the old system. But the forces favoring the change were too great to be resisted successfully, and the advantages of the new system, alike for peasant and for lord, were too obvious to be ignored. And so one by one the fleeting generations have witnessed the gradual gaining of liberty. Not that everywhere the end has been gained. In parts of Italy and Spain the tillers of the soil are still far from a condition of justice; and so, too, are those in the stricken lands of eastern Europe.

References for Further Reading

Original sources for the study of life on the medieval manors are listed in the bibliography for the eighteenth chapter of the third volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*. Further bibliographical aid will doubtless be given in one or more of the volumes of that work yet to be published.

Prosper M. Boissonnade's *Life and Work in Medieval Europe* contains a wide survey of medieval country life and has a well selected bibliography. A volume by G. Bourgin on *The Development of Rural and Town Life* is announced. Marc Block's *Rois et Serfs* is a study of the policy of the Capetian Kings towards the serfs on the royal domain from about the middle of the twelfth century to the accession of the House of Valois. Karl Bücher, *Industrial Evolution*. Romolo Caggese's *Classe e comuni rurali nel medio evo Italiano* is a masterly work. William Cunningham, *Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects*. George G. Coulton's *The Medieval Village* is the best general book on the subject in English. Leopold Delisle's *Études sur la condition de la classe agricole en Normandie au Moyen Âge*, published in 1851, remains one of the best of our derived sources of information. L. Hartmann, *Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Italiens im frühen Mittelalter*. Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines religieuses de la France* deals with the rural parishes from the fourth to the eleventh century. Julius Klein's *The Mesta: a Study in Spanish Economic History* begins only with the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Ephraim Lipson, *An Introduction to the Economic History of England*.

Achille Luchaire, *Social France.* There is a very interesting chapter on village life in medieval England in Augustus Jessopp's *The Coming of the Friars.* Frederic W. Maitland and William P. Baildon, *The Court Baron.* Eileen Power, *Medieval People.* Paul Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century; Growth of the Manor; Villainage in England.* An excellent map of a medieval manor is to be found in W. R. Shepherd's *Historical Atlas.*

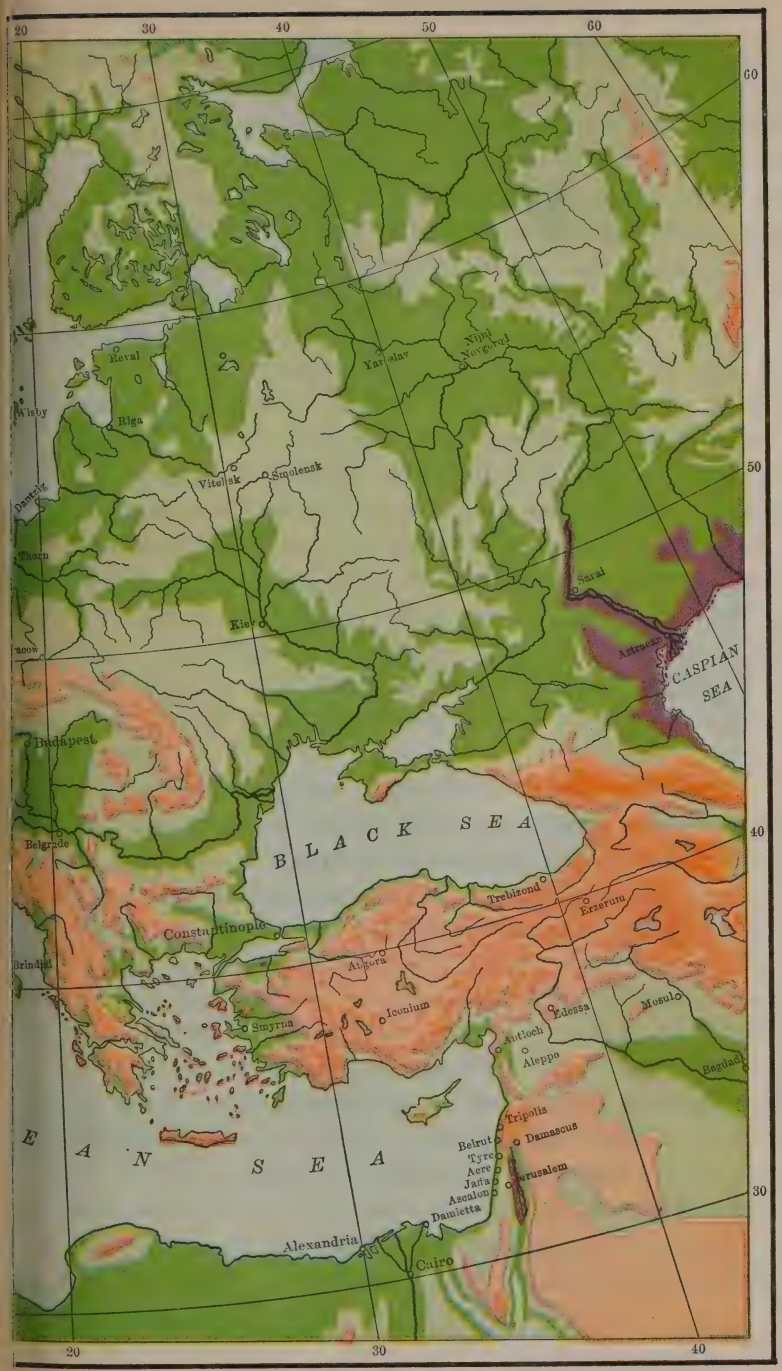
CHAPTER 24

THE RISE OF THE TOWNS

Causes of the rise and development of towns. In the medieval period the center of gravity was the country. The great mass of the people, nobles and peasants, lived there. Medieval life was first and foremost a rural life. Towns were always an exception to feudalism and the manorial system. Yet as time went on several forces developed, such as the need of security, justice, markets, pilgrimages, that brought about a concentration of people within walled towns. The town of Saint-Omer, in northeastern France, was built to provide security. It was only an abbey in the ninth century. Twice it was devastated by the Northmen. Then the monks surrounded their monastery with walls, and after that the peasantry crowded into it so persistently that within twenty years it had become a town. Cateau-Cambrésis, some forty-five miles away, came into existence because of the establishment and prosperity of a market. Markets were set up at crossroads and on the banks of rivers at landing stages. There the neighboring populations came together to exchange their goods; and so gradually towns developed in such places. They also grew up at places fortunate enough to produce salt or some other useful mineral, and at shrines to which throngs of pilgrims wended their way. In every country, however, the most important towns were summoned into existence on the great trading routes.

Town sites. Many medieval towns occupied sites of cities that had flourished in the days of the Roman Empire. In some cases there was not much left of those old towns. Even in the south of France, where the urban civilization of Rome had been firmly planted, there was often not much

MEDIEVAL TOWNS AND UNIVERSITIES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
10
0
10
60
50
40
30
0
10
Bergen
Stourbridge
London
Canterbury
Dordrecht
Bruges
Ghent
Louvain
Calais
Cateau-Cambresis
Rouen
Caen
Saint Malo
Paris
Saint Denis
Lagny-sur-Marne
Angiers
Orleans
Provins
Troyes
Tours
Mirabeau
Limoges
Angoulême
Bordeaux
Corunna
Santiago de Compostella
Bayonne
Pamplona
Valladolid
Palencia
Coimbra
Salamanca
Lisbon
Toledo
Toulouse
Nismes
Beaucaire
Montpellier
Arles
Avignon
Lerida
Valencia
Barcelona
Cordova
Seville
Cadiz
Granada
Almeria
Gibraltar
Fez
Oran
Algiers
Tunis
Kairwan
Gabes
Tripoli
Messina
Hamburg
Lubec
Wismar
Stettin
Bremen
Magdeburg
Cologne
Frankfort-on-Main
Breslau
Prague
Nuromberg
Strasburg
Augsburg
Basel
Dat-sur-Aube
Vercelli
Milan
Vicenza
Padua
Venice
Piacenza
Genoa
Pistoia
Bologna
Ravenna
Florence
Lucca
Siena
Ancona
Arezzo
Rome
Gaeta
Amalfi
Naples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Reval
Wisby
Riga
Dantzic
Thorn
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Yaroslav
Nijni Novgorod
Kief
Saral
Astracan
CASPIAN SEA
Budapest
Belgrade
BLACK SEA
Trebizond
Erzerum
Constantinople
Brindisi
Angora
Iconium
Smyrna
Edessa
Mosul
Antioch
Aleppo
Bagdad
Tripolis
Damascus
Belrut
Tyre
Acre
Jaffa
Ascalon
Jerusalem
Damietta
Alexandria
Cairo
E A N S E A

in common, except the site and name, between the medieval town and its ancient predecessor. Many of the old Roman cities had been ruined, depopulated, and often destroyed, by invasion and war. Yet many others had survived the scourge of the invasions. They had, it is true, experienced the full flood of decay. Their population had been much reduced, their buildings had fallen into ruin, to a great extent their walls had crumbled, and the countryside had invaded their empty spaces with gardens and even with fields. They had lost governmental unity. Autun, for instance, was divided between the bishop, who took the upper part of the town, and the duke, who had gained the lower part; while the outside boroughs were shared by three abbeys. Such partitions of the old towns were a general fact. There were few ancient cities in which the previous municipal unity had not been replaced by arbitrary divisions and complicated jurisdictions. One reason why these old towns had continued from ancient into medieval times was the fact that many of them had been retained as episcopal sees, and another was their situation at meetings of old trade routes.

The approach to a medieval town. Medieval towns differed greatly from one another. There was a wide variety of type. It is therefore possible to depict town life of that time only in the most general terms. Yet they were all alike in that none of them dwindled into suburbs, but lay inclosed within its walls, a completely finished picture, with many towers and steeples pointing to the sky. The first thing to be seen of the town, as one went to it out of the forest or off the heath, was a brick or stone wall, built against the attack of some hostile feudal lord, or the peril of invading Norman, Hungarian, or Saracen. Once it had been only a mound of earth, planted with briars and brush. The road ran through the pasture grounds of the townsfolk, and then through their tilled fields and gardens. There were towers at the angles of the walls, and double towers at the gate-

ways. On the highest summit in the town stood the structure that made one shudder, the gallows, with a flock of crows wheeling about it in the air. In those wild times it was not often empty, perhaps only on the occasion of a visit of the seigneur, or of some member of the royal family. For then, as now, all sorts of men found their way to the cities, vagabonds, adventurers, thieves, and so the law was harsher than in the country districts, abounding with such punishments as amputation of hands, or feet, and hanging. A hanging or a burning at the stake was a raree-show. People took an unfeeling delight in such spectacles. On another height stood the pilgrimage chapel with a winding way going up to it, and along the way were pictures or statues of the fourteen stations of the cross. If there were no hills, the way of the cross led to the burying ground, to God's Acre, or Peace Court, in the beautiful words of the Middle Ages. At first every one lived within the walls. This made it necessary to build another ring of walls when the town grew. Florence had to build a second and larger circle of walls in 1172, and a third circle in 1299, because of the continued swarming of the peasantry into the city. But in the thirteenth century, with the growth of the royal power and the lessening of feudal turbulency, some people already lived outside. Rivers were used for moats wherever possible. Mills were built on boats in the stream, such as may still be seen at Verona Only after an examination were strangers allowed to enter the gates.

The streets. City streets were by no means broad and straight. They were merely passageways between the houses, narrow, dark, crooked, and mostly unpaved. Even in Paris, in the first part of the thirteenth century, the only paved streets were those leading to the city gates. In rainy weather all the others were veritable sloughs. "The mud was too deep" was a favorite and frequent excuse of canons who were tardy at the cathedral services, or at some meeting of their chapter. When royalty visited a town, straw was

scattered over the mud. There were no sidewalks, either; and many a street in continental towns is still too narrow to permit of such a convenience for pedestrians. The streets were filled with people. Venders of food and dealers in miscellaneous articles went about crying their wares. There was one sound that always drowned all the other noise of the busy life, and which, with a variety of tones but never dissonant, lifted everything into order,—that of the bells. The bells were like good spirits watching over the daily life, that with familiar voice proclaimed now sorrow, now joy, now peace, now tumult, that now uproused and now admonished. But there was a great variety of sounds as well as scenes. Fights between apprentices of different trades were numerous. Each industry had its own street from which the men would sally forth to attack those of another trade, or in which they would in turn barricade themselves. All the day long the streets were the scenes of active life and varied tumult. Pigs were always to be found there, and at night cattle. Early in the morning the herdsmen drove out the cows and goats. There were no sewers, only depressions in the middle of the streets into which was flung all the refuse. Street cleaning was intrusted to the rains of heaven and the voracity of the pigs. When storms descended the eaves of the houses spouted water in streams, and in the narrow streets the channels ran deep and strong. Usually, however, it was necessary to pick one's way carefully across the reeking gutters. Yet in many towns, despite the lack of drainage, wells were located in the streets. No wonder the pestilence often swept through one town after another. About the middle of the fourteenth century efforts were made to bring in water from the outside; but it was more water, rather than better, that was desired. Happy the town that had running water in some of its streets. It was good for the weavers, the dyers, the tanners, and the pigs. In some towns all the water was carried in from the river outside the walls. Some of the streets were named after

the craftsmen and merchants who lived in them. Threadneedle Street was where the tailors lived in London; mementoes of pilgrimage were to be bought in the little shops of Mercery Lane in Canterbury; furriers were to be found in the Via della Pelliceria in Arezzo; and shoemakers plied their trade in the Rue de la Cordonnerie in Provins. At sunset the shops were closed. A little later the Angelus rang, bidding farewell to the dying day; and still later the curfew sounded its warning to cover the fires. Soon after this the last lights were extinguished, the watchmen fastened chains at the ends of the streets, and then the town slept quietly in the summer moonlight or the winter rain. Unless the moon were shining the crooked ways were as dark as pitch, and it was possible to get about only with a lantern. Town life improved as the years went on. There came a time when the heritage of squalor and rough disorder was no longer accepted without protest. Drainage was provided, and the streets were paved, swept, and lighted.

The quarters. There were distinct quarters in the medieval towns. There was one for the rich folk. These were usually the landed gentry and the more prosperous merchants, those who had made a fortune by selling land to the growing town and by trade. Then there was the quarter of the cathedral, sometimes inclosed within its own wall, especially if it stood in a wide and lordly space, as was often the case in England. There was also a slum quarter, indescribably dirty, profligate, and even felonious, full of mean tenements densely populated by the poor. Again there might be a soldiers' quarter, the garrison of the town, housed in a barracks with an interior court and stables for the cavalry. And by the end of the thirteenth century many towns had still another quarter, the Ghetto. There lived the Jews, most of them clinging passionately to a faith older than that of their rivals and persecutors; a few of the more thoughtful

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born.

Its inhabitants, members of a scattered nation, without a fatherland, yet with a mother tongue, regarded with mingled fear and hatred, were parted by exclusive laws and customs and prejudices from the people among whom they dwelt. They remained aliens in the land of their birth and their life; some of them, either as cause or consequence or both, were sharp, angular, and biting as acid. Ah, who to-day shall conjure up more than a faint conception of the sufferings and patience of this people, of the fear and desolation that must have held alternate sway in the homes and synagogues of their Jewries! To this quarter, a town within a town, which to some of the more imaginative outsiders was a gnomelike realm glowing duskily amid its squalor, travelers brought news of Israel from the remotest corners of central and eastern Europe and even from Palestine.

The houses. Within the town there were houses everywhere, even on top of the walls. Only a few of them were of brick or stone at this time. Even the best were usually framed with large beams of oak, placed at intervals, and the spaces between filled with wickerwork covered with stucco. They were crowded closely together, and each story projected somewhat beyond the one below, so that the upper stories overhung the street. Often there was only a foot-wide ribbon of sky between the wide and irregular eaves, so that, even when the sun was bright above the roofs, it was twilight below. Thatch gave place to tiles because of the incessant fires, for the extinguishing of which only a line of buckets filled with water from the near-by wells, was available. Then the roofs were made very steep so that the rain and melting snow would not find their way through the tiling; and, so crowded were many of the towns, the space under these sloping roofs was utilized for several additional stories, their gable windows often being very

picturesque. Balconies were sometimes built across the entire front of the houses; or little balconies were built under the windows, copied from the East. They gave charm and lightness to the architecture. And so, too, did the jalousies, the blinds or shutters, often brightly colored, made with slats sloping upward from without so as to shut out sun and rain and let in air and some light. The houses of the richer merchants vied with the castles of the nobles in comfort and luxury, and, indeed, in this respect, quite a number surpassed them. At the back of such dwellings were gardens, where flowers clustered in the borders, and the best rooms opened on these inner spaces. Each shopkeeper hung out his sign with some device representing his trade, for few could read. The doors on the ground floor, especially those of the shops, were made in two parts. They were cut across the middle. Usually in the daytime, if the weather was fair, the lower half was shut to keep out the pigs, and the upper half left open to admit light and air. Over these half doors one could lean and talk.

The church. Another building to be seen in the *piazza* was the church. It did not stand aloof in hierarchic isolation. In medieval times the townsfolk were connected with their parish church after a fashion that has been long unknown among us. They had a more extensive control of the building than they have in Catholic countries to-day. Many of the varied activities of our common life took place in it. On Sundays and feast days people went there to hear mass, and also to hear any news of importance that might be given out, for there were no newspapers then. It was the common hall of the people. They went there for all kinds of business, to audit the town accounts, to divide the common lands, to make grants of property, to hire soldiers, or to elect a mayor. Its bell called them to arms when danger threatened, when a fire broke out, and when the market was opened. Townsfolk were proud of their churches. They taxed themselves heavily to build and maintain them.

Even the poorest towns built new towers and hung new chimes.

The gild merchant. Townsfolk earned their living by trading and by the handicrafts. This it was that most clearly marked them off from the peasants. Yet many of them, at first, took some part in agriculture. Some of them possessed lands lying outside the walls on which they raised crops and pastured cattle. Trade and manufacture, however, summoned the town into existence, determined the habits of life of its people, and thus gave it character. Trade was carried on in foreign goods, in home manufactures, and in the surplus products of the manorial estates, above all else in wool and cloth. For its protection and regulation an organization known as the "gild merchant" began to grow up in every town late in the eleventh century; just as, at a later time, craft gilds arose for the regulation of manufacture. The merchant gilds seem to have included all who habitually engaged in selling. Sometimes such a gild controlled the entire trade of a wide district surrounding the town. And so important did trade become in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that in many cases the merchant gild also controlled the entire life of the town. Gild members did not take part, as such, in the government of the town; but the franchise was always restricted; most of those who possessed it were merchants; and so, quite naturally, there came to be a close connection between the members of the gild and the town government. Merchant gilds had a twofold purpose. They sought to keep the wheels of trade oiled, by combination and agreement, so that business would thrive; and they sought, by excluding outside rivals, to reap all the profit themselves. No one was to sell in the town and its tributary district except members of the gild. That, however, was only an ideal. Permission was often given, though always under stringent regulations, to outsiders to trade. Merchants in those days did not have large sums of money; nor did they own large

warehouses, make huge purchases, and then sell at an advanced price later on. They lived more from hand to mouth. They bought their goods from the craftsmen in small amounts and at customary prices. All purchases had to be made publicly before witnesses. Thus it was sought to prevent any single member from obtaining an unusual advantage. So great was the importance attached to this rule that any member found in possession of goods obtained secretly had to defend himself against a charge of theft. One cannot be certain, however, how far and how constantly all the elaborate regulations of the gilds were carried out in practice. Doubtless they were sometimes applied quite leniently. Beneath a seemingly uniform and stable system of economic and social regulation there was probably much variation and change. The merchant gild performed certain social services for its members. It helped them when they were ill, disabled, accused in a court, imprisoned, or otherwise afflicted by adversity; and when any one of them died his widow and children were given assistance. Some prosperous merchants contributed to these lay charities in their lifetime and when they died. They left estates to their gilds to maintain their sick and poor members in hospitals or almshouses, to educate their children, and to help their widows. Merchants were thus largely insured against the risks of life. Membership in such a valuable organization had, quite naturally, to be paid for; and it became hereditary, being transmitted from father to eldest son. Other citizens of the town, who were not merchants, could become members after being approved and paying the dues. Merchants living in other towns were also permitted to join, but only after paying a much higher fee.

The craft gild. In every town there also grew up associations of workmen, afterwards called craft gilds. They became clearly visible in the early part of the twelfth century. They were formed to regulate and preserve the monopoly of their occupations in their own town. Every one in a

craft had to become a member of the gild. As the towns grew the craftsmen naturally increased in numbers; and, when the merchant gilds were formed, they lost the right to sell to the public. They formed a new class. They were artisans, depending for support entirely upon the work of their hands. So they, too, combined to defend and promote their interests. In order to rise to the top of the craft one had to be an apprentice, then a journeyman, and finally a master. As an apprentice the boy, usually as he was entering his teens, was bound to a master, under a contract, generally for seven years; but the more difficult the trade the longer the preparation. In some places it required ten years to become a qualified goldsmith. The gild limited the number of such learners each master could take. Trades were, therefore, seldom overcrowded. A master might flog an apprentice; and he could chase him if he ran away. If a lad ran away three times he forfeited whatever rights he had gained in the trade. Apprentices learned to make their own tools and to prepare their material. When one had served his time he had to submit a masterpiece to the gild. It was not necessarily the finest work of which he was capable, but a piece of good, ordinary work. If he were approved he became a journeyman, qualified to work at his craft for wages. Some youths, when they became full-fledged craftsmen, traveled from town to town. The period was their *wanderjahre*. When the wandering journeymen arrived at a town where they wished to work for a time they had to meet at a certain place where the masters came to hire. There they stood in a row, while the masters walked down the line and selected those who suited them. Some of them went far into the East even to the land of the Saracens. The masters worked at the trade, side by side with their journeymen and their apprentices; and their sons who followed their fathers' occupation far more frequently than is the case in our country to-day, had to serve apprenticeship. On an average a master had two or three

journeymen and as many apprentices. Almost all industries were carried on in the dwelling houses. So the apprentices, journeymen, and masters were thrown together, and there were not such great differences between employers and employees as there are now. Manufacture, production, was the thing with which the craft gilds were most concerned. What happened to the goods when made was left to the merchant gilds. Every craft gild aimed to preserve the monopoly of its craft in the town. It limited the number of apprentices, regulated the hours of labor, prescribed the way in which the work was to be done, determined the quality of the goods, and often fixed the prices. This minute supervision is a distinctive form of the medieval love of tutelage. Craftsmen had not only to meet the needs of the local community, but also to supply goods for export. Upon their taste, judgment, and skill the prestige and welfare of the town depended to a large degree. So the gilds, aided in some places by the state, strove to raise their work to a high pitch of perfection and to keep it there. They looked after the purchase of the raw materials; and for the manufacture of cloth intended for export, permitted only the best kinds of wool to be used. Adulteration was punished with severe fines. Night labor was generally forbidden, for the work might be less carefully done by candlelight and there would be greater danger of fire. Only the best dyes were to be used for the superior kinds of cloth; and every piece of cloth was to be of a particular length and breadth. The gild system limited production to a small scale and proscribed all spirit of initiative and enterprise. Yet industry flourished. Towards the close of the medieval period many master craftsmen became wealthy employers of labor; and they also sold a good part of their products directly to the public. They were able to do this because they were also members of the merchant gild. So the sharp distinction between the two kinds of gilds was gradually blurred, and little by little the

gild merchant lost its vitality and was displaced by the craft gilds. So powerful did the latter become that at the end of the thirteenth century they secured control of the town government in a number of Italian cities, especially in Florence, Siena, Lucca, and Pistoia.

Social functions of the craft gilds. Craft gilds, like those of the merchants, had their social functions. They gave help to the sick and needy, to widows and orphans. They sent visitors to those who were ill or in prison. They attended the burial of a member in a body. Once a year and sometimes oftener, all the members gathered in their hall or at some inn for a banquet. Usually all the members of a craft lived in the same street, or in the same neighborhood; and so they were brought together daily, and went to the same parish church. Common religious observances were held by the craftsmen not only at the funerals of members, but also on the day of the saint to whom their craft was dedicated. Every trade had a patron saint, whose special protection it invoked,—Anastasia for the weavers, Catherine the Virgin for the haberdashers, Crispin for the shoemakers, George for the armorers, Joseph for the carpenters, Lydia for the dyers, Martin for the saddlers, Peter for the fishmongers, Stephen for the stonemasons, Thomas the Martyr for the bow makers, and for the cloth makers the Blessed Virgin. Most craft gilds kept up a shrine or a chapel for the patron saint in the parish church. Fines for the breaking of gild rules were often ordered to be paid in wax so that a candle might always be burning on the fraternity altar.

Markets. Close under the sheltering walls of the parish church or the cathedral one might find the market of a medieval town, whose symbolical sign came to be a cross like the one still standing at Banbury. Often the square, or *piazza*, was surrounded by an arcade, such as may be seen in Salamanca to-day, with stalls for the sale of commodities, and from the market place straight streets led

to the city gates. There people met at fixed times for the sale and purchase of goods. Not every town had a market. It was a privilege to possess one. A market was the result of a special grant from the feudal lord of the district, or from the king. Sometimes this grant was made to the town government; but often it was given to a neighboring abbot or noble. In northern and central Italy most of the markets and the revenues derived from them, like the port dues and river tolls and other sources of medieval wealth, seem to have been in the control of churches and monasteries. A market was held for one or two days each week, or fortnight, or month, as the terms of the grant decreed. Generally there was not much other trade in the town while the market was open. At first exchanges were made in kind; but in later times payments were made in money. Tolls for the privilege of selling were paid to the person or corporation that "owned" the market. The things sold were usually the products of the town and the surrounding country, especially articles of food. Frequently things were sold by weight on one day, and other things by measurement on another. Sometimes markets were held just outside the town. Towns were eager to secure markets. It meant an increase of population; and there one could have a larger choice and make bargains. Owners, too, found markets profitable. They rented grounds, stalls, weights, and measures. In time permanent buildings were erected. Such is Covent Garden in London where fruits and flowers are sold, and Les Halles in Paris. Then markets were held for a longer and longer time, until at last some of them became permanent. They gave rise to a new activity that filled the roads with merchants, chapmen, and carriers. Wagons, pack horses, and travelers multiplied. A great volume of commerce poured from town to town. Markets declined in later centuries with the development of town life, but a revival of the old market place may be seen in the huge modern emporia, or department stores, in the United States.

Fairs. Fairs were an old institution coming down from immemorial antiquity. The word seems to be derived from the Latin *feria*, a name for a pagan festival. It was doubtless borrowed for her own religious festal days by the medieval church. Many fairs were held at the feast of some saint. A fair was a periodical gathering of buyers and sellers, in a place and at a time ordained by charter or statute or by ancient custom. They were usually held once a year, or every six months, or at most every quarter. Most of the famous fairs of medieval times were grants to abbots, bishops, or other ecclesiastical dignitaries from the king. Generally the fair was held in a wide field or meadow near a town. Just before the opening the owner of the fair took possession of the meadow. Wooden booths were erected for rent, or ground set aside for those who wished to put up their own tents or to sell their wares in the open. When the fair was opened no merchant could buy or sell in the district except at the fair. "No manner of man or woman", said a town council, "shall keep open shop in the town on that day, or shall show their goods in the street, but shall resort unto the fair there as it is wont to be kept". Thus, within the limits of the prescribed time and place, there was a monopoly of trade; and the owner made his profit from the tolls and other revenues. The fair had its own government. It was in the hands of the officials whom the owner had placed in charge. There were usually notaries for the attestation of bargains, a court of justice, police officers, sergeants for carrying out the sentences of the court, and visitors who examined the quality of the goods offered for sale. It was the effort of this staff to keep good order and enforce fair dealing. The court sat continually throughout the fair. Its procedure was summary; and perhaps from its willingness to hear the suits of merchants and wayfarers just as they were, with the dust of the field on the shoes, came its name of *pied poudreux*, the dusty-foot court, which the English called the court of "pie powders." The law

followed by these courts in dealing with disputes between buyers and sellers was known as the "law merchant". It was somewhat less rigid than the common law in the North, and milder than the written law in the South. But punishment of crimes committed at a fair was unusually severe, as well as expeditious. One could find all sorts of things at a fair, colored leathers from Cordova and Morocco; amber and furs and hides from the North; delicate glass and jewels, spices, and fabrics of cotton, linen, and silk, from the East. Animals were bought and sold there, too; and in some parts of the continent, slaves. Fairs were frequented by merchants from all parts of Europe, from northern Africa, and from Syria and Asia Minor. Syrian traders established a powerful association in Paris. Genoese and Venetian ships brought back goods obtained from Russian caravans on the shores of the Black Sea, and from Arab traders in the delta of the Nile. Currency of all nations was in circulation, so there had to be a money exchange. In this way the fairs helped to make the western and northern countries acquainted with the banking and financial systems of the Lombards and Florentines. They also did not a little to arouse and nourish an international spirit. And then, as Henri Pirenne reminds us, the wandering merchant "brought nobility to the midst of people attached to the soil, he revealed to a world faithful to tradition and respectful of a hierarchy which fixed the rôle and the rank of each class, a shrewd and rationalistic activity in which fortune, instead of being measured by social status, depended only upon intelligence and energy". In many cases fairs were resorted to for pleasure as well as business; and in some places they survive to-day only as gatherings for pleasure. They have always been fascinating. They are among the peep shows of life. Acrobats were there, ropedancers, jugglers, animal trainers with trick dogs and performing bears, clowns, minstrels, and perambulating troops of players, jabbering in every idiom and patois of the continent, amusing the crowd

with their skill and traditional buffooneries. To the modern spectator the most wonderful thing would have been the people. They thronged the place and were delighted by the sights and the sounds. Nothing was too trivial for them to see. The fairs of the later medieval centuries flourished because they were held on the great highways of commerce, on the leading trade routes of the time. That of Beaucaire was near the mouth of the Rhone, at the door of the commercial world of the Mediterranean and the Orient. The great fair of Frankfort-on-Main was situated at a meeting of river and roads. Notable fairs were those of Salamanca and Granada in Spain and Stourbridge in England; but all through the medieval period the French fairs were the most important in western Europe. Great fairs were held all the year round in the four cities of Troyes, Provins, Lagny-sur-Marne, and Bar-sur-Aube in Champagne. They were at their zenith from the twelfth to the fourteenth century as a center of world commerce. They were frequented by Italians, Provençals, northern Frenchmen, Spaniards, Englishmen, Flemings, and western Germans. Merchants from the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany, furnished with privileges by the kings of France, formed permanent associations there, exchanged spices and silks for wool and cloth, and also acted as bankers to the secular grandees and the spiritual dignitaries of central France. Other French fairs were those at Caen, in Normandy, and Saint-Denis, near Paris. The last was for more than five hundred years one of the centers of continental commerce, and its charter is the oldest one known in Europe.

Roads. Merchants traveled in caravans from one fair to another, carrying with them the merchandise bought and sold in the course of their journeyings. But the roads at that time were very poor. In order to understand medieval life we must keep in mind the bad and dangerous condition of the roads, the small number of highways, and the con-

sequent wide separation of places and the slowness and uncertainty of news. Because of the perilous condition of the roads much use was made of rivers. Rivers, too, enabled one to avoid the daily lading and unlading of the beasts of burden. Almost the only roads left were the old Roman roads, and they were falling into decay. The usual road was a mere cart path, about six feet wide, called a career. The Latin word *carrus* means wagon; in French the word *carriere* means a race course; and the Spanish word *carrera* means road. Where the old imperial paved roads ended they were often continued by these paths, primeval trade routes, trodden for centuries, which led over the moors and through the forests to the Atlantic, the Baltic, and the steppe country north of the Caspian Sea. Taxes were levied for the building and care of roads, and peasants were obliged to work on them; but still they were in poor condition.

Bridges. Even worse than the lack of good roads was the need of bridges. Most of those built in imperial times had fallen down. In some places there were bridges of ropes; but oftener there was a ferry, a boat fastened to a rope stretched across the river. Pilgrims suffered much from the bad roads and the want of bridges. They were bound to go to the place for which they had set out, and they did not have much money in their pockets. Often they had to stay for days at some monastery near a swollen river which they could not cross. It was hard on the pilgrim if he did not find a monastery near by, and it was hard on the monastery if he did. So the prelates encouraged the building of bridges. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries several religious associations were founded for the purpose of promoting the building of bridges, especially in southern France; and even where no such organization was formed indulgences were granted to those who helped, by money or labor, in building a bridge. Bénézet (1165–1184), a Provençal ecclesiastic, is said to have helped in building the

old stone bridge at Avignon. Only four arches of it remain, but French children still sing about the Pont Saint Bénézet.

Among the bridges built by these associations were those at Bonpas, Lourmarin, Mallemort, and Mirabeau. A fine stone bridge was a great achievement. Often there was a chapel to a saint on the bridge. Offerings left in the alms-box at this shrine over the waters went to keep the bridge in repair. A bridge was a very good place to trade, for people had to go by. So sometimes shops were built on the bridges and rented to tradesmen. Such was the case at Florence, where for six hundred years the goldsmiths have occupied the little shops of the Ponte Vecchio. Travelers were often afraid of bridges in lonely places. They had to go over them, and they were not sure they would be able to get over them in safety, for robbers lay in wait near such likely places. The church did all she could to do away with highway robbery. Her abbots and bishops, passing from one of their estates to another, were among the chief sufferers; and pilgrims were often molested. She made knights swear not to despoil such travelers. Then came self-help. Towns armed themselves, and established permanent convoys.

Inns. There was a great lack of inns at this time. Along the great roads that radiated from imperial Rome there had been inns; but, of course, most of them disappeared in the time of the barbarian invasions. Monasteries then made regular provisions for travelers. Some of them had a guest chamber outside the precincts. Usually it consisted of a hall, round which were sleeping rooms. Nobles could stop at castles and manor houses, for there hospitality was seldom denied. As time went on monks established hospices for pilgrims and other travelers in desolate places, on the great open heaths of central France and high up in the passes of the Alps. There a bell rang all night long in time of storm. But these hostelries offered a new temptation to the brigands. They hid near these places, too. Travel was

constantly increasing, and so, quite naturally, there came a time when the scanty accommodation of monastery and hospice became inadequate to meet the requirements of pilgrims and merchants. Private inns, first of all in the towns, were gradually established. They were called hotels; and there was a considerable variety of them. The townsfolk resorted to them, spending the evenings there with their families, as they still do in some parts of Europe. The establishment of inns began in the thirteenth century; and so profitable did they become that even the feudal lords built them. More than anything else it was the development of markets and fairs, and the consequent increase of traffic, that led the towns to provide inns, where, to the profit of the community, travelers might turn for shelter. But they were also needed for pilgrims, and so we find some of the earliest at such places as Santiago de Compostella. Innkeepers, too, formed gilds; one of the most powerful being that at Bologna, where thousands of students had to be lodged.

Social life in the towns. It was a busy life, this of the towns, a life where the citizens themselves watched over their boundaries, defended their territory, kept peace in their borders, took charge of the common property, governed the spending of the town treasure, labored with their own hands at all public works, and ordered their own amusements. In all these things the medieval townsman had his training. The claims of the town were never allowed to slip from his remembrance. The social life of the towns was greatly developed by the crusades, first of all in Italy. There we find the several classes, at first so much opposed, beginning to merge like the colors of the spectrum. At the top were the wealthy magnates, nobles who owned land, jurists, or prosperous merchants. Just below them were the well-to-do manufacturers and shopkeepers. Next were the retailers of local produce and goods, butchers, bakers, shoemakers, with their petty shops. Still further down

were the craftsmen who worked at their trades. And then came the apprentices, the unskilled workmen, and others who were at the bottom of the ladder. The relative rank in the series differed from town to town. The enriched merchants had social aspirations. They bought land from the impoverished scions of feudal families, some of them thereby gaining castles, and expected from it the fulfillment of new ambitions. In the second half of the thirteenth century many such estates with castles came into the possession of the money lenders and sellers of salt in Siena. And there were also frequent family alliances by which blue blood and golden florins entered into a compact. Castle life was falling into decay; but crusaders and merchants had brought back new tastes and a higher standard of living from the East; and so the wealthy townsfolk took over the forms of a chivalric life and adapted them to the uses of a richer and more cultured age. Festivals were many, and were celebrated with a luxury that often surpassed the display of the tournaments. In many towns there was an incessant round of gaieties. Troubadours and trouvères were welcome there. When the fine weather came they renewed their easy-going life, started off on their travels, and journeyed from town to town. But the towns did not depend entirely upon such visitors for entertainment. They developed their own talent. In many places there were entertainers who emulated the *festaiuoli* of Florence. Pantomine, comic interludes, ballets, and drama were encouraged. Variety of characters and an astonishing richness of costume lent an unmatched splendor to these spectacles. A passion for pomp and splendor gradually became characteristic of the more populous towns in Italy. Ah, but life grew harder, in some respects, as the years went on! The pressure of business became greater. There was an increase in the number of depressed workers. Competition between communes and between countries became keener. The claims of town life became more exacting. So we can scarcely wonder that

most of the burghers took little thought of matters that lay beyond their town walls. Yet within the narrow limits of the town experience was rich and varied, and already there were foreshadowings of the glorious literature and art of the Renaissance.

Economic development. Let us note something of the economic growth of the towns. Until the twelfth century was drawing to a close commerce avoided the ocean. It employed ships in the Mediterranean; but it did not often venture beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. It followed the land routes across the heart of the continent. But, fostered by the crusades, it underwent many changes in the thirteenth century. The formation of the modern nations helped greatly. Kings became able to lessen, if not entirely to end, the innumerable feudal wars. A great improvement was the circulation of coins minted in the royal treasuries of France and England. In the natural economy of the manorial system money was not needed; but when the standard of life was raised, and industry and commerce developed, money had to be used. Many feudal lords claimed and exercised the right of coinage, and, of course, this led to much confusion. With the growth of the royal authority, however, private coinage was more and more restricted. Banking and bookkeeping also lent their aid. The first public bank in western Europe was organized on the bridge known as the Rialto in Venice. Bills of exchange were first negotiated, and other forms of finance and bookkeeping started there. With these slips of paper, instructing someone in a far-off town to pay, the merchants could snap their fingers in the faces of the robber knights or the runaway peasants who had turned brigands and lived in the woods. So trade between towns of the same nation and with those in foreign countries developed. And still another aid appeared. The mariner's compass became familiar in the ports of western Europe about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Seamen then entered upon a more en-

lightened and adventurous course of navigation. In 1330 a French vessel sighted the Canary Islands. A new era was opening.

Foreign trade. Foreign trade now became the best opportunity for large ventures. This made capital necessary, and so borrowing came into vogue. Up to this time religious sentiment had regarded the taking of interest, under ordinary circumstances, as a sin. The usurious exactions of capitalists in the fourth and fifth centuries, a time of moral decadence and avarice, were vehemently denounced by the fathers of the church. They opposed all taking of interest. The charging of moderate rates seems scarcely to have been considered by them. And all through the intervening centuries interest had remained under the ban of the church. The only money lenders, therefore, had been the Jews. But now banking was taken up by the Italians and their commerce was thereby greatly facilitated. Venice, hidden away in the lagoons and having nothing of its own to offer in trade except salt and the richly colored glassware her craftsmen made, built up a great commerce by a system of state aid and protection. What she glimpsed while carrying crusaders and their supplies across the sea had suggested much. She built fleets of merchant vessels, leased them every year to the highest bidders for trading purposes, ordered the conduct of their business so that the greatest public wealth would be secured, and enacted laws to protect her citizens from competition. Her merchants traded with Greece, Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt. They became lords of the Morea, and of a number of islands in the Levant. Her repute and her resources were so greatly increased during the crusades that she became the great emporium of the Mediterranean. Her ships traveled farther still. In the fourteenth century they filled the ports of England. Genoa followed the example of Venice; and she was greatly helped in doing so by having taken advantage of the carrying trade created by the crusades, by her splendid harbor, and

by her situation at the foot of the Maritime Alps. She built and fortified trading stations in the Levant, on the shores of the Black Sea, and even on the banks of the Euphrates. Commerce also developed in the far north. Towns formed themselves into leagues for mutual protection against pirates and robbers. These temporary associations finally led, in 1241, to the founding of the great Hanseatic League. This confederation came to include more than eighty-five towns, extending from Riga to Cologne. In order to facilitate the trading operations of its members it organized armies, equipped navies, maintained warehouses, inns, and chapels in foreign cities, and exercised the rights and claimed the privileges of sovereignty. Bruges became the great intermediate station between Italy and northern Europe. Wisby was the center of the trade with Sweden and Finland; Bergen that of the Norwegian coast trade; while Russian products were gathered at Novgorod.

Capital and labor. Towns experienced a continual growth in industry. Our thoughts turn to the workshops of the thirteenth century, to the armorers and clothiers of Milan, to the linen refiners of Florence, to the silk weavers of Lucca; they turn to the masters and journeymen of Bruges, Nuremberg, and Augsburg, pictured in certain old woodcuts serenely feasting on sausages and beer. It was largely through their varied and intense activity that the conditions of modern life came into existence. Above all else let us glance at the workers in Florence. It was there that industry first broke through the limitations, imposed by the gilds, and developed into a capitalistically organized activity. Wool had to be imported from afar, from England and Spain; and then the sale of the finished cloth in the world market required an expansion of the small scale production hitherto prescribed. A large amount of capital was now needed. The wholesale mercantile dealer appeared on the scene. The skilled workers were reduced from the position of independent craftsmen to that of paid employees. These new

capitalists controlled the purchase of the raw material, prescribed the conditions of labor to the craftsmen, sold the cloth, and pocketed the profits. There were varying conditions among the workers (men, women, and children; some working in their own houses, others in the central workshops of the wholesale dealers; carders, combers, weavers, dyers, fullers, stretchers, finishers), but the situation of all of them showed the harshness and shady side of a capitalistic organization limited and mitigated by no higher authority. The greater number of the workers were in the power of the wholesale dealers and their gild; they led a life by no means enviable; and they were virtually helpless against the oppression of the new plutocracy. The workers were the stepchildren of the growing republic, whose riches and greatness they were nevertheless helping to create. Elements of a similar capitalistic régime were also to be found in the weaving industry in Genoa, Venice, and still more in the towns of Flanders. But nowhere else did the capitalistic permeation of industry make its way so completely, and nowhere else did the contrast between the powerful and pitiless wholesalers and the disfranchised workers show itself so crudely, as in Florence. Still the towns gave labor a new dignity. And it was industrial progress that slowly lifted the masses out of their dumb helplessness. Imperceptibly it changed their life. In later years their demand that municipal government should be carried on by their consent became loud and persistent. And it was because of their life in the town that the working people were able to rise and make themselves heard in national government. Florence is perhaps the outstanding example of the industrial growth of these bursting towns, vibrant with the life of thousands of craftsmen and merchants, flaunting from their towers the gonfalons of gain, and learning, and art. There were many internal quarrels, but its superior cloth was sold in many countries, and so prosperous did it become that its florin was accepted as the standard gold piece throughout

Europe. By the middle of the fourteenth century it had become a distinctly democratic republic whose industrial and commercial prosperity enabled it to be a center of literature and art, the cradle of the Renaissance.

Development of urban culture. The transition from the natural economy of the manors to the capitalism of the towns was one of the greatest revolutions in history. It was slow, but decisive. And with the wealth it brought, and the new conditions of life it called into existence, a notable development of culture was made inevitable. It was a culture that knew little of feudalism or chivalry, and that cared even less for medieval theology and metaphysics. It was democratic in its aspirations and secular in its character. So it came to be widely removed from medieval society, from its organization, its ideals, and its temperament. Gradually the high-strung ascetic ideal of life gave place to an active worldliness. Earthly ideals and motives became increasingly apparent, personal ambition, desire of wealth and fame, municipal pride and national patriotism. All through the thirteenth century we can see this strong and soaring secular culture making its triumphant way, freeing the upper strata of society from the monastic ideal of the renunciation of life, giving to them a new mood, inciting them to new endeavors, placing before them new ideals and new aims. Even the lower masses were affected by it. The more capable and ambitious of them heard the drum and quickstep of the race and pressed forward eagerly to join the march. For though in the vivid and multifarious life of the towns the weak are beaten and drop out of the race quicker than in the country, the strong acquire a greater force and win a greater independence. Every active man is, in one way or another, a seeker after excitement. And so the growth of the towns was due not only to their industrial and commercial prosperity, but also to the fact that they were exciting, that their stimuli were far more multiple and varied than those of the manorial estates.

All this helped to develop initiative. Townsfolk were now doing things that in earlier centuries had been carried on only by the great monastic orders. They took care of the sick, aided the poor, and protected the bereaved. They opened schools, established universities, and fostered the arts and sciences. Patiently they were teaching themselves many things. They learned the primary rules of courtesy and the simple maxims of morals. Gradually they built up a learning which the feudal nobility had been too proud, too indifferent, or too remote to give them. Their influence was chiefly on the side of peace and quietness. Art found in them skillful workers and generous patrons: engravers of seals and workers in brass, bellfounders, goldsmiths, makers of delicate shrines, illuminators and painters, sculptors and architects. They had minstrels, too, singers and players. They laid the foundations of a new society. The deepest fountains of mystery are not wide fields and quiet skies, but the human mind and heart.

Development of municipal freedom. A town could have no independent life of its own as long as its inhabitants acknowledged an absolute subjection to a feudal lord. They had to bear the heavy burdens of services he imposed upon them. He could destroy their industry by calling upon them for service in war, or by laying upon them some grievous tax. He claimed supreme rights over the soil, so that the inhabitants could not dispose of their property against his will. He fixed the tolls and the laws of the market. So if the townsfolk were ever to develop a proper control of their own affairs it was necessary that they should first of all free themselves from the control of their feudal lord. In one way or another, therefore, they gained deliverance from the obligations and restrictions by which they were hindered. The pressure of the expanding times irresistibly swept away the lingering rights of the feudal nobles. Yet still the road was not entirely clear. There remained the authority of the king. Charters, granting the

desired immunity, had to be won from the sovereigns. Everywhere the burghers, in doing this, seized such opportunities as came to them. Sometimes they paid a good price for the coveted privileges; at other times they were strong enough to compel them; and occasionally they received them as the gift of a gracious ruler.

The Italian towns. The political growth of the towns became noticeable first of all in Italy. Very early it is perceptible in such coastal towns as Venice, Ravenna, Ancona, Bari, Amalfi, Naples, and Gaeta, which for a long time were subject only to the nominal overlordship of Byzantium. The presence of a bureaucracy, the more frequent relations with Constantinople, and the more favorable conditions for commerce brought about a development of civic life there before it could be seen elsewhere. All through the early medieval centuries the first city in the peninsula was Ravenna. Its population must have been very large for those times; and industry and commerce were stimulated by the needs of its inhabitants. Rome also gained a measure of independence quite early. She attracted a remarkable number of foreigners. There was a continual coming and going of embassies from other countries, of distinguished prelates with their suites, and of pilgrims of every social stratum. Several countries had their own national churches there, with their own hospices and cemeteries. All these strangers brought gifts and money with them, and quickened industry and trade; and especially they contributed to the development of money changing and banking. The *cambiatores* lent money even to the papal court. So the city prospered and her people did not find it difficult to assume control of their own affairs whenever the papal power decayed and neighboring feudal lords quarreled with one another. Very notable was the political independence of Venice. Her situation enabled her very early to become the supplier of eastern products to all the country on the mainland as far as the foot of the Alps. Her primacy over

the neighboring coasts made rapid progress; and then her caravans penetrated over the mountains to more distant countries, while her ships sailed ever farther into the West. And while this was being done she gradually substituted for the shadowy imperial authority of Byzantium, and that of the feudal lords from whom she acquired territory on the mainland, the rule of her own magistrates. She profited by the crusades, making hard gold and political advantage out of the enthusiasm of the northern and western knights. Her domes and towers, therefore, do not reach heavenwards, but only sunwards; and her great flagstaffs, from which flew the banner of the republic, were given pride of place in front of the cathedral. It was, however, the long quarrel over investiture between the emperors and the popes that furnished the opportunity of gaining political freedom to the towns in Italy. That warfare left a woeful legacy of party strife to the peninsula, setting house against house, city against city, and helping to delay the birth of national feeling. Yet it enabled the communes to gain the charters of self-government they desired, or to become autonomous without any such documents. At the beginning of the twelfth century Florence was under the rule of Countess Matilda of Tuscany. That capable and energetic lady died in 1115, and the city thenceforth figures, with many changes in its form of government, as an independent community. Milan and many other cities in the northern part of the peninsula threw off the yoke of their bishops and governed themselves. But no city established a real democracy. That form of government still lay far in the future. At best it was an oligarchy that ruled. And in many cases even that restricted rule was soon replaced by that of some feudal lord or soldier of fortune. Manufacturers and merchants, though they were willing to fight with rival cities for roads and rivers and ports, became weary of the turmoils within their walls. They desired peace, and orderly and centralized administration. So they submitted

to the rule of a single person. The age of the despots had come.

The French towns. French towns began to obtain political privileges in the first part of the twelfth century. But it was Philip Augustus (1180–1223) who really created the communes in that country. He was busily engaged in ending feudal insubordination and turbulency, and in return for their aid he gave them security and did something to satisfy their wish to govern themselves. Their political power, however, was not of long duration. By 1230 its decline had already set in; and fifty years later their condition, as regards self-government, was almost hopeless. Early in the following century their liberties, except the liberty to work and trade, were utterly extinguished. A century of growth followed by a century of decay, such is the political record of the towns in France. Some lost their freedom by craft; still more by violence. Devastating wars swept the plains of that country. Many towns were taken, sacked, and burned; and when those of their inhabitants who had fled to the woods came back, they prayed their lords to be disfranchised, for they could no longer bear the burdens of independence. Thus did civic freedom fail in France. Later on, after many years, it began its course afresh; but only in the throes of a bloody revolution.

The Flemish towns. This decline in political freedom did not, however, affect the towns of Flanders, although the county was under the suzerainty of France. Economic development displayed itself with rapidity and intensity in the great triangle inclosed by the Seine, the Rhine, and the North Sea. Traversed by a close network of rivers and canals which could be ascended by ships of some size to a considerable distance from the sea, connected by the Rhine with central Germany and the Alpine countries, and only a few hours' sail from England, this region was destined by its geographical situation to be the meeting place of the merchants of the north and west of Europe with those from

the countries of the Mediterranean. A very vigorous communal life was to be found there, especially in Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres. For quite a long time, indeed, these three cities, hard-working, rich, jealous of their freedom, ruled the entire county. Bruges, now, despite its modern additions, a dreamy autumnal town, a place with the melancholy and powerful fascination of the past, was, for two hundred years, the northern replica of Venice; and in the fourteenth century its bourse regulated the rate of exchange throughout Europe. Its position in world commerce and as a money market rested on the fact that trade routes from all directions met there. Merchants from many countries came to live there, bought land, built houses, and gave the city a cosmopolitan stamp.

The German towns. There were many self-reliant cities in Germany. The disintegration of the imperial power was an opportunity they did not fail to seize. Some of them had taken part in imperial politics from an early time. They struggled with prelates and princes to gain and keep the right to control their own affairs. They were greatly assisted in this in the north and west by the powerful Hanseatic League; and later on towns in southern Germany, enriched by trade over the Alpine passes with Italy, repeatedly formed leagues, an especially important one being concluded in 1254, to protect their interests against the bishops and nobles. Gradually many of the towns wrested from their feudal lords the rights of police, justice, tariff dues and also taxes that were far more just because they were assessed according to the ability of the individual to pay. Some of them even gained the right of coinage. They also proceeded to make the surrounding lands subject to them, gaining in some cases a territorial sovereignty of large extent, strove to obtain recognition as an independent state and to play an important part in the government of the empire. In all this they were greatly helped by their leagues. The peace and prosperity enjoyed by the cities brought about a

large migration of peasants to them which both the imperial and feudal authorities strove in vain to prevent by legislative means. "City air makes free" was a reality to those erstwhile serfs. For a time German cities were very successful in their political aspirations. "Wonderfully and vigorously", says an imperial document of the time, "did the cities care for peace and take in hand the first task of the state". But towards the close of the fourteenth century their power began to ebb. The feudal nobility, supported by the peasantry, who clung to the old agrarian system, were too strongly entrenched to be defeated. Yet in the midst of that lingering feudalism the towns did not become negligible. Their social and intellectual development continued; they were the citadels of the new power of money, of individuality and enterprise, for there everything depended upon personal achievement; and many of them became centers of the new civilization from which modern ideas radiated, by means of the trade routes, into many parts of the empire.

Towns in other lands. In other lands, also, the towns grew in political freedom. The outstanding town in this respect in the Spanish peninsula was Barcelona. The fame and wealth of that seaport was greatly increased by the union, in 1149, of Aragon and Catalonia. Soon its merchant vessels ventured to compete with those of Genoa and Venice, trading as far north as the Baltic and as far east as Alexandria. In 1258 it received permission to issue its own code of maritime law; it adopted the practice of marine insurance; and it sent consuls to represent it in the leading commercial ports of the Mediterranean. Cracow, then the capital of Poland, but now a town with the fragrance of autumn, the subtle charm of decay, enjoyed a measure of self-government. Situated in a fertile plain, at the meeting of several roads and at the head of navigation on the Vistula, it was by far the most important town in that frontier region. Ruined in 1241 by the Tartars, it soon recovered with the aid of

colonists from Germany; and sixteen years later it received a liberal charter of political autonomy. Even in the Scandinavian north some towns gained the right to manage their own affairs. But it is in the southern and central part of the continent that city life was most flourishing and progressive.

Significance of the rise and development of the towns. The significance of the rise of the towns in the history of civilization lies in the fact that it helped to disintegrate feudalism, to destroy the traditional immobility of the manorial estates, and to dissolve the medieval atmosphere of life. Towns developed industry and commerce and placed them upon the new basis of capital. Their inhabitants were doers rather than dreamers. The future of civilization lay with them far more than with the peasants in the country, the monks in the cloisters, or the nobles in the castles. Their life was certain to encourage the development of individuality. So they began to abound with the power that builds, the talent that invents, and the genius that adorns. Life was invigorated and transformed. It was the men of the towns who created the Renaissance.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for the study of the rise of the towns are very varied. They include municipal charters, political chronicles, and documents relating to the organization and activities of the gilds. As yet there is no inclusive bibliography of them, for the entire continent, available to the general reader. The best bibliographies at present for the general reader are those for chapters 15 and 16 of volume 6 of *The Cambridge Medieval History;* and, doubtless, we may look for others in the volumes yet to be published. In the meantime a brief list will be found on pages 258–259 of Louis J. Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History.*

Of use for this study are all the volumes in the series entitled *Medieval Towns.* E. Benson, *Life in a Medieval City.* Prosper M. Boissonnade's *Life Work in Medieval Europe* has a good bibliography; and a volume by him has been announced on *Maritime Trade and the Merchant Gilds.* W. A. Bewes, *Romance of the Law*

Merchant. Romolo Caggese, *Firenze dalla Decadenza di Roma al Risorgimento d'Italia.* M. V. Clarke's *The Medieval City State* is a brief and readable account, dealing chiefly with the political aspect of life, of the rise of the towns in Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. W. W. Carlile, *The Evolution of Modern Money.* Robert Davidson's *Geschichte von Florenz* is the chief authority on the history of that important city. Charles Diehl, *Venise.* A. Doren, *Studien aus der Florentiner Wirtschaftgeschichte.* G. Espinas's *La vie urbaine de Douai au moyen âge* is a monumental work. R. Eberstadt, *Der Ursprung des Zunftwesens und die älteren Handwerkerverbände des Mittelalters.* Charles Gross's *The Gild Merchant* is a masterly monograph. G. Grupp, *Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters.* Louis Halphen, *Paris sous les premiers Capétiens.* K. Hegel, *Städte und Gilden der germanischen Völker im Mittelalter;* also his *Die Entstehung des deutschen Städtewesens.* W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge. Die letzen beiden Jahrhunderts des Mittelalters* by R. Fischer, R. Cheppig, and L. Viereck deals with the towns in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. B. Heil, *Die deutschen Städte und Bürger im Mittelalter.* A. Giry and A. Reville, *Medieval Towns.* A. L. Guerard, *French Civilization.* W. King, *Chronicles of Three Free Cities.* M. Kovalewsky's *Die Ökonomische Entwicklung Europas bis zum Beginn der kapitalischen Wirtschaftsform* is the work, translated into German, of a great Russian historian. Kurt Kaser, *Das späte Mittelalter.* R. Kotzschte, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters.* H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig.* H. Lange's *Geschichte der Christlichen Liebestätigkeit in der Stadt Bremen im Mittelalter* is a detailed study of charitable endowments and institutions in a medieval city. E. Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières;* and also his *Histoire du commerce de la France.* Achille Luchaire, *Les communes françaises;* and also his *Les démocraties italiennes.* Gino Luzzatto, *Storia del commercio,* G. Maurer, *Geschichte der Städteverfassung in Deutschland.* E. M. Saint-Léon, *Histoire des corporations de métiers.* Henri Pirenne, *Belgian Democracy;* and also his *Medieval Cities.* Marcel Poëte, *Une vie de Cité: Paris.* S. Rietschel, *Markt und Stadt in ihrem rechtlichen Verhältniss.* G. Renard, *Histoire du Travail à Florence.* G. Salvemini, *Magnati e Popolani in Firenze.* F. Schneider, *Die Entstehung von Burg und Landgemeinde in Italien.* J. Sarthou, *Las asociaciones obreras en España.*

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CHAPTER 25

THE RISE OF THE NEW NATIONS

Racial and cultural elements of France. First born of the modern nations on the continent, the first with sufficient strength to offer battle successfully to feudalism, was France. In the early centuries of our era she was a compound of two races, two geniuses,—the Celts and the Latins. She was neither exclusively, but both at once. She had a double temperament. She was mystical and rational, enamored of liberty and authority, of change and order, of individualism and universality. To this mixture, and to the subsequent infusion of northern blood, she was to owe all the diversity and richness of her life. We shall see these two gifts in her dreams, her passions, her energies, and her institutions. They will explain her impulses and misgivings, her progress and recoils. And for her civilization she had the heritage of Greece, Rome, and Christianity.

The early Capetians. The history of France as a separate nation may be said to begin in 843 with the Partition of Verdun. The country was then ruled by the Carolingians. In 987, after a hundred years of rivalry, they were succeeded by the Capetians. Progress was slow, but the new dynasty never lost sight of a powerful kingship. We have already traced the history of the country to the death of Robert the Pious (996–1031), learning that, despite some gains, the claims of the family remained greater than its power. This weakness of the royal power is clearly seen on the death of Robert. A single revolt was sufficient to wrest the duchy of Burgundy from Henry I (1031–1060), which he was obliged to cede to his brother Robert. And other perils quickly arose. The entire reign was marked by incessant struggles against the nobles whose territories adjoined the

royal domain, and the latter part saw a contest with Normandy whose frontier was only twenty-five miles away from Paris. On all sides the monarchy lost ground. Throughout his long reign Philip I (1060–1108), however, defended his restricted possessions with courage, skill, and good fortune. Practical and unscrupulous, he knew that the royal title and consecration were not in themselves sufficient to form the basis of an effective sovereignty. Kingship must be based upon land. It must have men and resources. Philip, by purchase and by war, steadily increased the royal domain. He joined all the scattered lands of the crown between the Seine and the Loire. Still the work was incomplete. There remained many fortresses and seigniories intercalated between the royal lands, threatening the roads and hampering communications. Not until it destroyed them could the kingship unify its domain.

Louis VI and the Abbé Suger. The overthrow of this petty feudalism was the work of Louis VI (1108–1137), active, combative, almost always in the saddle, riding, sword in hand, through forests and bogs, the first of those soldier kings who redressed wrongs and championed the cause of peace. He stayed in his domain, carrying on the work of clearance. Twenty-four years of incessant war finally rid the land of the robber barons, bitterly denounced by contemporaries as ravening wolves and tools of the devil, who lived on the plunder of the roads leading to Paris. The severance of ecclesiastical benefices from the control of feudal lords completed this work of internal unity. Most of the monasteries of the domain were made dependent upon the crown; and at the same time the royal grip was tightened upon the bishoprics. At last the domain was consolidated. Then the machinery of administration was improved. Provosts with extensive powers were placed at the heads of towns. They were recruited from the humble folk, sworn foes of the feudal lords, and were obliged to render an account to the king. Towns were flourishing, and Louis encouraged

them in order to weaken his vassals. From the very first the provosts sought to extend their jurisdiction over ecclesiastical lands and seigniories. With them began the forging of the instrument that was continually to sap the foundations of feudalism. A parallel evolution went on at the same time in the central government. Paris became the habitual residence of the kings, as well as the center of the kingdom. The great offices, such as those of chancellor, constable, and chamberlain, hitherto the hereditary possessions of leading feudal families, were stripped of their power or suppressed. Louis, alike for counselors and administrators, chose simple freemen, petty knights, burghers, and lawyers to assist him. After 1127 the preponderant rôle among his officials was played by Suger (1081?–1151), Abbot of Saint-Denis. Constantly the crown developed its resources. It had revenues from its own lands, from feudal rights over its fiefs, and from royal rights over monastic and episcopal estates. For its military forces it had, in addition to the feudal troops from its vassals, contingents from parishes and from towns. So greatly increased was the royal prestige that at last, when an invasion was threatened by the allied armies of Germany and England, men from all classes and districts rallied round the sacred banner of Saint-Denis, revealing the awakening sentiment of nationality in northern France.

Louis VII and the Abbé Suger. Louis VII (1137–1180) gave promise at first of a vigorous reign; but he seems to have been made indifferent to worldly success and inefficient by his experience in the disastrous Second Crusade. Fortunately he was guided by Suger, his father's able and prudent minister, who sought to dissuade him from going on the crusade, and who did much to weaken feudalism, improve agriculture, promote industry and commerce, and encourage the arts. Louis, by his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, had extended the royal possessions to the Pyrenees. The great blunder of his reign was made when

he divorced her, thus losing her territory and permitting her to marry the prince who became Henry II of England. Naturally the discarded princess took to her second husband her dowry of the entire duchy of Aquitaine. Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Brittany, Aquitaine and Gascony, more than half the country, were then united to England. Over all those lands only a simple suzerainty was held by the king of France. His only real authority was exercised in a narrow strip in the center. France was cut in two. And already the foreign vassal was aspiring to dethrone the master. Louis, in the face of this threatening danger, sought the support of the fiefs nominally subject to him. More direct and frequent relations were made with distant grandees in Champagne, Burgundy, Auvergne, and Provence. Old relations, in abeyance for nearly two centuries, were renewed. Southern seigneurs especially, alarmed by the ambitions of the Plantagenets, turned to him. And so, despite some serious blunders, the work of strengthening and extending the royal authority went on.

Philip Augustus. Philip II (1180–1223), surnamed Augustus, was destined to prove the great adversary of the Plantagenets. He was a soldier king, a brave and skillful fighter; and he was even more a statesman. State policy was his paramount concern, and to it he brought faculties none of his predecessors had shown. A clear and cold mind, a firm will, bold design tempered by prudent action, an unfeeling heart, an entire absence of scruples, a sure instinct in choosing his time, quickness in profiting by the mistakes of his enemies,—all these things reveal his aptitude for the work that confronted him. From the first he showed the stuff of which he was made. When barely fifteen, while his father was weak and ailing, he secured additional revenue by arresting Jews, confiscating their goods, and requiring a heavy ransom. Then he shook off his family yoke and proceeded to make his own way. Suzerainty was with him no empty word. In five years the great feudal lords in the

northeastern lands had found their master, even the Count of Flanders and the Duke of Burgundy. Then he turned his attention to the Anglo-Angevin Empire. The formidable duel lasted eighteen years; but in the end his steadiness of aim, diplomatic skill and military power, crowned his efforts with victory. Profiting by the quarrels of Henry II, now aged and ailing, with his sons, he compelled that sovereign to swear fealty for all his continental fiefs. Much against his will he went on the Third Crusade with Richard the Lion Heart. Experiences on the way and in Syria served only to increase the latent hostility between the two rivals. Philip abandoned the enterprise, came home, and, while Richard was imprisoned in Germany, hesitated at no trickery to gain more land. Richard was ransomed by his people. He returned, mad for vengeance, and for five years ruthless warfare desolated Normandy, Maine, and Berry. Philip had to give way; but it was the only reverse of his long reign. Richard's death in 1199 removed his strongest foe. John Lackland, brother and successor of the dead sovereign, was no such powerful champion of the Plantagenets. The strong fortress of Château-Gaillard was taken in 1204, Rouen opened its gates, Poitiers was entered, and then came the submission of Brittany. Everywhere towns and monasteries acknowledged the victor, who secured his conquests by lavishing privileges upon them. Philip had shattered the Angevin Empire. In 1206 John, realizing that the imperial ambitions of his father were defeated, acknowledged the annexation of all his territories north of the Loire, retaining only southern Poitou and Gascony. Yet all this did not satisfy Philip. He lost no opportunity to take other towns and districts from King John. Under the color of feudal law he was always taking land in all quarters. It is easy to understand the hatred of the nobles, humbled or dispossessed. They only waited an opportunity to combine against him. At last it came to them in the close understanding between John of England and Otto IV of Germany. That

coalition was joined by most of the feudal lords in Flanders, Belgium, and Lorraine. In 1214 two armies, one in the west, the other in the northeast, drove back the royal troops in an effort to converge on Paris. But Philip's son checked the English army on the Loire, while Philip himself destroyed the dream of dismemberment in the battle of the bridge of Bouvines among the marshes of Flanders. Bouvines was one of the greatest battles of the Middle Ages. It defeated feudalism, without hope of recovery; and it deepened the sentiment of nationality. Against feudatories and foreigners the people identified themselves with the king. They had shared the same perils, were thrilled by the same enthusiasm, and were suffused with the same glory. The king had become the living symbol of the nation.

Territorial gains in the south. Obviously the next thing was to conquer the feudalism of Languedoc. The way had been prepared by the Crusade against the Albigenses. Philip had taken no part in that movement. Occupied in the north he had evaded the papal entreaties for intervention. But he was on the watch. Simon de Montfort, one of his petty vassals of the neighborhood of Paris, had led the crusaders, and then, after defeating the heretics, had turned his attention to organizing and governing the country. Then Philip appeared on the scene, and Simon was obliged to do him homage and to govern in his name. There was still fighting to be done before the complete conquest of the County of Toulouse. Philip died a few years later, but his work was continued by his son.

Philip's use of the Roman Law. Philip II had doubled the royal revenue, more than doubled the royal domain, and had made France the most powerful country in western Europe. But his work was not limited to increase of revenue and territorial acquisitions. In a far-sighted manner he set about the task of organization and administration. He set himself to arrange governmental affairs in accordance with the principles of unity and stability. He wished to bring

under a common rule the social classes scattered over wide territories that hitherto had been subject to local and antagonistic powers. Centrifugal feudalism was to be replaced by monarchical concentration. In this he was helped by the revival of legal studies which made itself felt in the twelfth century and thereafter continued to do so increasingly. Roman law had never been quite forgotten in the medieval centuries, especially in Italy. More or less systematic study of it had continued here and there. Seemingly there was always a law school at Rome. There are traces of such a school at Ravenna; and perhaps there may have been one or two in southern France. Early in the eleventh century a notable law school was established at Bologna; and it was from there that the revived study of law spread into France and Spain. Roman law contemplated a ruler whose authority, untrammeled by feudalism, should extend throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom. This was the ideal of these new students; and it was they who whispered the ambition to the kings. A body of professional lawyers, skilled in both the old imperial and the medieval canon law, quick to turn their knowledge to the advantage of the princes they served, were to be found at all the courts in western Europe. Philip had a number of them; and to them must probably be attributed the more legal methods of doing things that he employed. Some of these legists translated the *Corpus Jurisi Civilis* into French. Then the ancient jurisprudence increased its pace in undermining the institutions of feudalism. Lawyers proclaimed the king's exclusive right to publish general laws "for the common weal of the kingdom". Then too, the theory of "royal cases" assigned to him the right of directly judging all crimes against the public peace, such as murder, arson, and rape. Royal supremacy was very agreeable to rulers whose authority over powerful vassals was barely more than nominal; its highly developed sense of equity between man and man was welcome to jurists wearied with the intricate and capricious privileges of

ecclesiastical, feudal, and customary law. Thus recommended it made its way rapidly. Yet the struggle was long. Feudalism had arisen out of the necessities of the age; and a system upon which were based so many of the institutions of the continent could be attacked only in detail, and could be supplanted only when the advance of civilization was sufficiently general to render it obsolete.

The royal courts. One of the things which this revival of law helped to bring about was the development of a system of courts. Down to the thirteenth century the *Curia Regis* had transacted legal and state-business without rule or election. It was perhaps composed of six ecclesiastical and six lay peers; but no case has ever been cited in which all of them were called together to deliberate. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, the court took definite shape. In law the king was the sole judge; the peers were only his advisers. After 1224 the high officers of the crown, many of them chosen from the bourgeoisie, took their place beside the peers. Then lawyers and other members of the royal entourage were admitted to subordinate positions. This *Curia Regis* became increasingly important. Less and less the king was present in person, and so it pronounced decrees in his absence, and gradually became a regular court of justice. Its competence grew; and eventually, in the fifteenth century, it acquired a jurisdiction independent in principle. It was the supreme court of the government and the center of royal administration. It rendered decisions and pronounced judgments. But it made no general laws nor voted taxes. And now the growing volume of affairs, consequent upon the territorial gains of the monarchy, made it necessary to arrange for a division of labor. So the Royal Court met in two sections: one, called the Parlement of Paris, rendered justice; the other, called the Chamber of Accounts, audited the reports of the royal agents. The system of appeals began to be developed at this time. Appeals from the sentences of bailiffs and seneschals were made

to the Parlement. This supreme court was a powerful instrument of political centralization. There also came into existence a third institution, the King's Council. It had to do with high politics, with the appointment of important officials, the granting of benefices, and the assignment of functions to the various subordinate authorities.

The provosts. Hand in hand with the acquisition of territory and the development of the central government went also an improvement in local administration. Several kinds of agents were employed in governing the royal domains. Until the end of the twelfth century the principal ones were the provosts. Within the limits of his jurisdiction the provost collected all the payments due the king; when necessary he called out certain contingents for the national army; and, much restricted in competency, he dispensed justice. The office of provost was sold at auction. No salary attached to it. The provosts were allowed to keep a certain part of the revenues they collected. So they were tempted to increase the income in every way possible to the detriment of the taxpayers.

Bailiffs and seneschals. Above the provosts Philip placed bailiffs and seneschals. There was no real difference between these two offices. The name of bailiff was used in the north, while that of seneschal was used in the south. The creation of this office reduced the provosts to a subaltern rank. Each bailiff or seneschal had a number of provosts in his district who were his assistants in the official hierarchy, and the surveillance of whom was his most essential duty. He looked after financial and military matters, and exercised judicial functions that were enlarged as time went on. Every year he went to Paris to render an account of his office to the Parlement.

Increase of the royal revenue. As the royal domain increased in size the income also grew. But in addition to this large sums were collected from ecclesiastical lands; and as long as a bishopric or abbey was vacant the revenues

were collected by the king. New sources of income were developed. We have already noticed the *taille seigneuriale* levied by the feudal lords on those of their subjects who were neither nobles nor ecclesiastics. Philip now imposed a royal *taille* which resembled the seigniorial tax in that nobles and ecclesiastics were not required to pay it. It was an income tax, levied on persons and partly on real property. Old taxes, too, were revived and recovered. As the royal power increased and that of the feudal lords declined, revenues from courts, customs duties at the ports, tolls along the roads, and coinage passed into the hands of the king. Then, too, Philip exploited the need of the towns for security and their desire for independence. He made them pay heavily; and he was the first to whittle down their jurisdiction. Yet they bore their financial burdens patiently and silently accepted their slight loss of political power because the strong monarchy they were helping to build up protected and encouraged their industry and trade. Coins were made with the authority of the state at Tours and at Paris; and in 1262 the use of royal money was made obligatory throughout the realm. No one might refuse it. Every great feudal lord, it is true, continued to have his own money, but it was current only in his own fief; and sooner or later the royal money would be sure to oust the other.

The national army. With this increased income Philip was able to create a more or less permanent national army. He was no longer entirely dependent upon the temporary feudal levies, limited in numbers and in time of service, though he and his immediate successors continued to require them, but, in addition, he had at his command something like a constant royal force that looked only to him for its direction, sustenance, and rewards. It was an indispensable instrument in carrying out both his domestic and foreign policy, a potent means of destroying feudalism, ousting the foreigner, and guaranteeing peace and justice.

The beginning of modern France. Here, then, may clearly be seen the beginning of a bureaucratically governed state. Feudal ideas and institutions still survived, but signs of modern administration are appearing in the various departments of governmental activity. Philip II had summoned into existence modern France. There was a comparatively strict centralization, an official hierarchy, a division of work especially among the higher authorities, revision and control, extensive correspondence carried on with the aid of trained secretaries and archives, national taxation, national coinage, and the beginning of a national army. And while all this was being developed there was an even more gratifying advance in learning, in literature, and in art. Of this we shall see something when we deal with medieval art, the universities, the heretics, and the vernacular literatures.

Louis VIII. Louis VIII (1223–1226) continued the work of his father in his short reign of three years. He increased the domain and the power of the crown at the expense of the feudal lords; he led the royal forces against the heretical Albigenses and received the submission of Languedoc; and he carefully watched the Plantagenets.

Blanche of Castile. Louis IX (1236–1270) was only twelve years of age when he became king. The situation was critical, for the hard-won lands were likely to be lost in his long minority. But Blanche of Castile (1188–1252), his energetic and imperious mother, who was the regent, rose to the occasion. Bravely and skillfully she met all dangers. When the nobles conspired to recover their losses she broke up their league; and later on she repelled an attack of Henry III of England. For nine years she overawed the restive barons and kept at bay the foreign foe; but her greatest work was the tutelage of her son.

Louis IX. Youth loves to dwell on the gentle figure of Louis. He answers to so many of its aspirations. His personal bravery, his culture, his subtle skill in putting theo-

logians right, his sense of justice, the liveliness of his repartees, the humor of his conversation, his piety, even his asceticism, bring him close to the age of idealism and win for him its approval. Harsh to himself, clad in a hair shirt and sleeping on a wooden bed, he was all kindness to the little, the humble, and the poor. He invited them to his table, waited on them, mended their rags, dressed their sores, and even touched the lepers. Quite evidently the artists who, in the first years of the fourteenth century, adorned with scenes taken from his life the lower church of the Sainte-Chapelle, delighted in representing him occupied with these picturesque deeds of charity. And this sanctity and social helpfulness were equaled by his bravery as a soldier. He had all the military qualities of his forefathers, courage, tenacity, and the gift of firing his followers with enthusiasm. To these private virtues must be added an unusual capacity as a ruler. Philip Augustus had created the great administrative framework of the country, the jurisdictions of the bailiffs and seneschals. Louis IX drew up the new rules that made all these agents dependent upon the king. An ordinance of 1254 made it necessary for them to secure the permission of the king before buying lands in their districts, marrying, giving their children in marriage with persons in their areas, and selling or farming out petty offices to their kinsmen or heirs. Thus the royal official could no longer become rooted in his district and form a body of clients there. And in order to assure his obedience, the kingship did something better still. It paid him. The royal agent was henceforth to be a salaried minister. Another precaution was taken. He was moved from place to place. Rarely did he remain more than four or five years in the same district. These agents, passing from one part of the country to another, no longer had time to form attachments. Finally they were made responsible to the people. Royal inspectors were sent to traverse the country, to hear any complaints the people had to make and to redress their

grievances. They resembled the *missi dominici* of Charlemagne. But they had more power over the agents whom they supervised. Louis sent them out especially through the provinces he had recently acquired in order to repair the evils caused by the conquest. They kept the bailiffs and seneschals in check and on the alert. The instrument had been created that was to begin the great work of internal unity for the benefit of the king.

Louis and the communes. Louis IX created no more completely free communes; but, on the contrary, he accelerated the movement that put the towns under the royal guardianship. Mayors were no longer to hold office in perpetuity. Their magistracy was to be an annual one. Every year, too, the magistrates had to come to Paris to give an account of their stewardship. Communes were forbidden to borrow or lend without the royal permission; and later on they were unable to tax themselves without the same consent.

Louis and the feudal nobles. Louis struck a rude blow at feudal independence when, in 1257, he forbade private warfare. Security was granted when it was asked by one of the parties involved in a dispute. Thus any feudal lord who was party to a quarrel could appeal to the Parlement of Paris. This custom of appeal spread all over the country. Feudalism had not known it. Appeal was the revision, by a superior tribunal, of "false judgments and unfair sentences". No feudal lord could evade it. Even the powerful Duke of Brittany was compelled to recognize the right of his subjects to appeal to the king. "All men", said a royal proclamation, "may ask for amendment of judgment in the *Curia Regis*".

Louis as an administrator of justice. Louis was the great justiciar of his people. Every day he stood at the foot of his bed dispensing rapid justice to the humble folk who presented themselves at the "tribunal of the Door". And sometimes at Vincennes, after mass, leaning against an oak,

he listened to all who came to speak to him "without let from usher or other".

An error in foreign policy. Louis made two serious mistakes in his foreign policy. It was a grave fault to permit his brother, Count Charles of Anjou and Provence, to accept the papal offer of the Kingdom of Southern Italy and Sicily. The popes were determined, at all hazards, to destroy the power of the Hohenstaufen in the peninsula. So Clement IV, himself a Provençal, invested Charles with the old southern kingdom of the Normans. That was the first of the French expeditions into the peninsula. Two centuries later the Valois dynasty was to squander the resources of their country unavailingly beyond the Alps and to neglect its true interests in the Low Countries and along the Rhine.

Another error in foreign policy. Louis's second error, one more immediately serious, was his participation in two crusades. We have already told, very briefly, the story of the Seventh Crusade. It was a complete failure. The spirit that had made the early crusades the expression of a deep emotion was now, for the most part, dead. Times had changed. A transition was going on from an old to a new order of things. A crusade in the middle of the thirteenth century was almost an anachronism. Louis yielded to the impulses of a faith that failed to see clearly the things of earth. No one else favored the undertaking, least of all his mother. She set her judgment and imperious will against it; but nothing availed to turn him from the fulfillment of his vow. It is not possible here to recount all the results of his reckless faith, his deficiency of foresight, his mistakes in field and camp. He set sail in 1248, was captured by the Saracens in Egypt, agreed to pay an enormous ransom, and then spent four years in the Holy Land. Meanwhile his mother had again become regent. She maintained peace, and drained the land of men and money for her son in the East. Her death made his return imperative. Louis, despite this signal failure, was determined to make another

attempt; but he had to wait sixteen years. It was in this interval that his best work for his country was done. Then, in 1270, stirred by news of Moslem conquests, he set out once more. But for some reason or other his expedition was turned aside from Syria to Tunisia. There, stricken with the plague, he died.

Philip III. The fifteen years of the reign of Philip III (1270–1285) were filled with quarrels between the factions of his mother and his wife; and they witnessed the first warlike expedition undertaken by the House of Capet beyond the borders of France. Philip sought to secure the crown of Aragon for one of his sons. The attempt failed completely. The French army and navy were both defeated; and Philip died on the way home at Perpigan. Two great tasks, in addition to further subjugation of the feudal nobles, awaited the pen and sword of a master ruler. An end must be made of the attempts to exercise tutelage over the nation by the Holy Roman Emperors; and defeat must be administered to the theocratic dreams of the popes.

Philip IV and the legists. Was Philip IV (1285–1314), surnamed the Fair, the initiator of these policies? Or was he only an instrument? History finds it difficult to say. Amid the stirring events of the time he remains in the background, involved in shadow. But at least he was responsible for his companions and advisers. In place of barons, prelates, and monks, he chose lawyers and men of business. They flocked to him from all the provinces and even from abroad. Chief of them was Guillaume de Nogaret (1265?–1313), a man of lowly birth, one of whose grandfathers had been burned as a heretic in Provence. He studied law, became a judge in the seneschal's court at Beaucaire, and then a professor of law in the University of Montpellier. That prosperous mercantile town had become the seat of Roman law in the southern provinces, and from there that study spread into the north. Pope Honorius III (1216–1226), in order to safeguard the monopoly of theology, denied it

entrance to the University of Paris. But it found its way into the school at Orléans, and thence into the writings of the lawyers and the "constitutions" issued by the king. A new conception of power, secular and national, began to be formulated. It was summed up in the basic affirmation that "the king is supreme in France". Two theories followed from this maxim; the independence of the kingdom from the emperors and from the popes, and the royal sovereignty within the state. These two fundamental theories soon gave rise to a body of modern political thought. And the appearance of the legists who were passionately to propagate this thought is the great event in the reign of Philip the Fair. They were very influential. Guillaume de Nogaret was the king's right-hand man. He was active everywhere, wherever the rights of his master had to be defended or extended, in Burgundy, Champagne, or Languedoc. And others like him, though less well-known, filled the high administrative offices and peopled the Royal Council, the Chamber of Accounts, the Parlement of Paris, and the States-General. The new lawyers were everywhere; and they were ready for an assault upon the privilege orders. They employed three formidable weapons. They used the right of appeal. It was extended to the sentences of all judges, royal or seigniorial; and, in 1328, nobles and prelates were forbidden to set up appeal tribunals of their own. Thus all the inhabitants of the country were made amenable to the royal courts of justice. And every appellant could take his case directly, without passing through the intermediate jurisdictions, to the Parlement of Paris. That allowed the vassals to escape from their seigneurs. The second weapon was prevention. The king, as guardian of public order and protector of the peace, could always anticipate and dispossess the private courts. He could transfer accused persons to his own judges, and so get into his hands all matters in which it would be to his interest to interfere. Finally the "royal cases", the cases he reserved to himself, were greatly

extended. Care was taken not to define them. They were to be all those that "touched" the king. But where would they stop? They included breaches of the peace, arson, rape, murder, crimes against churches, violation of pledges, insults or revolts against royal officers, treason, in a word, all acts which "by law or by custom may and should appertain to the sovereign and to no other". It was a vague formula. But it was skillfully contrived to extend the royal power.

The lawyers at work. France was now well equipped for the struggle against the feudal nobles and against the jurisdiction of the church. Many cases were taken away from the church courts, and their competence was restricted in others and the territories of the nobles were often invaded by royal officers, who now demanded written and attested titles to property and to privileges, and who seized every opportunity to reduce still further the jurisdiction of the nobles over their subjects. Entangled in the mazes of a code in which the unfamiliar maxims of the old imperial law were daily quoted with increasing veneration the angry prelates and nobles found themselves the prey of men they despised. They saw the subtle lawyers busily undoing the work at which their predecessors had labored for centuries. There were rebellions, partly successful; but in the main the work of royal aggrandizement went on.

Clash between pope and king. The chief struggle was with the church. Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303), scholar in both civil and canon law, handsome, eloquent, arrogant, was resolved to remove all restrictions upon the papal power and to renew and enforce its claims to the dominion of the world. His coronation was celebrated with unequaled pomp and splendor; and then at once he turned his attention to the control of secular affairs. Among the rulers with whom he clashed was Philip the Fair. France and England were at war, because of Philip's seizure of Gascony. Both rulers carried on the struggle by taxing ecclesiastical prop-

erty. Boniface, in 1296, issued the bull *Clericis laicos* forbidding the laity to exact or receive, and the clergy to surrender, ecclesiastical revenues or property without papal approval. Philip retaliated with a royal ordinance making illegal the sending of silver, gold, and jewels out of the kingdom. This, of course, stopped the flow of money to Rome. Boniface yielded, and Philip withdrew his ordinance. All seemed well. But the great Jubilee of 1300, promising plenary indulgence to all pilgrims to the shrines of the apostles, brought streams of wayfarers to Rome from every country in Europe and thus filled the papal treasury and encouraged the pope. Philip continued his taxation of the clergy. The papal legate, who was a French subject, sent to protest against this was charged with treasonable speech, tried, found guilty, and imprisoned. Boniface at once renewed the provisions of *Clericis laicos;* and in the bull *Ausculta fili*, issued in 1301, proclaimed papal sovereignty over all worldly rulers and declared his intention of summoning French prelates and scholars to Rome to "dispose what is suitable for the correction of abuses, and for the reformation of the king and the kingdom". Philip forbade the French clergy to go to Rome or to send money there, and he set a watch on all the roads, ports, and passes leading to Italy.

The States-General. It was at this moment that Philip summoned into existence a new institution, the States-General. It was a general assembly, representing the clergy, the nobles, and the middle class or Third Estate. There were some precedents. Representatives of the more important towns had been convoked by the sovereign several times in the past; and in the preceding reign there had been assemblies of nobles and prelates in which those two estates deliberated separately. Philip wished to emphasize the unity of his subjects, and to make sure of their support. So he called together a general assembly of the three estates. The First Estate consisted of prelates chosen and summoned

by the king, and of representatives elected by the monks of the monastery and the canons of the cathedral from which they came. The Second Estate was made up of lay lords chosen and sent by the king. And the Third Estate consisted of representatives of the chief privileged towns. It was the only estate whose representatives were all elected. It will be noticed that the peasantry, the main body of the population, were entirely without representation. The three estates deliberated in three separate chambers. They had, of course, no power to make laws. They were called only to give advice to the king; but before long they were also called to give him aid. As time went on the granting of subsidies came to be the most frequent purpose of their convocation. The institution was merely an expedient to strengthen the hands of the king. If a ruler thought his end could be attained best by summoning it, he did so; and when he believed he could further his purpose best by treating separately with the provinces he did that. France had to wait until the nineteenth century for parliamentary government. The States-General never acquired the power to make laws, but always remained the creature of the king. This first meeting in 1302 supported the king in his quarrel with the papacy. All three estates upheld him.

Death of Boniface VIII. Towards the close of 1302 Boniface published the bull *Unam sanctam* in which he asserted that the spiritual power is above the temporal, that it has the right to direct and judge the latter, and that to it all men are subject. Philip was excommunicated and the prelates of his country were ordered to come to Rome. Then Guillaume de Nogaret and others persuaded Philip to take the bold step of seizing Boniface and bringing him to France to be tried and deposed by a council. Boniface belonged to one of the rival families of Rome, and he therefore had many enemies in Italy. So it was that Sciarra Colonna, then an exile living in Paris, accompanied Guillaume to the peninsula, and helped him to raise a band of mercenaries. With

some sixteen hundred men they surprised the little mountain town of Anagni, where the pope was staying, and took him prisoner. Two days later the townsfolk rose to the aid of the pontiff, rescued him, and put his captors to flight; but a month later Boniface died in Rome. Brilliant as he was, he had failed to recognize the altered temper of the times, to estimate accurately the strength of the new sentiment of nationality.

Cross against Crescent in Spain. When last we looked at the Spanish peninsula we saw that, in the midst of the eleventh century, Castile and Leon were united under a single ruler; and that there were three other Christian states,—the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon, and the county of Barcelona. Altogether they held only about a third of the peninsula. Their prospect of territorial gain, however, was greatly increased in 1031 by the fall of the caliphate of Cordova. They had then not to meet a single military power, but a number of states, one time as many as twenty-three, which were often engaged in internecine strife. Twice a temporary reunion of the Moslem "tribes" was effected, but only to fall apart again and thus enable the Christians to reconquer the peninsula bit by bit. First of all, however, the Christians had to concentrate their strength. This was begun by Ferdinand I (1035–1065) when he conquered Leon and thus united under his rule all the northwestern part of the peninsula. He was then able to push his frontier farther south; but at his death he made the mistake of dividing his realm, and only after a long war was it brought together again. The powerfully defended city of Toledo, situated on a rugged promontory of granite and surrounded on three sides by the swiftly flowing Tagus, was captured in 1085, and was destined to resume its place as the center of Spanish Christianity.

The Cid. It was at this time that Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar (1040?–1109), better known in history by the literary name of El Cid Campeador, lived and fought. There were two

Cids, one of history and one of song and story, differing very greatly from each other, but both playing an important part in the life of the nation. The Cid of history was a soldier of fortune, an adventurer, a freebooter, who fought with equal zest and vigor against Christians and Moslems; who pillaged with equal readiness church and mosque, and who seems to have been the greatest military genius of the long crusade of the Cross against the Crescent. About half a century after his death men began to make poems about him, full of animated scenes and stirring deeds. In them he is pictured as the embodiment of the patriotism of his countrymen. Chief of them is the noble *chanson de geste*, which rises almost to the dignity of an epic, called the *Poema del Cid*.

French influence in Castile. And it was also at this time that helpful relations were established between Castile and France. Cluniac and Cistercian monks, favored by the court, flocked to the peninsula. There they carried on their work of organization, education, and religious reform. French knights also found their way to Castile. Monks and knights spread throughout this land, for so long isolated from Christendom, the influence of French civilization. Military, architectural, literary, and religious improvements are to be traced to their activity. The language was inundated with words borrowed from the French. French settlers were attracted to the land; and quarters for their countrymen were established in many towns.

The Almohades. About the middle of the twelfth century there had been a unification of the Moslem power in the West. The Almohades, a religious sect, had conquered all northern Africa as far as Egypt, and also Moslem Spain. They were at first fanatical in religious matters; but gradually they became tolerant, and it was under several of their rulers that Cordova became a great center of art and learning, boasting such scholars as Averroës. But then, in 1212, by the concerted action of all the Christian princes in the peninsula, a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Almo-

hades at Las Naves de Tolosa near the Sierra Morena. The Moslems never again made head against the Christians.

Ferdinand the Saint. Ferdinand III (1217–1252), the Saint, successfully continued the warfare against the Moslems, and brought about the lasting reunion of Leon and Castile. He took Cordova in 1236, turning its famous mosque into a cathedral; and in 1248 he captured Seville. The Moslems were then shut up in Granada, and for more than two hundred years the crusade against them was virtually suspended. There was much intercourse between the two peoples,—visits of ceremony, jousts and bullfights, and even marriages. Ferdinand was a relentless persecutor of heretics; and his canonization was due to that fact as well as to his success as a crusader against the Crescent. Despite his narrow religious views, however, he was interested in intellectual affairs and took part in founding the University of Salamanca. He had, too, the centralizing idea, and did much to consolidate the mosaic of peoples living within the expanding confines of his country.

Alfonso the Wise. Alfonso X (1252–1284), the Wise, displayed ability in providing his country with a code of laws and a harmonious judicial system. In 1254 he issued the *Fuero Real*, a municipal charter, based upon similar documents already in existence, but more liberal and systematic than its predecessors. It was granted as the local charter of many towns; and it was also used in cases of appeal to the royal courts. He also began the code called the Laws of the Seven Parts, the *Siete Partidas*. It was the work of many lawyers, trained in the Roman law. For ten years these legists were at work, using old laws that had prevailed in the peninsula since the days of the Visigoths, still more of the canon law, and most of all the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of the Emperor Justinian. The work, though completed in 1265, was not promulgated until 1348; yet it was not altogether in abeyance during that long time, for it was often consulted as an encyclopedia of law. And even before

it was given statutory effect by the *Cortes* it won for itself general recognition as the basic law of the land. Not all Alfonso's deeds, however, entitle him to be called "the Wise". He permitted his descent from the Hohenstaufen, through his mother, to lead him to dream of becoming the ruler of the Germanic Empire. The ambition was never achieved; but it caused him to spend large sums of money. He resorted to the desperate expedient of debasing the coinage, and then to the equally hazardous undertaking of trying to prevent the consequent rise of prices by an arbitrary tariff. Manufacturers and merchants were ruined, farmers were impoverished. Burghers and peasants alike were so deeply offended that they did not hesitate to make their opinions known to the court at Valladolid. Yet Alfonso, mistaken as he was at times, was the greatest champion in the peninsula of a centralized and unlimited monarchy. He did not originate the policy, nor was he the first to attempt its fulfillment; but he formulated it with precision and received the first attacks of the feudal nobles in trying to carry it out.

Aragon. The kingdom of Aragon began in 1035 when a temporary union with its neighbors came to an end and it had a sovereign of its own. It was very small to begin with; but it grew to be a state of considerable size by inheritance, and by conquest from the Moslems. It shared with Castile the chief part in driving back the Moslems. Alfonso II (1162–1196) inherited possessions in Provence; and his policy was much distracted by his position as a ruler both north and south of the Pyrenees. On the other hand, however, this governmental unity stimulated the flow of civilizing influences into the peninsula from Provence. In character and interests Alfonso was far more Provençal than Spanish. He declined to persecute the Albigenses; he was a liberal patron of the troubadours; and he wrote poems in the troubadour style in the language of southeastern France. It was in his reign, according to some writers, that

the towns were first permitted to send representatives to the *Cortes*. A vigorous policy of territorial expansion marks the reign of James I (1213–1276), the Conqueror. He completed the capture of all the Balearic Isles, long a nest of pirates, and then a harbor of ships bearing the green banner of the Prophet. A far richer prize, however, fell into his hands when, in 1238, he conquered Valencia, an event comparable with the capture of Seville, ten years later, by Castile. James would have accomplished much more had he not been handicapped by the selfish interests of his feudal nobles. He defeated them, turned his attention to centralizing and improving the government, and won for himself a high place as a legislator and organizer in the history of his country. At his death feudalism was tempered and the Moslem power was confined to Granada and a line of ports round Cadiz. Moorish influence still lingers in that part of the peninsula, in language, architecture, and music. Rhythm quickens and languishes, smiles and sighs, in the songs of Andalusia. The East, wide and impenetrable, slumbers in them, with the sadness of its deserts.

Catalonia. Catalonia, a land of fertile hills covered with vines and olives, was a part of the Spanish Mark which Charlemagne freed from the Moslems. Subsequently it was ruled by French counts, who before long made themselves independent of France. The Catalonian counts were perhaps the first medieval rulers who kept a fleet and carried out a deliberate maritime policy. In 1164 a marriage brought Catalonia under a single rule with Aragon. An inland realm of mountains and moors, inhabited by shepherds and hunters, was then secured for its sea commerce; and this union made possible, in the fourteenth century, the Aragonese command of the western Mediterranean. And then, too, this first permanently successful combination of several Christian states into one pointed the way to the still distant goal of the political unification of the entire peninsula. Provençal influence made a deep impression upon the life of

Catalonia. This was facilitated by the fact that the Catalan language, which is spoken in Rousillon, closely resembles that of Provence. Knights, monks, troubadours, and craftsmen found their way over the mountains and across the sea, bringing with them their technical skill and their new ideas of life and art.

Navarre. For a time Navarre was united with Aragon. When, in 1134, that little kingdom, lying on both sides of the Pyrenees, separated from its eastern neighbor it was weakened by civil and foreign war. The throne became vacant in 1234 and was claimed by the king of Aragon. But the French Count of Champagne secured possession, and thereafter, for a long time, the country was more closely connected with the history of France than with that of Spain. The influence of the Cluniac monks was unusually powerful in Navarre.

Portugal. Last of the Christian states in the Spanish peninsula was Portugal. In 1095 it was an obscure appanage of the kingdom of Leon. Steadily its counts pursued a policy of complete separation from Leon and Castile and of territorial expansion at the expense of the Moslems. Towards the end of the eleventh century many foreign crusading knights came to help in the warfare against the infidel; and so successful were the Portuguese armies that Count Affonso's assumption of the title of king was recognized in 1144 by the pope. Affonso I (1144–1185), a hero of medieval romance whose brave deeds were sung by many troubadours, may thus rightfully be regarded as the founder of the kingdom. Having secured independence from his northern suzerain he devoted all his energy to driving back the Moslems in the south. In 1147, aided by crusaders on their way to the Holy Land, he captured Lisbon; and at his death no question remained as to the independence of his country. The reign of Affonso II (1211–1223) is memorable for the first meeting of the Portuguese *Cortes*, to which prelates and nobles were summoned by the king. Affonso III

(1248–1279) conquered Algarve, which then became the most southern province of the kingdom. The country had now reached its present limits and attained complete independence; and its capital was moved from Coimbra to Lisbon. Under each of these early rulers there were quarrels with Castile, which was loath to relinquish its suzerainty, and with the papacy; but, in general, the monarchy fared well in these struggles because it identified itself with national interests, supported the towns and military orders, and won renown by its military successes in the wars with the Moors. The chief tasks were now no longer those of territorial acquisition, but political, economic, and social adjustment and improvement; and to them Diniz the Husbandman (1279–1325) addressed himself faithfully and intelligently. He did much to improve agriculture and encourage foreign trade; he was a generous patron of literature; and in 1308 he founded the University of Coimbra. He strove to limit the jurisdiction of the feudal lords and to centralize the government. A great future lay before the people of the little kingdom. They were to round the stormy cape of Africa, their language was to be for a time the *lingua franca* of all the coasts of India, and they were to rule the vast forests of Brazil.

The Spanish people. In all these countries in the Iberian peninsula there were very diverse elements in the population. First of all there were the ordinary Christians. Next there were the Mozarabs, the Christians who had always lived under Moslem rule, and whose language was Arabic. Then there were the Mudéjares, the Mohammedans who retained their religion under their Christian conquerors. There were Moriscoes, who were converted Mohammedans. And lastly there were many Jews. For a long time the Jews had been tolerated and encouraged by the Moslem rulers; but in later years they had suffered severely from the fanaticism of the Almohades; and so they had lent their aid to the *Reconquista*. As the Christian tide advanced they were

rewarded by the victorious sovereigns; and the period of their protection, which lasted until the end of the fourteenth century, is the golden age of their history in Spain. Converted and unconverted infidels were alike viewed with suspicion; and even the Christians who had lived under the Crescent were disliked because of the differences in their mode of worship from those of the Catholics who had always lived under the Cross. All these additions to the ranks of their subjects were well treated by the Christian kings. Peril would have attended their reduction to slavery, for in many places they outnumbered the victorious Castilians and Aragonese; to expel them would have left the soil without cultivators and the towns without craftsmen; while ordinary gratitude dictated the kindly treatment of those who had helped in banishing from the land the streaming portent of the Crescent. So they were dealt with sympathetically. The Mozarabs were permitted to retain their courts and laws, which had come down from the Visigoths; and it was chiefly through them that the Castilian language received its large infusion of Arabic. Very active work in the social and religious unification of the population was carried on by the Cluniacs and Cistercians. Political unification was a still more difficult task, one that has not yet been fully accomplished. The peninsula has always been a congeries of heterogeneous peoples. Racial inheritance, language, and history divide them. Geography, too, with its mountains and rivers, was a cause of separation. It was to require a long time to bring together under one rule such different peoples as the Andalusians, Aragonese, Basques, Castilians, Catalans, Galicians, and Valencians.

Decentralization and disorder in Germany. It will be remembered that, in 1231, when Frederic II (1212–1250) was able to pay some slight attention to his Germanic lands he approved the important Privilege of Worms. This was a further extension of power to the feudal grandees. It gave the princes complete jurisdiction over their lands. All in-

ferior officers of justice were made subservient to them. They became virtually independent rulers, because such authority as Frederic retained for himself could be exercised only feebly from the distant land where all his energy was insufficient to meet the multiplying dangers that were closing in about him. And to make the princes still more triumphant the freedom of the towns was greatly restricted. True that King Henry, his son, flatly opposed this policy and favored the towns against the grandees; but he was able to accomplish only little, and was soon removed by his father. Then, in 1235, at a Diet held at Mainz, the emperor issued the famous "Land Peace". This document forbade private war, except in cases where justice could not otherwise be obtained; made provision for an imperial justiciar; required all feudal tolls and mints erected since the opening of the century to be done away with; and contained other regulations looking to the maintenance of law and order. Conrad IV (1250–1254), another son of Frederic, who had acted as king in Germany for seventeen years before his father's death, gave many privileges to the towns to gain their support against the nobles; but the policy availed little, and the disorder deepened into anarchy when his father's death summoned him to give battle to the enemies of his family in southern Italy. He died in the peninsula in 1254; and that event ended the imperial history of the Hohenstaufen.

The reign of "fist law" in Germany. No worthy candidate for the royal crown came from among the feudal princes of Germany. So it became the spoil of foreigners, who desired it only as a means to the fulfillment of ambitions that had nothing whatsoever to do with the welfare of Germany. In 1257 Alfonso X of Castile and Duke Richard of Cornwall were elected to the throne by rival parties; but neither exercised any real power. Richard spent but little time in the country; while Alfonso never even visited it. For nineteen years, from 1254 to 1273, there was no emperor. It was a fearful time of anarchy, this interruption of the fascinating

fantasmagoria of the Holy Roman Empire. Men have called it "the reign of fist law". Every noble strove to become independent, and to increase his territorial possessions at the expense of his neighbors. Constant disputes arose as to privileges and boundaries. And the frontier lands escaped control. Denmark and Poland ceased to pay homage to the imperial crown; and Burgundy was slowly swallowed by France. All this might have been avoided had the German crown become hereditary. Many causes, however, had conspired to prevent that desirable arrangement. The papacy did not wish to see any strengthening of the imperial power; and the feudal grandees were jealously watchful of any innovation that might emphasize their vassalage. So the election of the king continued in Germany long after it had been done away with in England and France. Theoretically the election of every king required the approval of all the nobles who held fiefs directly from the crown; but in practice the right to vote for a new ruler had come to be restricted to a small but changing number of the leading grandees. Who, then, had the right to take part in the election of the king? Several times in the course of the thirteenth century an attempt was made to give a definite answer to that question. In the disputed election of 1257 seven princes took part. This was the actual beginning of the Electoral College. From that time onward the electors were an important factor in the state. They might have given their country a strong and capable ruler, but they chose instead to plunge it still further into bankruptcy. They sought their own particular interests. They looked for some feeble prince, too weak, when elected to the imperial position, to threaten their independence. They preferred, in fact, not to have any emperor. All the feudal nobles, great and small, lacked any lively national feeling. They had no serious consciousness of the empire. Whenever they could they ousted the imperial authority from their territories. So it was that in the midst of this disorder their offices and their territories became

hereditary, to be disposed of as they pleased. What sovereign, without national taxation and without a national army, could have restored the royal authority? But many of the nobles were themselves weakened. Their territories were divided. So continuous was this division and subdivision that the country became disintegrated into a confusing concourse of principalities. The condition of the petty nobles, particularly numerous in the southwest, became a very sorry one. Many of them sank to a condition of beggary. Not a few of them resorted to robbery. They plundered traveling merchants on river and highway. They were the terror of the peaceable citizen, an element of unrest. At the same time, however, the cities gained in wealth and power. They were becoming self-governing and to some extent independent communities. In them, though as yet unguessed by most men, lay the chief strength of the country. They formed leagues able to defy the greatest nobles, and even combinations of nobles, of which the more important were the Rhenish Confederation and the Hanseatic League.

Rudolf of Hapsburg. The German interregnum might have continued much longer than it did had not the electors received peremptory word from the pope. Gregory X (1271–1276) had no longer anything to fear from the imperial power in Italy. An end had been made of the Hohenstaufen régime in the peninsula. Perhaps a German ruler, who no longer held any possessions south of the Alps, might prove friendly to the papacy; and then, too, if he succeeded in restoring law and order in his country the papal revenues from that land, sadly diminished in these anarchical years, might be renewed. So he told the electors that if they did not choose a national ruler he would himself appoint one. The threat was not ignored. Looking about for a prince of negligible power the electors spied Count Rudolf of Hapsburg (1273–1290) and put him on the throne. But he was far abler and more energetic than they had guessed. Though he made no

essential change in the condition of the country, he began at once to increase the territory and the power of his own family. In this policy he was very successful. In the march lands of the southeast, so different from the incredibly divided west, he gained wide territories and abundant revenue; and so he may rightfully be regarded as the real founder of the House of Hapsburg.

Albert of Hapsburg. Rudolf wished to be succeeded by his son; but the electors were chary of establishing an hereditary right of succession to the throne. They chose Adolf (1292–1298) of Nassau; but this insignificant prince, whose position from the beginning was very insecure, proved so unsatisfactory that he was finally deposed. Then Albert I (1298–1308) of Hapsburg was elected king. Without delay he continued his father's policy in increasing the power of his family, being the first Hapsburg who had a vision of a great state comprising Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, and he also did much to strengthen the authority of the crown. He befriended the peasants, encouraged the towns, forbade private warfare, and was in general successful in his struggles with some of the more powerful grandees. At his death the Hapsburg rule was quite safely established, and it lasted until, in our own time, it came to an end with the World War.

Lack of national feeling in Germany. The reign of "fist law" had come to an end. Once more there was a king. Yet, at a time when neighboring countries were being unified and centralized, Germany, with its imperial policy and internal divisions, remained a stranger to national feeling. It was more difficult to awaken national sentiment there than in France. Germany is a middle land, open on all sides to foreign influences, incapable of original and undisturbed development in any province of culture, but rather compelled everywhere to deal with ideas and motives which intrude from without and may not be denied. This fact has been at once the fortune and the misfortune of her history. She has

been called the heart of the continent, through which flow all the streams of life; but her mission in influencing the history of the world has cost her great sacrifices. The hardest of all these was the stunting of the national consciousness. To be sure we can observe from time to time a national feeling, appearing in changing forms; but we also see a fruitless struggle to bring this misty feeling into the clear consciousness of the mass of the people and give it effective form in a national state. Nationality remained the unfulfilled dream of a few idealists. Had a genius appeared to gather together all the scattered forces of this great country, a happier life and a more glorious history would have been the fate of Germany.

Switzerland. Among the Alpine valleys claiming to be free from all control save that of the Germanic Emperor were Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, near the Lake of Lucerne. They were originally in the duchy of Swabia; and Rudolf of Hapsburg, before he was made king, had attempted, unsuccessfully, to acquire them with the rest of the duchy. Rudolf's election to the throne turned his attention in other directions, and so the three forest cantons remained free. In 1291, soon after his death, they drew up an Everlasting League, based upon a former agreement, for mutual defense against all who should trouble them. They were protected for a few years by the next king, Adolf of Nassau, for he was opposed to the claims of the Hapsburgs. In 1315 the mountain men defeated the Austrians sent against them on the slopes of Morgarten, above Lake Aegeri; and three years later they were given a more or less equivocal recognition as equals by the Hapsburgs. Thus began the Swiss Confederation. The Alpine nation was to grow by admitting towns and country districts previously belonging to Germany, Italy, and Burgundy.

The Angevin kingdom in southern Italy. Italy at this time falls into three distinct divisions. In the south there was the Angevin kingdom; in the center the Papal State;

and in the north a jumble of communes, or city-republics, some of which were falling into the hands of despots. We shall deal first of all with the south. Charles I (1266–1285) of Anjou was by far the most powerful ruler in the peninsula. He was ruler of Provence and Anjou. He had gained the old Norman kingdom in southern Italy; and he was recognized as overlord in Lombardy and Tuscany. And so he, too, aroused the fear of the popes. If his northern claims developed into real power his lands would encircle their state. They sought, therefore, to restore the Germanic imperial power as a counterweight to that of the Angevins. That was one reason why Gregory X, a born politician, required the electors to end the interregnum in Germany by electing a king. Charles was then compelled to resign all his claims and titles in central and northern Italy. Things did not go very well with him in the south. He removed the capital from Palermo to Naples, and then exercised a despotism far more oppressive than the strictest rules of the Hohenstaufen. Old laws, privileges, and customs were ruthlessly swept away, in the island and on the mainland; taxation was increased, the coinage debased, and the highest positions and the best estates were given to nobles from Provence and Anjou. Year by year his government became more odious to the people. On the mainland they submitted; but in the island they rose in revolt. A gross insult offered by a Frenchman to a Sicilian woman was the spark that lit the conflagration. Spontaneously the people, whose sufferings had brought them together in a common cause, rose and massacred their oppressors. The rising, which began on the evening of Easter Sunday, 1282, is known as the Sicilian Vespers.

The new rulers of Sicily. For some time Peter of Aragon (1282–1285) had been watching affairs in southern Italy. He had married Constance, daughter of Manfred. He had prepared himself for such an opportunity; and now he declared himself. The Sicilians welcomed his ships and sol-

diers, and soon the French were driven from the island. Yet twenty-one years were to go by before the struggle, carried on by the successors of the rulers who began it, came to an end. When Peter died his eldest son inherited Aragon; while Frederic III (1296–1337), a younger son, fought successfully for ten years against both Aragon and Naples and won independence for Sicily. The Angevin king of Naples, however, continued his claim to the island and was crowned as king of Sicily. Thus there were simultaneously two Sicilian kingdoms, one in the island and the other on the mainland, and two kings of Sicily. When, in the course of the fourteenth century the two kingdoms were again united the single realm was known as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Frederic III was young, brave, and handsome. His people were affectionately devoted to him, and he guided them through the long years of struggle against their many opponents with wisdom and ability. He improved the machinery of government, and increased the power of the *parlamento*, to which were summoned prelates, nobles, and representatives of the towns. Under him the foreign dynasty became thoroughly identified with the people and stimulated in them a pronounced national feeling.

The Papal State. What of the papal territory in central Italy? The Emperor Otto IV, by a capitulation signed in 1202, had recognized the papal authority over all the land from the southern border of Tuscany to the Neapolitan frontier. King Rudolf solemnly confirmed this agreement in the hope that, some day or other, he would be crowned emperor by the pope in Rome. Emilia, Romagna, the March of Ancona, the Patrimony of Peter, and the Roman Campagna were all acknowledged to be in sole possession of the Holy See. Nicholas III (1277–1280), who insisted that the extent of the States of the Church should be specifically described in an authentic document, was thus beyond all question a temporal sovereign of no mean strength. Yet a good deal of his territory remained an object of desire

rather than an actual possession of the popes. The papal rulers lacked the material force to make good all their claims. For a moment, however, the papacy was at its zenith. In 1274 a union, destined however to be only temporary, was concluded between the Greek and Latin Churches. The Emperor Michael Palaeologus, in sore need of help, sought refuge under the wing of Rome. The East was thus brought into the papal sphere of influence, and the restoration of ecclesiastical unity promised rich material gains to the papacy. Four years later Nicholas III succeeded in persuading Charles of Anjou to resign the dignity of a Roman senator and the position of imperial vicar in Tuscany. Thus the States of the Church were set free from a perilous encirclement. But hostile criticism began to detract from the influence of the popes. Bitter complaints against the papal entourage made themselves heard at this time, complaints against the rapacious greed of the cardinals, against the simony prevailing everywhere in Rome. These were disquieting things; but perhaps they were inevitable. The pope, however great a genius he might be, was but a man after all. He could not do everything himself. He needed ministers, agents, servants, and very soon he found himself swamped by them. About him there was formed, by the force of circumstances, a more and more complicated administration that, as the years went by, became increasingly the subject of criticism. Papal administration proved ever more expensive. Its numerous officials did not escape the growing tendency to worldly pomp and luxury. And the struggles, both in the peninsula and abroad, for political power and in defense of the faith were very costly. It required a great deal of money to reduce the rebel grandees of the States of the Church and to subsidize such enterprises as the crusade against the Albigenses. So the curia was plunged into an ocean of expenditure. It was compelled to supplement its revenues by credit. It borrowed large sums from the prosperous bankers of Florence. Another thing added

to the weakness of the papacy. In the last forty years of the thirteenth century there were thirteen pontificates, all of short duration, and several lasting only a few months. The brevity of their terms of office thwarted the ambitions of these ephemeral sovereigns to make themselves a great secular power. And still another thing contributed to the weakness of the popes. Like so many other rulers they fell under the influence of France. Even Boniface VIII (1294–1303) fell in with the general tendency in the beginning of his pontificate; and when he resisted he was completely defeated by Philip the Fair. So the papacy was already on its way to exile. Its history in the latter part of the thirteenth century is merely a prelude to its long residence at Avignon and more or less complete subjection to the king of France.

The communes in northern Italy. It is in the northern part of the peninsula, however, rather than in the center or the south, that we must look for the most significant development of life in Italy. There, in the growing and prosperous city-states, in the enterprising communes, modern life began. After the battle of Legnano, in 1174, they failed to reap the fruit of their concerted action, they failed to become permanently associated; but they gained virtual independence, and their economic activity was greatly stimulated. There were grave disadvantages in the lack of national feeling and unity. The communes fought against one another. They were commercial rivals. They fought for seaports, rivers, roads, and mountain passes. They struggled to obtain new territory, needed for food and men, at the expense of their neighbors. The only way they knew of dealing with their rivals was to crush them. The economic policy of these city-states anticipated the mercantilism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as it was developed by Holland, France, and England. And in every commune there was also internal strife. We read of quarrels between imperial Ghibellines and papal Guelfs; but these names had

become meaningless. These able and active townsfolk did not fight with one another for the sake of the emperor or the pope. Jealousies between town and town, and between social classes within the same town, were the cause of the bitter and incessant quarrels. And all the time, little by little, these humming hives of industry were changing their forms of government to meet the new conditions of life. The governments of no two of these city-republics were exactly alike; yet it is possible to describe a general type to which all of them, in varying degrees, bore some resemblance. Every commune had a number of consuls, who gradually supplanted the bishop as the municipal executive and took to themselves the right to represent the city in dealings with its neighbors. They were supported by a sort of privy council, called the *credenza*, made up of the more illustrious townsmen. There was another body, called the *gran consiglio*, an aristocratic institution, consisting of the burghers whose birth, or wealth, or ability had won for them the privilege of immediate participation in public affairs. The consuls, together with these two deliberative bodies, formed an oligarchy. Below them was a larger assembly, called the *parlamento*, to which belonged the entire adult population, but which was called together only upon rare occasions. Clearly these towns had still a long way to travel on the road towards democracy. These municipal oligarchies prospered exceedingly; yet they continued to war with one another; and every one of them was rent asunder by party conflicts. Everywhere life was permeated by rivalries between towns and by antagonism between the higher and the lower classes.

The age of the despots. The highest point in the development of this communal government was reached about the middle of the thirteenth century. Then the restless ambitions of the towns, and the incessant struggles within their walls, brought about a return to autocracy. The age of the despots began. Two sets of men were to be found in every

city, civic and feudal, commercial and military, liberal and conservative, or, to use the outworn labels, Guelfs and Ghibellines. The semi-democratic form of government proved incapable of maintaining an equilibrium between these two groups. Internal discord continued. The situation called for a desperate remedy. A dictator was needed. Many a city sought a military master to crush its rivals and to put an end to party strife within its gates. So a new functionary came into being, the *capitano del popolo.* In one town he was the leader of the triumphant Guelfs, while in another he was at the head of the ascendant Ghibellines. He had been summoned into existence to meet an emergency. He was chosen for his military skill. His power was ill-defined. Naturally he assumed the character of an autocrat wherever possible, "holding hell in high scorn". In 1237 Giovanni Malatesta was named *podestà* of Rimini, the first step towards the assumption of sovereign power by his descendants. Five years later Azzo d'Este was made ruler of Ferrara. In 1259 Martino della Torre became *signore* of Milan, the first time such a title was heard in Italy. In 1260 Mastino della Scala began to rule over Verona and founded the dynasty that was to include the illustrious Can Grande della Scala, patron of Dante. Prolonged internal disorder enabled Ludovico Gonzaga, in 1328, to make himself master of Mantua. Continued war helped to confirm these despots in their grasp of power; and they sought further to secure their positions by favoring the multitude, even at the expense of the feudal and military class from which most of them had come. And then the establishment of hereditary succession in the first half of the fourteenth century stamped these *signori* as princes.

The three city-republics. Communal freedom, however, still held its own in Genoa, Venice, and Florence. The freedom of these cities had its roots in their economic power. In each of these places a citizen body, powerful through commerce and capital, took control of the commonwealth. Very

early Genoa had seen and secured the advantages of the carrying trade which the crusades had created between western Europe and the East. Her seamen and merchants displayed an intrepid spirit of adventure and trade. They established themselves in the seaports won from the Crescent along the Spanish and Barbary coasts and in the Levant; and they built strong fortresses on the shores of the Black Sea and even on the banks of the Euphrates. All this increased the jealousy of the neighboring Pisa, and still more that of Venice. The former was defeated, in 1384, in the battle of Meloria; but warfare went on intermittently with the latter until, in 1380, the Genoese fleet was trapped and compelled to surrender in the lagoons at Chioggia.

Venice. Venetian merchants often lived at close quarters with their Genoese rivals in the seaports of the eastern Mediterranean. So they often came to blows. Actual war between the two maritime powers broke out in 1258 and again from time to time. At times fortune favored Genoa, and at others she smiled on Venice. Both were fighting for trade supremacy, for what they deemed to be a matter of life and death, and so the contest did not end until one of them was completely crushed. Venice was badly beaten in 1299; but the struggle went on, with intervals of peace, for almost a century, until her final victory at Chioggia. Venice in the meantime, with her settled government, her lack of internal quarrels, her commercial energy, and her clever diplomacy had prospered greatly and had begun to gain territory on the mainland and dream of an empire.

Florence. Florence went on its way, subduing the feudal nobles of the surrounding country, and making territorial gains whenever possible at the expense of her neighbors. She attacked Siena, which guarded the road to Rome; and she cast covetous eyes on Pisa, which barred the way to the sea. The city was torn by feuds between aristocrats and democrats, or, as they were known here, Blacks and Whites. As a result of these sanguinary conflicts the form of govern-

ment fluctuated frequently, and the people seemed to have slight political ability. Yet in their industrial and commercial management they led the world. Each of the seven gilds, known as the *arti maggiori*, was organized like a small state, having its legislative assembly, laws, councils, and executive officials. Florentine cloth surpassed all its rivals and was sent to every part of the continent. Its manufacturers were regarded as the leading merchants of the age. At this time the gold florin was first coined, taking its name from Florentia, the Latin name of the city, and soon it became the standard piece throughout Europe.

The Florentines as bankers. Banking, too, was developed in the prosperous city on the Arno. Modern capitalism with its restless and boundless search for profit, so contrary to the spirit of medieval asceticism, became an important element in the silent and gradual change that was coming over life. And we need not be surprised that the modern capitalistic spirit appeared first of all in northern Italy. A powerful tradition of financial economy had lingered there from the far-off days of imperial Rome. Capital was created in Florence by superior craftsmanship, by trade, by the increase of ground rents, and by the transmission of fortunes. Money thus obtained was lent, at a high rate of interest, to foreign states and rulers; and it enabled Florentine merchants to trade in all the important markets of the continent. Effective organization still further increased the power of Florentine capital. The great banking and commercial firms of the city were all organized on a company basis. Towards the close of the thirteenth century persons belonging to every class of society, from near and far, deposited their fortunes with the city bankers in consideration of a fixed rate of interest and participation in the profits of the business. Among the powers which entered into lively business relations with the great banking firms none was more important than the church. A great deal of money was now needed by the papacy for its mani-

fold political aims. And among the secular princes who borrowed money from Florentine bankers the chief were the members of the Anjou dynasty in the kingdom of Naples. The restless condition of things in their state compelled them to put forth efforts that could not be sustained without the help of foreign capital. The risk was great. And so the shrewd bankers demanded a high rate of interest. Taxes, tolls, mintage, and salt pits were pledged to them, or farmed out to them, and a lucrative monopoly in the export of grain was granted to them. And the sphere of operations of the Florentine bankers extended beyond Italy. Princes and cities knew how to make use of their services in France, England, Flanders, and Brabant. Borrowers multiplied in Spain and Germany; while in the East money was lent to the Knights of Saint John for their struggle against the infidels. Nearly all the property of the Order became mortgaged to the bankers. Florentine money ruled the world.

Development of individuality. Of course it was impossible that, in such circumstances, life should remain as it had been throughout the medieval centuries. Florence and other cities like it were workshops in which man's will became more vigorous and all his abilities and talents were richly developed. An unbounded individualism began to display itself. Otherworldly ideals began to fade and lose vitality. Man came once more to be regarded as a creature of flesh and blood. His right to earthly joy was passionately insisted upon. To asceticism and renunciation were opposed pride, desire for fame, worldly pleasure, sensual love, the complete education of body and mind, and the lust to conquer and rule and create. All this strengthened the force of personality, the will to be oneself, and weakened the force of the old monastic ideals and manner of existence. Who could foretell how far man would go, and whither the way would lead?

Denmark. In the period between the eleventh and the middle of the thirteenth centuries organized national life

came into being in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. In all these countries the peasant class lost, in part, its original political importance and the crown, together with the nobility and the church, rose to a position of prominence. Towns, also, began to appear. But these social dislocations, especially the struggle of the crown to obtain absolute power, called forth internal strife; and progress, therefore, was slow. Denmark, thanks to its geographical position, was the most strongly exposed of the Scandinavian countries to western influence. To that country of gentle landscapes of water, islands, low hills, and woodlands this influence first made its way from Germany, and later on in the time of Canute the Great (1018–1035) from England. For more than a hundred years after the death of that great ruler the country was harassed almost continuously by pretenders to the throne, and more than once it was divided. Throughout this anarchic time, however, steady progress was made in Christianizing the people and improving the ecclesiastical organization. About 1104 the Archbishopric of Lund was established, and from that center influences radiated that strengthened the national feeling. Archbishop Absalon (1128?–1201), the third occupant of the archiepiscopal position, had been educated in the University of Paris. He was his country's first great statesman. To him was due the imperial policy which for three generations made Denmark the paramount power in the Baltic. At his suggestion war was made upon the piratical Wends, and in 1168 their chief sally port in the isle of Rügen was captured and destroyed. He sought also to free his country from the yoke of Germany, but the fulfillment of that plan had to wait for a more fortunate time. At home he was occupied with building churches and monasteries, introducing monastic orders, founding schools and in spreading civilization in other ways. He is a striking and picturesque figure in the history of his country, equally great as churchman, statesman, and soldier, the best rider in the army and the best swimmer in the fleet.

His policy of expansion was carried on by Valdemar II (1202–1241) at a time when the internal dissentions of his neighbor enabled him to win much of the Baltic seaboard from Germany. The Emperor Frederic II and Pope Innocent III formally renounced to him all of the German lands north of the Elbe and Elde, as well as the Wendish lands along the Baltic. True the treachery of a vassal and the loss of the battle of Bornhöved brought his unwieldy empire tumbling down like a house of cards, but for a long time the Danes retained their lead in Scandinavia. Denmark, however, was too small a state to control the shores of the great inland sea. War undermined the foundations of the royal power. Nobles enriched themselves at the cost of the crown. They disparaged its claims, and secured its lands by mortgage. At the bottom of the social pyramid the peasants, oppressed with taxes, statute labor and military duties, sank into misery and servitude.

Norway. Many of the Vikings had come from Norway. With its mountains, its long and deep fjords, its narrow valleys, and the poverty of much of its soil, it is the natural home of dreams and longings, of wonderings of what may be beyond,—beyond the fields, the valleys, the seas. Such a land and such a spirit did not lend themselves to the creation of a nation; but Olaf the Saint (1015–1030) succeeded in restoring unity after a period of dissolution, and, though he met his death fighting against heathenism, the development of the crown made much progress in the following decades. In the time of Olaf the Quiet (1066–1093) towns began to appear, the most important being Bergen. Under Haakon IV (1217–1263) peace was restored after a long time of internal disorder, and possessions far out in the western sea were acquired. Worn out by internal strife the Icelandic chiefs, in 1262, acknowledged Haakon as overlord, and soon the example was followed by Greenland. Magnus (1263–1299) revised the laws, which to some extent had remained as they were in the old heathen days; and

under him the landed aristocracy lost its power completely.

Sweden. In Sweden there was a long struggle between Sweden proper and Gothland. It corresponded to the struggle between the worship of Odin and Christianity. Under the Gothic dynasty of the Sverkers in the middle of the twelfth century it almost led to a separation of the two provinces; yet Christianity slowly made its way northward and into the mountain districts, and little by little the crown gained in power. Earl Birger, who virtually ruled the country from 1248 to 1266, prepared the way for the abolition of slavery and furthered the centralization of government. King Magnus Ladulas (1275–1290) boldly carried on the policies of this great statesman. He granted charters to towns, and in his time the codification of the laws in the several provinces was begun.

Finland. Swedish influence made itself felt in Finland. In 1157 a large army was sent into the country to the east of the Baltic and compelled many of the people to accept Christianity at the point of the sword. When the army began its homeward march it left behind Bishop Henry of Upsala. That ecclesiastic, with his priests and soldiers, lost no time in continuing the work of conquest and conversion. Some years later he was killed, and after a time he was canonized and became the patron saint of Finland. The inhabitants of this land of lakes did not give up their old faith and religious practices readily. Like all the other northern heathens they resisted stubbornly. But they were subdued by the Swedes; and then the new faith, and new laws, better agricultural methods and skilled craftsmanship, slowly spread among them.

Poland. After the collapse of the great Polish kingdom, reaching from the Baltic to the Danube, and from the Elbe to the Bug, a long period of disorder left the country exhausted and divided. A gradual improvement then took place; and a successful resistance was made to the attempted

overlordship of Germany. Boleslaf III (1102–1139), however, divided the kingdom among his sons, and so another period of separation and weakness, this time lasting until 1305, almost removed the country from the map and left it an easy prey to all its rivals. In 1241 Poland, together with the countries lying eastward, suffered from the invasions of the Mongols. They burned the towns of Sandomir and Cracow; left the countryside a smoking wilderness; and all who were able fled before them to the mountains of Hungary or the forests of Moravia. Not until the time of Casimir III (1333–1370) was the country restored to its place among the nations of the continent.

The Teutonic Knights. Farther east along the coast of the Baltic, which here is lined with sand hills and lagoons, in a land of marshes and moors and forests, with some rich pastures in the river valleys, lived the Prussians. They were predatory heathens; and in 1229 the Teutonic Order began its work of subduing and converting them. It was a part of that eastward movement of Germans that went on in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a movement of colonization in which peasants, townsfolk, and monks participated, and which spread the influence of their country as far north as the Dwina and as far east of Novgorod. The Knights built many fortresses to secure their conquests; and in 1234 they made themselves independent of all the surrounding monarchies by giving their land to the papacy and receiving it back as a fief. Gregory IX gave to all who took part in the conquest the privileges of crusaders; and the Order, made wealthy by donations and strong by numerous accessions to its ranks, rapidly overran the heathen tribes. By 1260 they had conquered all the land from Kulm to the mouth of the Vistula, and then along the shore eastwards as far as Königsberg. They had already secured Livonia, and now they hoped to connect these separated lands. The acquisition of these large territories brought about a complete change in the Order. It lost its semi-

monastic character, and became a ruling aristocracy. It reduced the heathens who had resisted to serfdom, rewarded those who had voluntarily submitted, encouraged German immigrants, both urban and rural, established many towns, and maintained a cultured and brilliant court at Marienburg.

Lithuania. Gradually the Lithuanians succeeded in forming an independent state; and then, in 1250, Prince Mendowg (?–1263), having been baptized, received a crown from Innocent II and was proclaimed king. Early in the fourteenth century something like regular government was established and the territory of the new state greatly extended eastwards. In 1325 a treaty was signed with Poland which, two centuries later, led to the union of the two countries.

The Esthonians. The piratical Esthonians, dreaded by the merchant ships of the inland sea, also began to be affected by the northward spread of civilization and Christianity. More than one Danish ruler had attempted to subdue them; but they were safe in the midst of their islands and marshes, and they stubbornly resisted the blandishments of the missionaries. Yet in 1219 Waldemar II of Denmark was able to found the town of Reval, to plant a bishop there, and to encourage the migration thither of merchants from Bremen and Lübeck. From time to time these northern heathens broke out in revolt, and then, in 1346, the work of conquest was taken up by the Knights of the Sword. These Germanic crusaders, after a quarter of a century of fighting, gained most of the land inhabited by the race, and from that time on, for more than six hundred years, the Esthonians lived in a state of serfdom under the German landowners.

Bohemia. For something like a century internal strife had weakened Bohemia. German influence steadily increased; and the power of the kings declined. The geographical position of the country made the former inevitable,

for Bohemia is a Slav enclave in the midst of Germans; and the particularistic interests of the feudal nobles brought about the latter. But Ottakar I (1197–1230) did much to restore the authority of the sovereign, and after him the crown, which had been so often disputed, became hereditary. Ottakar II (1253–1278) was one of the ablest statesmen in the history of his country. He extended his possessions to the Adriatic; and, hoping to find in them a counterweight to the feudal nobility and an aid in developing the towns, he encouraged the immigration of Germans into Bohemia. The reign of Wenceslaus III (1278–1305) was, in general, a period of peace and prosperity in which the modern institutions and influences promoted by his father enjoyed a continual development.

Russia. We have seen that after the death of Yaroslaf (1019–1054) the struggle of rival Russian princes was renewed and the robber tribes of the steppe once more made life and property insecure. Russian power retreated northward, and there it remained backward and impotent because of the continual warfare among the numerous principalities. For nearly two hundred years these principalities, most of them having only an ephemeral existence, fought with one another. The ruler of Kiev was recognized as the Grand Duke; and in that town, too, lived the Metropolitan of the Russian Church. Much prestige was gained by that capital. It was the seat of the first Russian Church; and it had the first Christian school and the first library in Russia. But several times in the course of the internal struggles of that distracted land it was stormed and pillaged by the robber tribes of the steppes. Then, in 1240, it was captured by the Mongols, to whom it remained subject for the next eighty years. The prince of Kiev and the Metropolitan were compelled to retreat northwards to the principality of Vladimir in the forests of central Russia, and there they and their successors lived until, in 1325, the Metropolitan moved to Moscow. A new importance was

thus given to this growing city, and eventually it became the capital of the great Slavic Empire.

The Empire of the Golden Horde. These Mongolian invasions began with the conquests of Jenghiz Khan (1162–1227), a chieftain of the vast lands of central Asia, who subdued all China north of the Yellow River. To his sons he left an empire stretching from the China Sea to the banks of the Dnieper. It was the largest dominion ever ruled by a single conqueror, and it had been won only by the most appalling slaughter and desolation. Ogdai (?–1241) energetically continued the conquests of his father. Defeating the Bulgarians of the central region of the Volga, who after that disappeared by fusing with the Moguls and the Slavs, his chieftains pushed across that river, and with incredible swiftness made their way through the forests to Moscow. When that town was taken, plundered, and burned, their forces divided, one section making its way into Poland and the other into Hungary. Only the death of Ogdai put an end to further conquests in the West. But that event did not rid Europe of the Mongols. These Orientals had come to stay. They made their capital at Sarai, near the Volga, the ruins of which may be seen to-day some two hundred miles from where the many mouths of that river pour into the Caspian Sea. For nearly three centuries they held sway over eastern and a good part of central Russia. Many Russian princes sought their favor, the most adroit and successful being those of Moscow, who gradually became the chief representative of their oriental suzerain. The Empire of the Golden Horde was an important factor in European politics until, in 1359, it was conquered by Tamerlane.

Hungary. The long reign of Stephen I (997–1038) saw the spread of Christianity and the establishment of a European form of government in Hungary. Forty years of fighting against foreign and domestic foes then set the country backwards; but Ladislaus I (1077–1095) suppressed

the insubordination of the nobles, extended his dominions and made good progress in colonizing and civilizing the wilderness of Transylvania and the lower valley of the Danube. It was no easy task. His own people were still half savage, and their ranks were being constantly recruited by hordes of Petchenegs and other wild races that swept over the borders of the country in the twelfth century, their blood, as their music tells us to-day, full of fire and romance. Kalman (1095–1116) carried on the work of civilization. He was an able administrator, simplifying and systematizing taxation, encouraging agriculture, offering inducements to foreign craftsmen to settle in his towns, and promoting trade by improving the roads. Schemnitz, Neushol, Kremnitz, and the names of other mining towns in northern Hungary still give evidence of the coming of large numbers of colonists from Germany. Andrew II (1205–1235) gave away money and land in so reckless a manner that he made the crown once more dependent upon the feudal grandees. Then he went away on the Fifth Crusade. When he returned the nobles were able to extort from him the Golden Bull. This is sometimes described as a limitation of the power of the crown by the great feudatories; but as a matter of fact it strengthened the royal authority. It was the work not of a few great nobles, but of the entire nobility; and by identifying the interests of the king with those of the mass of the nobles it protected him against the encroachments of the leading grandees. Bela IV (1235–1270) recovered as much as possible of his father's improvident giving, put down internal disorder with a stern hand, and did all he could to defend the passes of the Carpathians against the threatened invasion of the Mongols. He was unsuccessful in this last measure, and when those wild tribes burst through the narrow ways he was obliged to flee to the islands of Dalmatia. He devoted nearly thirty years to repairing the devastation of his realm; and when he died the dynasty that had ruled the Hungarians for nearly four hundred years

came to an end. Forty years of struggle and confusion followed, and then the crown passed to Charles I (1310–1342) of Anjou and Naples, who resumed the work of restoration and civilization.

Bulgaria. When we last looked at the Bulgarians settled south of the Danube, we saw them become subject to the Byzantine emperors. They remained in that condition until 1186, when they recovered their independence and succeeded in extending their territories. Greatest of all their rulers was Ivan II (1218–1241), a cultured and benignant sovereign, who governed his people with ability and was an intelligent promoter of commerce and a generous patron of scholars and artists. A period of decadence followed his death; and then, in 1330, the country became subject to Serbia.

Serbia. Prince Stephen Nemanya (1159–1195) succeeded in uniting all the Serbians, in the latter part of the twelfth century, under a single rule. He never received the royal title, but he was the real founder of the kingdom. He was the first of a dynasty which lasted two centuries, and under which, until our own time was reached, the nation attained the acme of its power and prosperity.

The Byzantine Empire. In our study of the crusades we have seen something of the Byzantine Empire. The Seljuk Turks captured nearly all Asia Minor, while the remaining provinces of the empire were threatened by the Petchenegs and the Normans. The Byzantines allied themselves with the Venetians to avert these dangers; but the ambition of that maritime republic was not satisfied with trading privileges, some of which were shared by her rivals, and so she managed to deflect the Fourth Crusade from its goal to subdue and partition the empire. The temporary obliteration of the empire in 1204 profoundly changed the history of the eastern Mediterranean lands, and indeed of Europe. The bulwark that for so long had kept back the tide of Islam was destroyed; and though the worthless fabric that took

its place soon began to show signs of decay and came to an end in little more than fifty years after its establishment, the restored imperial power was but a shadow of its former self. It was Theodore Lascaris (1206–1222) who gathered the Byzantine nobles about him at Nicæa, was elected emperor, and intrusted with the task of recovery. Slowly territory was regained, on the mainland and in the islands of the archipelago, from Seljuk Turks and Latins, until, in 1261, Michael Palaeologus (1259–1261) recaptured Constantinople. But Venice kept the duchy of Athens for yet another fifty years, and she retained a number of islands in which her patricians had founded lordships; while still other parts of the disrupted realm were held by Westerners. Everywhere western settlements could still be found in the Levant. Stripped of much of its territory, financially weakened, and militarily enfeebled the empire was no longer able to withstand the encroachments of the Slavic states in the Balkan peninsula or, later on, those of the Ottoman Turks in Asia Minor.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for this study are listed in the bibliographies for chapters 7–13 of the sixth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*. See also Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History*.

The most general accounts among the derived sources are naturally to be found in the general histories of Europe and in the histories of the several states. The volumes of *The Cambridge Medieval History* dealing with this period have not yet been published. We have, in the meantime, the less inclusive *Histoire Générale* by Lavisse and Rambaud. Michele Amari, *La Guerra del Vespro Siciliano*. Rafael Altamira, *Historia de España y de la civilización española*. James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*. Edgard Boutaric, *La France sous Philippe le Bel*. Edgard Boutaric and Ernest Renan, *Études sur la politique religieuse du règne de Philippe le Bel*. Horatio R. F. Brown, *Studies in the History of Venice*. Hjalmar H. Boyesen, *The Story of Norway*. Charles R. Beazley and Nevill Forbes and George A. Berkett, *Russia from*

the Varangians to the Bolsheviks. Ulick R. Burke, *A History of Spain.* John B. Bury, *The Eastern Roman Empire.* Carlo Cipolla, *Storia delle Signorie Italiane.* Gino Capponi, *Storia della Repubblica di Firenze.* H. B. Clark, *The Cid Campeador.* Robert Davidsohn, *Geschichte der Stadt Florenz.* G. Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège.* J. Dierauer, *Geschichte der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft.* Reinhart P. A. Dozy, *Spanish Islam.* H. A. L. Fisher, *The Medieval Empire.* There is a new edition of George Finlay's admirable *History of Greece,* which deals with the Byzantine Empire of this period, by H. F. Tozer. H. Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens.* L. Garreau, *L'état social de la France au temps des croisades.* Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of Rome in the Middle Ages.* Knut Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People.* R. Holzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret.* William H. Hutton, *Philip Augustus.* W. C. Hazlitt, *The Venetian Republic.* Martin A. S. Hume, *The Spanish People.* Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France.* Pierre Imbart de la Tour's chapters in the third volume of Gabriel Hanotaux's *Histoire de la nation française* are both scholarly and interesting. H. Kretschmer, *Geschichte von Venedig.* Vasillii O. Kluchevsky, *History of Russia.* Edward H. Lewinski-Corwin, *The Political History of Poland.* Franz H. H. V. Lützow, *Bohemia.* Stanley Lane-Poole, *Story of the Moors in Spain.* Pompeo G. Molmenti's *Venice* has been translated into English by H. F. Brown. Charles E. Maurice, *The Story of Bohemia.* James Mavor, *The Economic History of Russia.* William R. Morfill, *Poland.* Roger B. Merriman, *The Rise of The Spanish Empire.* Julia S. Orvis, *A Brief History of Poland.* A volume by C. Petit-Dutaillis on *The Foundation of Modern Monarchies* has been announced. Sir Edwin Pear's *The Fall of Constantinople* deals with the Fourth Crusade; and see also his *The Destruction of the Greek Empire.* Père Guérin Songeon, *Histoire de la Bulgarie.* Ión Stefansson, *Denmark and Sweden with Iceland and Finland.* Henry Morse Stephens, *Portugal.* Pasquale Villari, *The First Two Centuries of Florentine History.* A. Vulliety, *La Suisse à travers les âges.* K. Wenck, *Philipp der Schöne von Frankreich.*

CHAPTER 26

THE RISE OF THE UNIVERSITIES

Monastic and cathedral schools. The period from the early ninth to the declining eleventh century has justly been called the Benedictine Age. All through that wild time the monks were the leaders in agriculture and craftsmanship, and learning was kept alive in their schools. The school of the monastery of Monte Cassino had long been famous, while that of the monastery of Bec, on the skirts of the forest of Brionne in Normandy, came to be the foremost center of culture in western Europe. But these two schools were "brilliant exceptions" rather than "representative examples". In the twelfth century the monastic schools had declined and were surpassed by those of the cathedrals; for episcopal administration made necessary a good deal of secretarial work and training and also some schooling in the canon law. And there, too, in the towns the new thought of the time was stirring. Old studies were improved, new ones added, and the development of universities was begun in such cathedral schools as those of Laon, Tours, Orléans, Paris, and Chartres. The last was the most eminent of all, especially as a school of letters, though it was destined never to become a university.

The medical school at Salerno. A partial exception to the statement that the origin of the universities is to be found in the development of the cathedral schools must be noticed. The oldest of the universities was at Salerno, a sun-stained town that climbs up the mountain side, tier upon tier, above the blue sea, some thirty-three miles south of Naples. It was a cosmopolitan seaport, knowing little of the limitations of feudalism, with a population made up

of Greeks, Normans, Saracens, and Italians. As early as the ninth century we begin to hear of physicians there. A school, or collection of schools, gradually grew up there in which attention was devoted chiefly to medicine. One could learn much of the old Greek medical lore there, and much of that gathered from other sources by the Saracens. Law and philosophy were also taught, but only in a subordinate degree. Mineral springs near by helped to draw people there for the restoration of their health. One of these seekers after health was Duke William of Normandy, afterwards William the Conqueror. At first the physicians taught only their own assistants; but in the tenth century students flocked there to study medicine; and in the following century it was the most famous medical school in Latin Christendom. But it was predominantly a medical school; its other studies always occupied an inferior position; and it was cut off very largely from the rest of the continent. So its influence upon other schools was very slight.

Studia generalia. Far more important in the history of the rise of the universities is Bologna. Public lectures and schools were one of the most notable features of town life in the days of imperial Rome. In some of the towns in the northern part of the peninsula these schools seem to have lingered all through the medieval centuries. Despite the storms of invasion and internal conflict the continuity of city life was never completely broken. In the time of the crusades the cities of this region enjoyed a vigorous life. Many of them threw off the yoke of the feudal lord or that of the bishop; and their independence of imperial authority, secured in 1176 with the victory at Legnano, was recognized in 1183 by the Treaty of Constance. They were populous and prosperous; and, quite naturally, they improved their schools. Towards the close of the twelfth century some of these schools became recognized as *studia generalia*, because they could boast of students from many lands. By the beginning of the thirteenth century *studia generalia* had

become quite common. Apparently any school that chose to do so might claim to be a *studium generale*, though with as little justification as some institutions in our own country to-day style themselves colleges and universities. It might do this with some grace if it invited students from all countries and maintained, in addition to the faculty of arts, one of the professional faculties of law, medicine, or theology. Gradually, however, this unrestricted right of establishing *studia generalia* came to an end. The idea was developed that the founding of a new *studium generale* was a privilege peculiar to the papal, or the royal, or the imperial power. In 1224 one was established by an imperial decree at Naples; and in 1229 another was created by a papal bull at Toulouse. And then another papal bull, issued in 1233, commanded that every one admitted to the mastership by the *studium generale* of Toulouse should be permitted to teach in any other school without further examination. This special privilege was known as the *jus ubique docendi*. It was a teaching certificate good for the entire continent. From the end of the thirteenth century the idea gradually prevailed that this privilege was of the essence of a *studium generale*, and that it could be obtained only by a decree from the emperor or a bull from the pope. Some of these *studia generalia* whose licenses to teach were honored throughout the continent developed into universities.

The influence of famous teachers. Why did some of these *studia generalia* develop into universities while others did not? They were fortunate enough to have famous teachers. In the eleventh century there began to appear a class of men, well educated and well trained according to the standards of the time, who were able and willing to devote themselves to teaching. These *magistri* wandered from school to school, giving lectures and presiding at disputations. Their fame increased, and scholars followed them from place to place. Bishops, princes, and municipalities were eager to secure their services. Gradually the better ones

gravitated to the towns where conditions were favorable for their work, where the outlook was more promising, and so in the course of time several of them, sometimes many, were to be found teaching in the same *studium generale*. Such schools were Bologna, Montpellier, and Paris. In time they became universities.

Study of the Roman Law at Bologna. One of the most famous of these teachers was Irnerius (1070?–1130?), a rather shadowy figure, who, during the earlier decades of the twelfth century, taught Roman law at Bologna. That law had never become extinct in Italy. It had been neglected in the medieval centuries, of course, but never entirely forgotten. It was used in those parts of the peninsula reconquered by Justinian; and it lingered in many a municipality all through the centuries following the invasion of the Lombards. It had never ceased, in a modified form, to be the law of the Italians; and it had strongly influenced the laws of their barbarian masters. Gradually, as the times became more civilized, it recovered much of its purity in the more prosperous and literate centers, and thence it spread by infiltration. It was taught at Rome, and still more at Ravenna, which, even after the political tie was broken, maintained relations with the Byzantine Empire. Then, in the eleventh century, it made its way rapidly into the vigorous life of the northern communes. Bologna was made the greatest of all the law schools by its favorable geographical position, its commercial importance, its comparative political freedom, and, above all else, by the genius of Irnerius. That great annotator "had practiced at the bar and had close touch with the actualities of legal life", and so "his teaching combined in a striking manner both theory and practice". Many other famous teachers followed him there, of whom the most notable is Accursius.

Revival of the Digest. Thus far the Italian law schools had paid attention only to three of the four parts of the great code compiled by Justinian. They studied the *Code*, made

up of edicts of the emperors, the *Institutes*, which is an elementary textbook, and the *Novels*, a collection of the later edicts of Justinian. But they had neglected the most valuable part, the collection of interpretations of the famous lawyers, called the *Digest*. Perhaps that book was too difficult for the rough life of the medieval centuries; and no doubt it was looked upon askance as being the work of pagan jurists. Now, however, one could study the entire *Corpus Juris Civilis* at Bologna; and so that school became famous even beyond the Alps.

Study of the Canon Law at Bologna. One might also study the canon law at Bologna. Many attempts had been made to codify the ecclesiastical law, but all of them were eclipsed by the publication, not later than 1142, of the *Decretum*. This notable book, containing many papal decrees, issued at different times and dealing with many subjects, arranged in an orderly manner and illuminated by commentary, is the work of Gratian, of whom we know very little more than that he was a monk who studied and taught at Bologna. Quickly it made its way into the schools and the ecclesiastical courts, and proved an effective aid in separating the study of canon law from theology and from the civil law. Church courts were to be found everywhere, and so the study of canon law was of the greatest importance. Bologna owed its fame as much to the canon law as to the civil law.

Importance of these legal studies. When we remember the wide effect of the study of civil and canon law on "constitutional and legal development, and on political and juridical thought", says Harold Dexter Hazeltine, "we can see at once that we are dealing with one of the most vital aspects of the general history of civilization. In law, as in art, letters, and other features of culture, Italian history is at the same time world history".

Organization of the school at Bologna. How was the flourishing school at Bologna organized? Its students were,

as a rule, older and financially more independent than those in other *studia* who devoted their attention to the liberal arts and to theology. For the most part they were men, not boys, who had come to acquire the knowledge of a chosen profession. Most of them preferred not to rent rooms in the dwellings of townsfolk, but to form a group and hire an entire house, provide their own furniture, engage their own servants, and live after their own fashion. By far the greater number of them were not citizens of Bologna. They were aliens in a strange city, a city filled with students of different races and tongues among whom there was frequent discord, and they found it necessary to take care of themselves. The craft gilds and merchant gilds in every town furnished them with examples of organization. So, sometime in the last quarter of the twelfth century, they organized themselves into gilds, or universities, for the purpose of preventing quarrels among themselves and protecting themselves against the exactions of landlords and merchants and the injustice of municipal officials. They formed a state, or rather several states, within a state. The word *universitas* at that time meant any gild of craftsmen or corporation of merchants, and only later was it narrowed and restricted to groups of students and teachers. There were several gilds, or universities, of students at Bologna. Each chose its own teachers and elected its chief officer who was known as the rector.

Advantages of Paris as a center of study. The school that formed the model for succeeding ages was neither Salerno nor Bologna, though the student gilds of the latter were copied by the other universities in Italy and by those of Spain and southern France. The great mother university was Paris. That city was the capital of a kingdom. It enjoyed the protection of a central and regular government that strove to make roads safe and to encourage trade. Ships that skirted the coasts ascended the Seine and unloaded their cargoes at its wharves; while roads reached it

from Bordeaux, Barcelona, Marseilles, Boulogne, Bruges, and Basel. And it was a center of life to which the currents of culture, not less than of commerce, converged. Nowhere was curiosity more active or zeal for knowledge more ardent. Notre Dame rose on its island in the river, not the building we see to-day but an older one; and not with a wide open place in front of it as now, but surrounded by tall rookeries alive with students and the miscellaneous population of a political and commercial capital. Like many another cathedral, it had a school. There were also two other famous schools in Paris, one at the Abbey of Saint-Victor and the other at the Collegiate church of Sainte-Geneviève, but the most important was the one attached to the cathedral.

William of Champeaux and Abélard. The cathedral school at Paris was first given a wide fame by William of Champeaux (1070–1121), who, in the closing years of the eleventh century drew large numbers of students there by his skill as a dialectician. Far greater, however, was the prestige gained by the teaching of Peter Abélard (1079–1142), who by his learning, skill, eloquence and daring, attracted still greater numbers and made the school the intellectual capital of the continent. Born in a little castle some eleven miles southeast of Nantes, he learned all that was possible from the teachers and manuscripts of the neighborhood and set out, while still a boy, fifteen or sixteen years of age, to lead the life of a wandering scholar. Our knowledge of his travels is very slight, but we know that he studied, probably in the monastery school of Locminé near Vannes, with Jean Roscelin (1050?–1125?), an ardent advocate of reason, whose bold thought had already led to heresy. For five or six years he continued his travels, going, he tells us, "wherever dialectics flourished". There were many famous teachers in the monastic and cathedral schools of that time, and no doubt he listened to quite a few of them, discussed the most serious and subtle questions with them,

and then forsook them to find his way to others. Thus did he increase his knowledge and sharpen his mind for the debates and lectures that were to make him known throughout Christendom. Then, in the flower of his youth, he arrived at Paris and attended the lectures of William of Champeaux, who, although a teacher of wide reputation, was only some ten years older than himself. He listened and learned, read still further in philosophy and theology, reflected shrewdly, thought deeply, and before long met and defeated the famous master in public disputation.

Realism versus Nominalism. Many philosophical and theological problems were then being debated in the schools. Chief of them was the question of realism and nominalism. Is every genus, or group, or class, such as man, bird, insect, or tree, merely a name, or is it a reality? Individual men, birds, insects, and trees, of course exist. Does the abstract idea of man, or bird, or insect, or tree, also exist outside the mind? William was a realist. Every such genus, he contended, every group of animals or plants or things agreeing in some common attribute and designated by a common name, has a real existence, apart from the individuals that belong to it, and outside the mind that conceives it. The nominalists denied this. Only individual animals and plants and things, they said, are realities. Genera are merely names. Abélard was a nominalist, but with a difference. Genera, or universals, he argued, are neither mere names nor external realities. They are conceptions, generalized ideas. He meant they are like the composite photographs of our own time, produced by superimposing the photographs of a number of men on the same plate so that the peculiar characteristics of every individual are lost and there remains only a blended and vague picture of "man". Simple and self-evident as it seems to us, Abélard's conceptualism was revolutionary in its effect. It was a crushing reply to the leader of the realists. And then the brilliant boy, flushed with victory, proceeded to attack

other opinions of his teacher with caustic wit and made of him a bitter enemy.

Abélard becomes a teacher. Abélard's fame spread far and wide. Many students came from other places to hear him; and, deeming it best not to begin to teach at present in the capital, he opened a school of his own at Melun, some twenty-eight miles up the river. Then, having been successful, he moved to Corbeil, about ten miles nearer to Paris. The new school was only a day's walk from that of Notre Dame. Streams of students flowed between the two places, praising and condemning the new teacher whose success became ever more phenomenal. Worn by the severe strain, he was obliged to seek renewed health in his native province of Brittany. When he returned a few years later he found that William of Champeaux had retired into the near-by abbey of Saint-Victor and had left a substitute in his chair at the cathedral school. Denied the right to teach there he renewed his criticisms of his rivals and crossed the river to teach in the school of the church of Sainte-Geneviève. Thither students flocked from many lands to hear him. "Rome sent you her children to educate", said Foulques of Deuil in a letter to the master, "and she who once inculcated in her hearers the knowledge of all sciences showed, by sending you her pupils, that your wisdom was superior to her own. Neither distance, nor the height of the mountains, nor the depth of the valleys, nor the roads beset with perils and infested with robbers, prevented them from hastening to you. The host of young Englishmen feared neither the passage of the sea nor its terrible storms; despising all peril, as soon as they heard your name uttered, they hastened to you. Distant Brittany sent you its children to teach; the Angevins entrusted you with theirs. The Poitevins, the Gascons and the Spaniards, Normandy, Flanders, Germany and Swabia incessantly proclaimed and praised the power of your name. I say nothing of all the inhabitants of the city of Paris and the most distant as well as the nearest

parts of France, who were athirst for your teaching as if there existed no science that could not be learned from you". And there where he taught on the hill of Sainte-Geneviève, not much of a hill to be sure, for it rises less than a hundred feet above the surrounding district, we find to-day the buildings of the University of Paris. At last, so great was his success, he was offered a chair in the cathedral school of Notre Dame.

Abélard as a teacher. More than ever before students now came from near and far to listen to the brilliant lecturer. He was handsome; his personality was charming; his voice was rich and resonant; his lectures were clearly outlined and enlivened by imagery; his learning was wide, his thought bold; he quoted continually from the pagan humanists, from Cicero, Seneca, Vergil, Horace, and Ovid, with a refined taste for beautiful thoughts happily expressed; and he made interesting and helpful allusions to the literature and the life of his own day. He had not only the facts but also the phosphorescence of learning; and the universality of his thought was based upon the widest sympathy. Nothing human was foreign to him. Yet, like every other man, he had defects. He was vain, arrogant, and impatient of contradiction; he appealed to the gallery; and he did not disdain to jest and gibe at his rivals and enemies. But even these defects contributed to his popularity. Scorn of the narrow securities of life, when revealed with eloquence, never fails to win the admiration of youth; and, after all, it was not difficult to perceive the greatness that transcended so many faults and follies. Abélard had become the idol of the city, the most famous teacher of his time; and from the impetus he gave the schools in that city there arose, some sixty years later, the University of Paris.

Gradual establishment of the University of Paris. What things tended to unite the various schools in that city into the University of Paris? Masters and students, under the influence of the common interests that united them and the

common dangers that threatened them, began of their own accord to become conscious of their unity. And then two outside powers were interested in protecting the mass of students in order the better to dominate it,—the king of France and the pope. The king could not fail to see how the continual circulation of these provincials and foreigners, who came from all parts of the kingdom and the continent, conferred luster upon his capital and increased his influence abroad. Naturally he desired to maintain a state of affairs so favorable to him. So he took measures to protect the students against the insecurity of life in a town, or even a country, that was not theirs, and to do this it was necessary for masters and students to be organized. After all, however, the real founder of the University of Paris was Innocent III. That great pontiff had been a student there; and the first time we come upon the name "university" is when it appears incidentally in 1208–1209 in his letters. But the university was in existence before that date. "Here, as so often in the history of institutions", says Haskins, "the name follows after the thing itself". And of the great pope's successors who assured its subsequent development by directing and orienting it the most important was Gregory IX. The University of Paris would have been established without papal intervention; but its history would have been very different without the advantages and the inconveniences of that gilded captivity. Yes, the church watched over the university with an increasing solicitude. There, quite evidently, was the arsenal where the weapons were being forged which should either defend the faith or strike it a mortal blow.

Organization of the University of Paris. When at last, some time before the end of the twelfth century, the University of Paris came into existence how was it organized? Bologna had furnished the example of a *studium* controlled by gilds of students. Paris preferred a *studium* controlled by teachers, or masters. By the end of the thirteenth cen-

tury the organization of that *studium generale* had attained the form which, in its salient characteristics, continued for several centuries, and which was copied, more or less closely, by all the other *studia generalia* not patterning themselves after Bologna. We must remember that the word *universitas* as yet denoted only a gild of students, or one of teachers. It did not mean the place where they assembled. The place, the academic institution, continued to be known as the *studium*. The government of the *studium generale* at Paris was carried on principally by the teachers. These masters were grouped into four faculties,—arts, canon law, medicine, and theology. The teaching of civil law was forbidden there in 1219 by a papal bull. Perhaps it was the desire of Honorius III (1216–1227), a vigorous champion of orthodoxy, to protect the faculty of theology, in one important school at least, from the ruinous competition of the popular and profitable study of the Roman law. Each of these faculties had an executive officer called a rector; and the faculty of arts, much larger than the others, managed to have its rector made the head of the entire *studium*, or, as we may now call it, university. We hear at first of another general official, the chancellor. He was the representative of the bishop and had charge of the cathedral school; but he disappeared in the background as slowly the university emerged from the cathedral school, rid itself of episcopal control, and directed its own life. His place was taken by the rector. Rector is the title by which the president is still known in most of the universities of continental Europe. The students were grouped into nations, of which, at first, four were to be found at Paris,—French, Normans, Picards, and English. The first included the students from all the Latin countries; while in the last were contained the Germans and all from the north and east of Europe. Each nation had a chief official, who was known as the proctor.

The Degrees. When the professors at the great Italian law school found themselves excluded from the organiza-

tions of the students they formed one of their own; and this was also true of all the southern universities patterned after Bologna. Every other university began with a gild of teachers. No student could gain admission to these professorial gilds save by passing an examination designed to test his ability as a teacher. The successful candidate was given a license to teach, and this was the earliest form of academic degree. The higher degrees conferred by universities to-day reveal the same origin in the words "master" and "doctor", which at first were titles of equal rank, and both of which meant that the recipient was competent to teach the subject he had studied. The three titles of master, doctor, and professor, were similar in meaning at that time. The origin of the word "bachelor" is uncertain, but we use it for the first or lowest degree given by a university. It means one who is not yet a master or a doctor. No such degree was granted until the medieval centuries had long been a part of the vanished past. In medieval times there was only one university degree, that of master or doctor; and in every case, whether or no the recipient became a teacher, it admitted to the professorial rank and gave permission to teach.

Latin the language of the schools. What courses of study were given by the medieval universities? Every student had to begin with the course in liberal arts. And all the lessons, in every university, were given in Latin. So it was necessary for the student to know that language. The only entrance requirement was an ability to read and understand it. The preparatory schools that taught it were called grammar schools; for then the word "grammar" was synonymous with Latin. Latin was then the international language and "the speech of educated men even in their lighter and more popular writings". Greek was largely forgotten; and no vulgar tongue had yet acquired a grammar.

The Trivium. The traditional seven liberal arts had come down from classical times and were divided into two

groups, the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*. The former consisted of grammar, rhetoric, and logic. These terms were far more inclusive than they are to-day. Under grammar one not only made further study of the Latin language, but met some faded memories of ancient literature, heard a confusion of pathetic echoes from the pagan past, learned a little more of Cicero and something of Vergil. Here and there a teacher might be found who could rightfully claim to be a humanist, especially at Chartres and Orléans. Bernard of Chartres (1080?–1130?) read the ancient authors with his pupils, explained constructions, pointed out mistakes, called attention to the beauties of the text, and urged his pupils to criticize and judge for themselves, to memorize passages, and write original exercises in prose and verse. He desired to develop the intelligence and cultivate the taste of his students rather than to overwhelm them with the weight of a useless erudition. Yet, after all, classical literature was sadly neglected in the medieval universities. Other interests, especially dialectics, crowded it out. Rhetoric, which in the old pagan times had been chiefly the art of eloquence, was also neglected in the medieval universities; but one phase of it, the art of writing, was stimulated by the increasing study of law. Logic had expanded into dialectics,—the art of attempting to find the truth of opinions by discussion. The most generally and bitterly disputed question was that of realism and nominalism. There was grave danger whichever opinion one held. Realism led to pantheism, while nominalism might easily lead to materialism. Accusations of heresy became increasingly frequent. Dialectics had unquestionably become the most important of all the seven liberal arts; and its nursery, above all other places, was Paris. It was in the midst of these hairsplitting subtleties that sympathy with classical literature had been lost.

The Quadrivium. The *Quadrivium*, the higher division of the seven liberal arts, consisted of the four mathematical

studies of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. In arithmetic the clumsy Roman numerals were used until the beginning of the thirteenth century, when they were gradually replaced by the so-called Arabic numerals brought by the Saracens from the East. This was an important change. The new numerals, being simpler than the old ones, and including the zero, greatly facilitated commerce and the development of arithmetic. Geometry, also, was improved at this time. The Romans had cared for it only because of its use in surveying; but in 1120 Adelard of Bath, who is said to have traveled for seven years in Spain, Italy, North Africa, and Asia Minor, translated Euclid's *Elements of Geometry;* and another Latin version of that work was made in 1188 by Gerhard of Cremona. With the aid of these translations the study of that branch of mathematics was greatly improved in western Europe. Astronomy, however, was a more popular study. For more than a hundred years progress was made in recovering the astronomical knowledge that had been lost since the close of the classical period, and by the middle of the thirteenth century all that was known to the Saracens was being taught in the western schools. Then a need arose of an elementary treatise embodying the results of this scholarship, which was filled about 1250 by the *Libellus de Sphæra* compiled by John of Holywood. The book was widely used, though it made no advance upon the Saracen commentaries on Ptolemy. The study of astronomy was fostered by the church, for she needed it in computing the dates of her moveable feasts. About 1232 John of Holywood wrote a treatise entitled *De anni ratione,* or *De computo ecclesiastico,* in which he called attention to the increasing error of the Julian calendar and suggested a remedy much the same as that used three hundred and fifty years later in the pontificate of Gregory XIII. Music, as it was then taught, was entirely theoretical. It was strictly mathematical. Yet it was practical, for it helped in the church service.

The textbooks. Much new knowledge found its way into the West in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from Constantinople, Syria, Sicily, and Spain; but aside from that all that was taught in the arts course was to be found in a few well-worn books compiled by Martianus Capella, who flourished in the fifth century and whose curious encyclopedic work contains seven chapters devoted to the seven liberal arts, Boethius (480?–524), Cassiodorus (490?–585), Isidore of Seville (560?–630), whose encyclopedia of all the sciences was one of the most important repositories of learning, the Venerable Bede (672?–735), and Rabanus Maurus (776?–856). All the books of these scholars were inadequate, yet in their way they kept alive throughout the medieval centuries some of the learning and culture of the vanished civilizations of Greece and Rome.

Medicine. Beyond the seven liberal arts were the professional courses in medicine, theology, and law. In medicine, thanks to the writings and teachers from Saracenic lands, all the ancient knowledge that had been preserved was now known to western Europe. Most important of the books on this subject were those of Galen and Hippocrates, with the commentaries of such Saracenic scholars as Avicenna. Little progress was made in this field, however, for the students had no laboratories, they carried on no research work, and "no subject was less adapted to their prevailing method of verbal and syllogistic dogmatism".

Theology. The case was quite different with theology. Until the second half of the thirteenth century the best intellects turned to theology as instinctively as in our day they are drawn to high finance. Men who had gained their secular culture in dialectics found themselves quite at home in that supermundane study. The development of disputation had aroused a desire to arrange and, less widely, to rationalize. It was time to put theological beliefs in order, and, where possible, to support them with reason. The first leading figure in this movement was Anselm (1033?–

1109), who sought to harmonize reason with faith. Far more influential, however, in the field of theological study was Peter Lombard (1100?–1160?), an Italian priest who, after studying at Bologna, became a teacher in the cathedral school at Paris. Somewhere between 1145 and 1150 he compiled his famous *Book of Sentences*. This textbook, which rapidly made its way wherever theology was taught, and also where it was studied without a teacher, shows the influence of Abélard's *Sic et Non*. All the important theological questions of the time are systematically arranged; and then, under each one, quotations are given from the *Bible* and from the writings of the fathers, especially from those of Augustine. Thus Peter enabled the student to learn the chief theological creeds and to see what had been said on each side of the main disputed points. In some cases he offered his own solution of a disputed question; while in others he refrained from giving his opinion. The most important single thing in the book was its help in fixing the number of the sacraments, which henceforth were universally seven, and its definition of their power. One would naturally think that theology was the most popular of the three professional studies of this time, but that is a mistake. Comparatively few priests had a university education. It was not required. Only in the sixteenth century, when the church made internal reforms and strove to regain the lands and the people she had lost to Protestantism, was theological training prescribed for the priesthood. Paris was the capital of this sacred science; and, as time went on, it became the metropolis of orthodoxy.

Law. Most popular of the sciences and lucrative of the professions, as the medieval period drew to a close, was law. All through the medieval centuries that study had continued in a diminished form in such cities as Rome and Ravenna. One part, however, of Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis* had been neglected. Perhaps the *Digest*, made up of interpretations of the most eminent Roman lawyers, had proved too

difficult, too subtle and refined, for the rude society of feudal times and too antagonistic to that decentralization. Anyway it had been lost for nearly five hundred years. But now two complete copies of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* were brought to the West. Kings and townsfolk were quick to realize the aid these books might give them. They favored a centralized government, and they had much to teach concerning the business and the relations of everyday life. Canon law was also a live and lucrative subject. Church courts had a wide jurisdiction over cases and persons. Great numbers of trained lawyers were needed in them. Many a student of canon law attained a bishopric, or even a cardinalate. Roman law was confined, as yet, to the Mediterranean lands; but the canon law penetrated far beyond those countries into the North and West. It was employed wherever there was an episcopal or a monastic court; and it had a great, though indirect, influence upon the practice and procedure of the secular courts of those distant lands where ruder customs still prevailed. It was one of the great civilizing and humanizing influences of the time. A good knowledge of the canon law, therefore, recommended one to princes as well as to prelates. Other things favored the study of law, both civil and canon, above that of medicine and of theology. It did not depend so much upon a knowledge of the human past and that of the material universe, both of which were very limited and defective at that time. And its most authentic and useful texts were complete and in their original language, which happened to be the language of all the schools in Latin Christendom. Little wonder, then, that law proved attractive to bright and ambitious students in every land and every stratum of society. Its popularity threatened the study of theology; and so, in 1219, as we have seen, Pope Honorious III forbade the teaching of the civil law in the University of Paris.

The buildings. We must not think of buildings in the early years of the universities. There were none. The

cathedral schools, of course, had their own buildings; but when the early universities had gradually detached themselves from episcopal control they had neither dormitories nor lecture rooms. When a student arrived at the university town he stopped at an inn. Many a rich youth brought a domestic retinue with him and rented a house. At Bologna, as we have seen, it was the custom for groups of students to rent a house, furnish it, and hire the necessary servants. At other universities, however, by far the greater number of students rented rooms in the houses of townsfolk, with whom they ate, or else took their meals in some near-by tavern. Poor boys lodged wherever they could, in some mean garret, perhaps, aloft and alone under the tile roof. One of the works of medieval charity was to build houses for poor students. Such houses were called hospices, or halls, or colleges. The first of such buildings at Paris, after the masters left the cathedral in the overcrowded island and began to teach on the left bank of the river, was a hospice for needy theological students founded about 1257 by Robert de Sorbon (1201–1274), a confessor of Louis IX. Many persons contributed to the building of this famous college which, in its expanded form, is still known as the Collège de Sorbonne. Larger, and more liberally endowed, was the College of Navarre, founded in 1304 by Queen Jeanne of Navarre, wife of Philip the Fair. Lessons were given in the private rooms of the masters; or, when the classes were too big for that, in larger rooms rented from townsfolk. At Paris most of these rooms or halls were in the Rue du Fouarre, or Street of Straw, given this name because the floors of the halls were covered with straw, and mentioned by Dante in the tenth canto of the *Paradiso.* The teacher depended for support entirely upon the fees paid to him by his pupils. Usually a master employed one or two students to solicit the patronage of other students and to determine and collect the fees. Sometimes, however, a large number of students made their own arrangement

with the teacher and divided the cost among themselves. Popular professors had to lecture in public squares, in churchyards, or in the fields. The Pré-aux-Clercs was a meadow frequented by the students and owned, or at least claimed, by the faculty of arts of the University of Paris. Meetings of the student body were held in a convent or a church borrowed for the purpose. At Paris, in the early years, general congregations were usually held in the church of Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre. Thus the first university buildings were colleges, or halls, built to help poor students who could not pay for their board or lodging. But gradually these colleges assumed an academic character. Older students tutored younger ones in them; and in the evenings they were the scenes of disputations. Masters, too, found rooms in them, and then they began to teach there. At Oxford and Cambridge the colleges became the most important institution of the *studium*, doing nearly all the teaching and directing the general life of the masters and students; but on the continent they always remained subordinate to the university. Eventually, however, the universities came to have buildings of their own, as well as the colleges, though for a long time they were not much to boast of. The lecture halls were furnished with low benches for the students, and each hall had an elaborate chair, sometimes under a canopy, or raised on a platform, and with a desk, for the teacher. There was no glass in the windows at first, only wooden shutters; or at best there were only greased skins and, later on, oiled paper. Glass windows, in those times, were to be found only in cathedrals, rich abbeys, and the houses of wealthy nobles and prosperous merchants. Yet the only university room that was warmed, even where winter winds blew cold, was the kitchen. There were sharp rules against the effeminate practice of going into the kitchen to warm oneself. At Salamanca students crept into the sacristy of the university chapel to warm themselves at its charcoal *brasero*, and on winter

evenings they gathered round the glowing braziers of the old women who sold roasted chestnuts at the street corners.

Studying and teaching. Students, as a rule, attended only three lessons a day; but some lessons were three hours long. The first came with daybreak, at six o'clock, or even earlier. The lesson consisted in the reading and explanation of a text, some work by Aristotle or by one of the great fathers. From these lessons have come down to us a flood of commentaries. There were also disputations, and informal classes of small numbers in which the students were questioned by their teachers or by older students. There were, of course, no printed books at that time. The only books were manuscripts; sheets of parchment, bound together, on which scribes had written with quill pens. Parchment was so expensive that often when a manuscript had served its first, or even its second and third, purpose the writing was washed or scratched off so that it could be used again; and in order to save space an elaborate system of contractions or abbreviations was developed. Black ink of a very good quality was used, with red for titles and conclusions. Satisfactory metallic pens did not come into use until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. So costly were these manuscript books, and so likely to contain errors made by the copyists, that the universities took it upon themselves to pass judgment upon their accuracy and regulate their price. Usually they were rented, at fixed prices; but as time went on many students were able to buy books of their own. The early universities did not have libraries; but gradually bequests of books to the colleges increased; and by 1338, so we know from the oldest existing catalogue of the college, there were 1722 volumes in the library of the Sorbonne. Teachers, then as now, were of varied ability and came from many countries. Some were conservative and others liberal, some pedantic and others humane, many of them boastful and a few modest. Were they free to say what they thought? Or were they dismissed when their

opinions were deemed heretical? Professor Haskins tells us, after examining all the documents of the thirteenth century in the *Chartularium* of that institution, that there seems to have been a large amount of freedom in teaching at that time in the University of Paris. Masters were usually free to make known their opinions in grammar, mathematics, medicine, and law. Teachers of philosophy had to be circumspect, because their subject was constantly leading into theology. But even in philosophy and theology, though the time was one of active and widespread interest in these subjects, there seems to have been, aside from several notable attempts to suppress heresy, very little interference with teaching in the University of Paris. And when we remember that Paris was "the storm center of theological speculation" at that time we may perhaps infer that a large measure of freedom in teaching prevailed in other universities.

Student life. Students went to their first lesson in the morning without breaking their fast; and they were required to sit "as quiet as girls". The first and main meal was at ten or eleven o'clock. The light continental breakfast of to-day is a compromise between medieval fasting and the generous breakfasts eaten by many Americans. Recreation came after the morning meal; and then another lesson. Supper was at four or five. Afterwards there was a social time till curfew. It was in the evening time that the student met his friends and walked and talked with them, or with his sweetheart. Many students did not study at night. A lamp or a candle was too expensive; and there was great danger from fire. Latin was the only language permitted the students, in their social hours, with their friends in the streets and fields, as well as in the lecture rooms; and spies, called wolves, went about to catch them that slipped into their vernacular tongues. For a long time the students governed themselves. They came to listen. They stayed as long as they wished, or as long as they could afford. Only

a small number took degrees. We are not certain of the number of students in any of the early universities. The records are inadequate and unreliable. No official records of students' names were kept at the larger universities of the northern countries. Matriculation books are available only for some of the smaller universities, and only for the latter part of the period we are studying. The estimates of university attendance we possess rest upon a few chance remarks of medieval writers. Three thousand was perhaps the average attendance in the thirteenth century at Paris; and most of the other continental universities had less than one thousand. Yet these were large bodies for those towns. Students from every part of the continent, from far away in the woods of Germany or the fields of England, even from the East, filled the Latin Quarter in Paris. The youth who wanted to be where the pulse of life beat fastest and strongest found his way there. The narrow streets swarmed with students of every kind, starving and friendless lads, with unkempt hair and tattered clothes, who walked the streets, hungering for bread, famishing for knowledge, longing for a sight of the great masters of whom they had heard so much in their far-away homes, and sons of nobles and rich merchants, some of them famous for their opulence, who went there to seek the charm of gay society, like Thomas à Becket. The buoyancy and gaiety, excitement and tumult of those narrow streets, where dim lanterns struggled vainly against the darkness, can scarcely be imagined. There was no such safety valve as athletic contests; then, as now, young blood was red and hot; and there was no control by municipal police. Begging their bread from door to door, flaunting their wealth, brandishing their weapons, ever on the alert for physical pleasure or some fresh intellectual excitement, eager, excited, glowing with an indescribable desire for knowledge and fame, the university students were the most interesting social class and the most important intellectual force of the age. There was much disorder, de-

bauchery, and crime; but there was also deep mystical emotion and keen rationalistic thought. The follies, the loves, and the generous ideals of youth were there. The future of intellectual attainment lay with these boys and their teachers, who did not hesitate to discuss the most subtle and serious questions of the time. Five hundred years later Paris was the teacher of Paine, Franklin, and Jefferson.

Thought in the universities. What was the thought of the early universities? Something, though not much, had come down to them of the thought of Greece and Rome. They knew, too, the writings of the fathers of the church. And all that had resulted from the blending of these pagan and patristic cultures was inherited by them. But now new thought was finding its way among them. It came from Constantinople, from Syria, from Sicily, and from Spain. In all these places more texts of ancient science and philosophy had been kept than in the West. The Byzantines had kept these old manuscripts in the original Greek; while the Saracens had translated many of them into Arabic. Then, too, the Saracens had learned much from the Orient. All this ancient learning was now rapidly becoming available to the western scholar. The most important of these channels by which the new learning found its way into western Europe was Spain. And the chief center in that peninsula of the translation of ancient texts into Latin was Toledo. Ever since its capture from the Moslems in 1085 that city had been an advanced post of Christianity. Fortunately it had a series of liberal and tolerant prelates who realized the value of the civilization of the Mohammedans. There, in the archiepiscopal palace, was maintained a body of translators, who, for three-quarters of a century, carried on the difficult task of putting the works of Greek scientists and philosophers, together with the commentaries on them in Arabian, into Latin. Aristotle's great treatises on *Physics*, on *Metaphysics*, and on *The Soul*, of which scholars had spoken for five hundred years, but which no Westerner had

read since the days of Boethius, were now made known to all who could read and understand Latin. Tributaries also flowed into the stream of mysticism. The little anonymous *Liber de Causis* was read everywhere and frequently quoted; and men became familiar with the *Elementa Theologiæ* of Proclus. It is not easy for us to realize what this enrichment meant to the teachers and students of that time. New knowledge was gained, new material for individual reflection, and a new stimulus to thought. It is not in the countryside, under the free air of heaven, that new thought is born. There men learn to be reverent. There they are content to follow the ways of their fathers. It is in the towns, where men meet daily and measure their strength, where "multitudes in conflict quicken life", that new thought is given to the world. Contrast a Normandy village to-day with Paris, or a little upstate town with New York. Above all other places it was in the towns that could boast universities that new thought was born and nourished. There one felt the pressure of life, and found the glow of achievement. Roger Bacon (1214–1294), with whom we are to deal later on, was a university man. True, he did not succeed in freeing himself completely from all the prejudices of his time; but at least he knew that one must think and search for oneself. "For the truth", he said, "is ever growing by God's grace. It is true that man never reaches perfection or an absolute certitude, but he is ever perfecting himself. That is why it is necessary not to follow the ancients blindly. If they could come to life again they would themselves correct what they had said, and would change their mind on many things. In like manner the learned men of to-day are ignorant of things the veriest school boy will know some day". And the potent heresy of Averroism, which we are to consider in another chapter, was eagerly debated in the University of Paris, found a home in the University of Bologna, and a more persistent support in the University of Padua.

Other universities. Something like a score of other universities came into existence before the close of the thirteenth century. It is perhaps not possible to say just how many. For a long time there was only a vague conception of what constituted a *studium generale*. Many towns claimed that character for their schools, especially the independent and prosperous towns in northern Italy. Vicenza, a little more than forty miles from Venice, owed its origin to a migration of students who may have come from Bologna. It flourished only a short time. Arezzo, some fifty miles southeast of Florence, gained a law school in 1215; but the university seems to have died out in the following century. Far more important was Padua, twenty-five miles west of Venice. It was destined to become a center of rationalistic thought, to have many illustrious teachers and graduates, and, three hundred years later, to elicit the affectionate admiration of Shakespeare. Other Italian universities of this time were Vercelli, Piacenza, where for the first time a municipality paid the salaries of the teachers, Siena, and Naples. The last was founded by Frederic II. It was the first university in the peninsula to be established at a definite time by a definite charter. It languished after the death of its imperial patron, and was not restored to vigorous life until the nineteenth century. A flourishing medical school existed in the twelfth century at Montpellier, far in the south of France, in sight of the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees. Somewhat later a notable school of law grew up there; and in the following century a university was established. Orléans, in northcentral France, had long been famous for its cathedral school, in which the humanities were fostered; and then it became the most notable school of law in the country. The schools of the town had long attained the character of a university before they were authorized, in 1309, to use that title. In western France a university gradually developed out of the cathedral school of Angers. And in the southwestern part of the country,

owing very largely to papal assistance, another grew up at Toulouse. Its theological faculty was deliberately intended to combat heresy in that southern land. The Spanish peninsula could boast of the first university to be founded at a definite time by a paramount power. In 1212 the cathedral school of Palencia was given the rank of a university by Alfonso VIII of Castile. The institution had only a brief history, for fifty years later it disappeared. Far more important was Salamanca, founded some time before 1230 by Alfonso IX of Leon. Its schools of canon and civil law attracted students even from Paris and Bologna; and to-day this grave and lordly place is the most beautiful university town on the continent. A papal bull assisted the development into a university of the municipal school of Valladolid in Castile. Lerida, founded in 1300, was the first university in Aragon. The only university in Portugal was, at first, located at Lisbon. The papal bull of 1290 recognized a university already in existence. Several times the institution was moved to Coimbra and back to Lisbon; until, in 1537, it was finally stationed in the former city, which still has very much the appearance and atmosphere of an old medieval university town. No universities were established in Germany in the medieval period. This was due to the lack of political centralization, the backward condition of civilization in general and town life in particular, and to the fact that large numbers of German students went to Paris or Bologna.

The wandering student. Much new thought was spread far and wide by wandering and vagabond students, mostly young men, traveling from one university to another, who came to be known as goliards. Several hundred years before this there are scanty remains of students' songs in Latin. Youth always sang in the medieval centuries, in the monastic schools and elsewhere; and from its singing we learn that "a certain breath of paganism, wafting perfumes from the old mythology, whispering of gods in exile,

encouraging men to accept their life on earth with genial enjoyment, was never wholly absent during the darkest periods of the Middle Ages". But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the songs of the wandering students, widely diffused throughout the western part of the continent, became far more numerous and daring. They reveal the new spirit of that time. Their view of human life is fresh, natural, pagan, and bold. They jest at the old fears of the world, the devil, and the flesh. They approve the natural instincts and appetites of men. They look with delight upon the world in which we live, its woods and fields, its clear streams, the stars of the summer night; with unhesitating frankness they sing of physical enjoyment, dealing, indeed, with love from an unmistakable carnal point of view; and they give warning of the brevity of life. These goliards, called so, perhaps, from gaillard, which means a gay fellow, were critics of the higher clergy, of the things that affected unfavorably their own lives as men in minor orders, of the simony and avarice of ambitious prelates, of the mercenary character of the papal curia. Their criticism was felt by those at whom it was aimed, for in 1289 a church council ordered that "no clerks shall be jongleurs, goliards, or buffoons". They were silent, however, about the sins that affected the mass of the people, the encouragement of superstition, and the persecution of free thought. Yet their repudiation of medieval asceticism, their delight in the beauty of the world, and their unreserved approval of the impulses and passions of human nature, foreshadowed the humanism of the Renaissance.

References for Further Reading.

The original sources for this study consist of the cartularies of the universities, the letters of students, the songs of the wandering students, and various narratives of the time. They are listed in the bibliography for the seventeenth chapter of the sixth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History,* and also in Louis Paetow's very useful and easily accessible *Guide to the Study of Medieval*

History. Arthur O. Norton's *Readings in the History of Education* contains many passages from original sources, translated into English, that deal with medieval universities. Still other original source material is contained in Dana Carleton Munro's *The Medieval Student.* The best single collection of the verse of the wandering students is J. A. Schmeller's *Carmina Burana.* Translations of some of their songs, with a very interesting introduction, will be found in John Addington Symonds's *Wine, Women, and Song.*

Enrique Esperabé Arteaga, *Historia Pragmática é Interna de la Universidad de Salamanca.* K. Bruel, *The Cambridge Songs.* Adolfo Bartoli, *I precursori del rinascimento.* Francesco Cavazza, *Le scuole dell' antico studio bolognese.* Alexandre Clerval's *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen âge* is an important study of the leading intellectual center of France in the early twelfth century. Heinrich Seuse Denifle's *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters* is a monumental book, the result of great learning, by a Dominican friar who was an archivist of the Vatican. René Delégue, *L'université de Paris.* Antonio Favaro, *L'Università di Padova.* Hasting Rashdall's *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* is a masterly survey of the medieval universities from their beginnings to their decline in the fifteenth century which owes much to Denifle; a new edition is in preparation by H. H. E. Craster and F. M. Powicke. Charles Homer Haskins's *The Rise of Universities* is the best introduction to the subject and contains a selected bibliography; chapters 2, 7, 11, and 12 of his *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* contain much interesting and useful matter relating to the rise of the universities; and see also his article on "The Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by their Letters" in the third volume of *The American Historical Review.* A volume by G. Huisman on *Education in the Middle Ages* is announced. M. Haezner, *Goliardendichtung und die Satire im 13ten Jahrhundert in England.* O. Hubatsch, *Die lateinischen Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters.* Achille Luchaire, *L'université de Paris sous Philippe Auguste.* Joseph McCabe, *Peter Abélard.* G. Manacorda's *Storia della scuola in Italia* is useful for the early schools in that peninsula. James Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge.* Charles Edward Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford.* Reginald Lane Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning* contains

much important material for this study. Louis J. Paetow, *The Arts Course at the Medieval University;* and also his edition of *The Battle of the Seven Liberal Arts.* R. S. Rait, *Life in the Medieval University.* A volume by Abel Rey and B. Boutroux on *Science in the Middle Ages* is announced. Gustave Reynier, *La Vie universitaire dans l'ancienne Espagne.* Franz A. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland.* H. Süssmilch, *Die lateinischer Vagantenpoesie.* John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship.* N. Spiegel, *Die Vaganten und ihr "Orden"*, and see also his later book entitled *Die Grundlagen der Vagantenpoesie.* Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Medieval Mind.* J. Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters.*

CHAPTER 27

CANONS AND MONKS AND FRIARS

Revival of monasticism. A great monastic revival began early in the twelfth century and continued, in various forms, until the close of the Middle Ages. It is not possible to say just what caused this rising of religious fervor. There were, no doubt, as in the case of all such great movements, several causes. Peace was then more prevalent than it had been. Northmen no longer sailed up the rivers to pillage the monasteries in France and the delta of the Rhine; Slavs and Hungarians had ceased to rob and burn in the lands of the Germanic Empire; the spirit of nationality was beginning to prevail over the decentralization of feudalism; and the great quarrel over lay investiture had been ended, temporarily at least, in 1122 by the Concordat of Worms. A monastic career was now possible for more men than it had been before, and it was more inviting. Perhaps the greatest cause of all, however, was the fervent enthusiasm of the early crusades. It is hard for us to conceive the state of mind that prevailed during the preaching of the First and Second Crusades. The western peoples were at last emerging from the fear of external foes and the disintegration of feudalism which cramped their efforts and crushed their spirit. Before them opened a full and glorious prospect of a great enterprise for the true faith, and a noble, if delusive, dream of eternal peace and happiness. But beyond all question, whatever contributed to this development, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the golden age of monasticism.

Semi-eremitical Orders. We have seen something of the great effort to coördinate and reform the separate and independent Benedictine monasteries that began in the early

years of the tenth century at Cluny. A powerful monastic empire extended itself over all Latin Christendom. Cluniacs led the movement for enforcing the celibacy of all the clergy who had received the sacrament of holy orders; and they did much to lessen the frequency, the duration, and the cruelty of private warfare by supporting the Peace of God and, later on, the Truce of God. But a flood of gifts of money and land poured in upon them; and so they, in their turn, became wealthy and worldly. Then a series of reform orders arose, stricter and more eremitical in character, such as the Camaldolites, the Vallombrosians, and the Carthusians.

The Canons. Quite different from these semi-eremitical societies, whose ideal was that of contemplation rather than religious activity in the outside world, were the new congregations of canons. We have seen something of the earlier canons. They were priests attached to a cathedral, or to a collegiate church with many priests but no bishop, who lived under rules, or canons, and so had themselves become known as canons. Some of these canons lived under the rules drawn up by Augustine for the priests of his cathedral at Hippo. Others looked elsewhere for guidance. From the beginning of the canonical life there were always other rules for canons than those arranged by Augustine. There were many reasons why priests attached to large churches should live under such rules. Towns were rapidly increasing in population and wealth; and their interests and activities were varied and fascinating. In many cases this would tend to distract the priests, to deflect them from their parochial duties. A portion of the revenues of each cathedral and collegiate church, called a prebend, was granted to every member of the chapter. These prebends had come to be considered virtually as benefices; and rich prebendaries, enjoying large incomes and doing little or nothing for them, were indistinguishable in their lives from well-to-do members of the laity. Some of them, indeed, were married and

engaged other ecclesiastics to perform their religious duties. It was to remedy such conditions that new congregations of canons were founded in the twelfth century. Canons, it will be remembered, were not monks, though it is true that some of them preferred the monastic side of the life to the pastoral. They were secular priests, living under rules that somewhat resembled those of the monks, but carrying on their work in the world for the benefit of the laity. They were active in several ways, chiefly as parish priests, as helpers of the sick, the poor, and the imprisoned, as teachers, writers, and missionaries. A very interesting group of canons was that of the Abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris. It was strict and learned and became a center of conservative mysticism. Most famous of the new congregations of canons was the Premonstratensian Order, founded, in 1120, by Norbert of Xanten (1080?–1134) in the lonely and marshy valley of Prémontré, some ten miles from Laon. Very soon the order came to be composed of three classes: priests and other clerics, nuns, and members of the Third Order. The men and women of the last class did not give up their homes nor the common duties of domestic life; most of them still maintained their position in society, supported their aged parents and their children; but, as far as possible, they lived a life halfway between the cloister and the home. Their example was to be followed later on by the Third Order of the Franciscans and that of the Dominicans. The Premonstratensians were especially active in converting and civilizing the Slavonic lands beyond the Elbe; and they did for the Low Countries what the Franciscans were to do later on for central Italy.

The Cistercians. Greatest of all the new monastic orders of the time were the Cistercians. Their first monastery was established in 1198 at Citeaux, a swampy place not far from Dijon. For some time the new ascetic order gave little promise of success; but the outlook was completely changed when, fourteen years later, they were joined by a band of

thirty young men of noble birth led by Bernard (1090–1153), the son of a knight who had perished in the First Crusade. Then the community was filled with ardor and swiftly became famous. Several daughter monasteries were soon built, and Bernard was placed in charge of the one at Clairvaux. The Cistercians modified the extreme centralization and the luxury and display of the Cluniacs. The Abbot of Citeaux was head and master of all the monasteries of the Order; but he was by no means an irresponsible monarch. He was under the supervision of four other abbots who, in the event of being unable to restrain him from misdeeds, were empowered to call a meeting of the general chapter and depose him. It was his duty to visit, at least once a year, all the daughter monasteries sprung directly from Citeaux, as it was the duty of every other abbot to visit the daughter houses of his own abbey. A general chapter met every year which every abbot of the order was bound, if possible, to attend. Thus, while every monastery was permitted to live as a separate family, a certain uniformity was secured. The Cistercians tried to live as the western monks had lived in the time of Benedict. They founded their monasteries in secluded sites; renounced all splendor of buildings, furniture, and ritual; and returned to manual labor, especially to work in the fields. As agriculturists and horse and cattle breeders their lay members exercised a great influence on the progress of civilization of the later medieval centuries. They were the leading farmers of those days, turning wastes into fertile fields and making notable improvements in the breeding and care of sheep. At the beginning they renounced all sources of income arising from benefices, tithes, tolls, and rents, and depended for their livelihood entirely upon the land. Their austerities were severer than those of the early Benedictines. They never ate meat, fish, eggs, or butter; only rarely did they drink milk; and their dress was of the coarsest wool.

Bernard of Clairvaux. The Cistercians at first were scarcely more propagandists than are the modern Quakers; yet their houses spread all over the western part of the continent with surprising rapidity. The chief reason for this was the entrance into the order of Bernard of Clairvaux. He was one of the most powerful personages of the time. The influence of this master spirit rested upon the threefold claim of his character, his tireless activity, and his writings. Even the austerities of his order did not satisfy him. The world had no meaning for him save as a place of preparation, by prayer and fasting, for the life to come. He fastened upon every observance of humility in the abbey of Clairvaux. He was bitterly conservative, keeping his mind as impoverished as his body. Few men of equal ability have been so narrow-minded. Yet he was honest in his beliefs, burning with zeal, a true man even when most mistaken, and thoroughly medieval. The freedom of his criticism of episcopal and monastic abuses was unlimited; and he vigorously denounced the intrigues, delays, and injustice of the papal curia and opposed its centralizing tendencies. When there were two claimants for the papal throne he compelled the deposition of one and the elevation of the other, making three journeys for the purpose to Italy. His burning rhetoric, his forcible and pungent letters, written to men in all parts of the continent, and his impassioned preaching were directed to many kinds of reform, and he always set an example by his own rigorously ascetic morals. He led the prosecution of Abélard; he denounced Arnold of Brescia; he was the chief preacher of the Second Crusade; and he took an active part in the efforts to convert the heretics of southern France. Within its narrow banks the current of his energy rolled deep and strong. His life and words won the respect even of his enemies. There was a touch of the poet in him, and a good deal of the mystic. But though his mysticism pointed the way to pantheism and thus indicated the nullification of the historical religion

of which he was such an unrelenting champion, he remained fettered by all the theological creeds and hierarchical prejudices of his age. It was largely owing to his influence that for more than a hundred years the Cistercians supplanted the Cluniacs as the most powerful monastic order in western Europe.

Knights Hospitalers. A new type of monasticism came into being with the three great military orders founded in the time of the crusades. In its springtime the knightly ideal coupled itself easily, and even inevitably, with the monastic ideal. First of these orders was that of the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem. About 1023 some merchants of Amalfi established a hospital for poor and sick pilgrims at Jerusalem. It became an important place in 1099 when the city was captured by the Christians in the First Crusade; donations and privileges were showered upon it; and in 1113 a papal bull confirmed its endowments in Syria and many countries of western Europe. A monastic order gradually grew up in connection with the hospital; and then, chiefly because of the renewed activity of the Saracens, it was given a military organization. It was ruled by a grand master, and included knights, chaplains, and serving brothers. From 1137 the Hospitalers took a regular part in the wars of the crusades. Houses were established all over Europe to serve as bases for their work in Syria. Their wealth constantly increased, and papal privileges freed them from all control by the secular clergy. Gradually their hospital service became much subordinate to their military activity, though it never entirely disappeared. In 1310, after the crusading kingdoms had been lost, they established their headquarters at Rhodes; and later on they retreated to Malta. From these islands they continued to attack the naval power of the Moslems, whom they also fought in Spain.

Knights Templars. Greatest of these new military-monastic bodies was the Order of the Temple. It came into

being in 1119, for the purpose of protecting the pilgrims, who, after the recapture of Jerusalem, streamed to the Holy Land. Living in a building next to a former mosque alleged to be the Temple of Solomon, the members soon became known as the Knights Templars. From their beginning the Templars had a military, as well as a monastic, character and organization. Their convents were castles, and the battlefield rather than the cloister was the scene of their most characteristic operations. They admitted to their ranks even "rogues and impious men, robbers and committers of sacrilege, murderers, perjurers and adulterers", who, in the hope either of plunder or salvation, had flocked to the East. Bernard of Clairvaux praised them enthusiastically. "Erstwhile criminals", he said, "have experienced a change of heart and have become disciplined; they will aid in the triumph of the sacred cause". In 1128 the Rule of the Order was sanctioned by the Council of Troyes. Before another quarter of a century had gone by the Templars were established in nearly every country in western Europe. Popes lavished spiritual privileges upon them; while princes and people endowed them liberally with temporal possessions. When, in 1291, the Christians lost their last place in Palestine their headquarters were removed to Cyprus; but they had houses, some of which were powerful financial institutions, in every country of Latin Christendom. They had become efficient and wealthy financiers. They were the leading international bankers of the time. Most important of all their houses was the Temple in Paris. It had become the greatest banking establishment in the world. The Templars were governed by their own laws; and they were animated by a distinct corporative spirit of their own. Naturally they had many enemies. They had quarrelled with the Hospitalers in the crusades, and had thereby seriously impaired the success of those undertakings. Secular clergy were jealous of their immunities. Kings were greedy for their gains. At last they

fell victims to the unscrupulous avarice of Philip IV (1285–1314) of France. No doubt they were far from faultless. They had built up great estates; they were half lay and half clerical, and they had taken advantage of their equivocal position to escape from the duties of either character. But they were no more indolent and luxurious and incontinent than other monastic orders of the time that were left unmolested; and they were certainly not guilty of the nameless sins with which they were charged. The truth is that the royal exchequer was empty, that the desired confessions were compelled by the most cruel torture, and that many of them were burned at the stake in order to increase the wealth and power of Philip the Fair. Papal approval was necessary for the confiscation of their property. Clement V (1305–1314) was a Frenchman and the first of the popes who lived at Avignon. He hesitated for a time, but his conduct in the matter was deeply discreditable and he finally abolished the Order. The property was nominally handed over to the Hospitalers; but most of it went to the rulers of the countries in which it was situated or to their followers.

Teutonic Knights. The third monastic-military order was that of the Germanic Knights of Saint Mary, or, as they were more popularly known, the Teutonic Knights. They trace their beginning from the activity of some pious merchants from Bremen and Lübeck, who, in one of the winters of the Third Crusade, drew a vessel ashore at Acre and turned it into a hospital, in order to take care of their sick and destitute countrymen. Some influential German nobles who had gone there as crusaders espoused the cause of these workers, ennobled them, and made provision for their support. Only Germans of noble birth were thereafter admitted to the Order, which, therefore, assumed a distinctly national character quite unlike the international Hospitalers and Templars. For a hundred years the headquarters of the Order were at Acre; and then, in 1309, after a

brief stay at Venice, they were transferred to Marienburg on the Vistula. Long before that time, however, the Teutonic Knights had begun the work for which they are remembered, and which we have already noticed, on the eastern frontiers of Germany. There they conquered lands from the heathen Slavs, drained swamps, cleared forests, built towns, and maintained their virtual independence as a principality until the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Dominican Friars. These new orders of canons and military monks represent a new ideal of service to the laity that was to be emphasized still further by the friars. Dominic of Guzman (1170–1221) pursued his studies, especially theology, for ten years in the University of Palencia, in Castile. Then he became a member of the cathedral chapter at Osma, in the same kingdom, and from there he went on missions among the heretics in Languedoc. We are not certain of the details of his life for the next few years, but he probably spent the time striving to convert the Albigenses. We catch sight of him again about seven years after the crusade against them had been proclaimed. Fire and sword had done their terrible work; but much remained to be done in the way of peaceful conversion. For this purpose Dominic gathered a number of men about him, drew up a Rule, which, in 1216, received the papal approval. Their first house was a palatial dwelling given them by a rich citizen of Toulouse. At the head of the Order was a general, and over every province was a prior. Since the end of the fourteenth century the general has usually lived at Rome. Provincial chapters and general chapters were at first held more or less irregularly; but nowadays the former are held annually and the latter every three years. The general chapter is the supreme authority within the Order. All the friars held themselves ready to be sent on any mission that might be required by the interest of the true faith or that of the Order. They were selected very largely for their knowledge of theology and their powers of persuasion;

their fields were to be the pulpit and the university lecture room; and so in time they came to be known as the Friars Preachers. Dominic lost no time in sending his little band of followers to places where heresy seemed to be making headway, while he went to Rome. Laymen and ecclesiastics of all ranks hastened to don the white gown and black scapular of the new order; and so rapid was its growth that five years after the papal sanction it could boast some sixty houses grouped into eight provinces; and by the end of the century it had nearly six hundred convents grouped into eighteen provinces. Among the earliest of their establishments were those at the University of Paris, the University of Bologna, and in Rome. They became noted for their learning, and very soon, despite bitter opposition, they were to be found teaching in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Cologne, Montpellier, and Toulouse. Among their most renowned scholars were Vincent of Beauvais (1190?–1264) the greatest of all medieval encyclopedists; Albertus Magnus (1206?–1280), the most widely read and most learned man of the time; Raymond of Penaforte (1175–1275), the most eminent canonist of the age; and Thomas Aquinas (1227–1274), the greatest of all the scholastics.

Francis of Assisi. Very different in their original purpose were the Franciscans. Giovanni Bernadone (1182–1226), their involuntary founder, was the son of a prosperous merchant of Assisi, who, in the course of his business of buying and selling cloth, sometimes journeyed to Provence. Once the boy went along with his father and returned with the accomplishment of speaking, though imperfectly, the language of that fascinating land. This seems to have gained for him among his companions the nickname of Il Francesco, which meant "the Frenchman"; and from that time he has been called Francis of Assisi. He was a small and frail lad, with a delicate face, dark and dreamy eyes that in moments of enthusiasm could shine intensely, and a voice of soft and mellow tones that could become sharp and fiery

in passionate speech. He had the geniality of his countrymen in abundant measure; and even in the austerity of his later years he kept something of the spirit of the wandering minstrel.

The hill towns of Umbria. As we go from Florence to Rome we pass through the province of Umbria. There we see many little towns built on the sides and the tops of mountains. Most of them have changed very little in their appearance since the Middle Ages. Their grim walls, massive gates, and battlemented towers remind us of the times of feudal insecurity and foreign invasion. Once their narrow streets and little squares were full of life, but now many are empty and desolate. Yet from their crumbling walls one may behold the most beautiful scenery in all that lovely peninsula, blue mountains in the distance, deep ravines, forests of oak and pine and chestnut, the smiling plain with olive trees and vines, and, far away in the golden haze, the melancholy lake of Trasimeno. It is a poetic and a hallowed land, shown to us over and over again in the pictures of Perugino. One of these hill towns is Assisi. It is built on the slope of Mount Subasio, with the ruined fortress of the Rocca Maggiore above it, which for a time was the refuge of Frederic Barbarossa. Dreaming between the mountain and the plain, with its stone walls and tile roofs aged by rain and sun, it looks out over the tranquil valley to the mountains in the west.

The youth of Francis. Francis grew to manhood in the little town of his birth. He was the only child of his parents, who were, naturally, indulgent. His schooling was slight. He learned a little Latin from the priests of the church of San Giorgio, the language of sermons and sometimes even of ordinary speech in that province; and, as we have seen, he was able to speak, though imperfectly, in French. From traveling merchants, no doubt, he gained new ideas. They came from larger towns and distant lands where liberal and heretical thought was rife; and often, quite unknowingly in

many cases, they must have aided the spread and development of religious heresy and social rebellion. Francis was probably unaware at first of the full significance of many of these ideas. They may have fallen quietly into his heart there to germinate for some years in silence. He listened eagerly to the epic tales of chivalry, delighting especially in the stories of the Round Table. He could read and repeat the songs of the troubadours in their original language. Some of them were love songs, and others were full of the warlike spirit of the feudal knights. All of them breathed devotion and daring, and scorned the laggard and the faint-hearted. They rang with sonorous murmur in his ears and left an impress upon him that nothing in after life effaced. They instilled into him heroic thoughts and feelings. Then, too, he learned something from his companions. They were sons of well-to-do merchants and petty nobles, the gilded youth of the town. To enable him to share their company his father supplied him liberally with money. He roamed the streets with them, master of their revels, giving alms generously to the poor, singing romantic ballads and soft serenades, dreaming of chivalry, and spending his father's florins merrily enough. Charming all hearts, the embodiment of gaiety, he won from the townsfolk the sobriquet of Flower of the Youth.

The change in his life. When Francis was twenty-five years old a serious illness brought these light-hearted years to an end. He was weary of so vain a life, and his first impulse was to be a soldier. So he set out with a military expedition, but fell ill again at the end of the first day's march and returned home. Yet he did not return to his old life. His days were spent in lonely wanderings in the fields and woods, in reverie, prayer, and service to the poor. One day a sort of mystic ecstasy came upon him while praying before the altar in San Damiano, a little hermitage among the olive trees just below the wall of Assisi. He was moved more than ever before to lead a religious life, but still he

was uncertain of just what he should do. His internal struggle was not yet ended. In the meantime, living wherever he could find shelter, in the woods or some abandoned hut, he did what he could to help and comfort the sick and the poor. His clothes by this time were in tatters, and he resembled the beggars who crowded about him for alms. When he appeared in this condition in Assisi he was hooted by the children and some of the townsfolk, and his father, to whom his son's soul always remained a sealed book, disowned him. Then he set himself to repair three little chapels in the neighborhood of Assisi that were falling into decay, one of them being San Damiano, and another the tiny Santa Maria della Porziuncola. The latter, situated in the woods something more than a mile beyond the city walls, was soon to become the most sacred sanctuary of the Franciscan Order. Only long after did it come to be known as Santa Maria degli Angeli. To Francis it was always the Porziuncola, the chapel of the Little Portion. There, under the trees, he built a hut. It was his favorite dwelling place, to which he returned again and again from his wanderings. And there one day in 1208, while hearing mass, a passage from the Gospel burst upon his mind with all the force of a revelation. "And summoning his disciples", read the priest, "he sent them out two by two to preach the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven. He ordered them to take nothing for the journey, no bread, no wallet, no coppers in their girdle; neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves. And so they went out and preached repentance and healed the sick". This was what he needed. This was what he had sought. So he left the woodland chapel, put off his shoes, laid aside his staff and leathern girdle, bound his tunic around him with a piece of rope, and stood ready for his mission. The ideal of poverty became the immovable foundation of his confession of faith.

Establishment of the Franciscan Order. A few disciples soon gathered around Francis. More huts were built in the

woods near the Porziuncola. We can picture the daily life of the young enthusiast and his first companions. In no way did they shun the world. Penniless, barefooted, scantily clothed, going here and there as fancy dictated, sleeping under the trees, in barns, or in the porch of some church, their life was one of mystic faith and urgent humanity. Prayer, fasting, meditation, begging and giving alms, working with the peasants in the fields, sweeping the floors of the dusty sanctuaries of the wayside, washing the sores of lepers, and many little services to the country folk of the neighborhood, made up its daily round. But this simplicity and solitude were not of long duration. Civil officials looked askance at them, and they were distrusted by the secular clergy. This made it necessary to secure the papal approval. So, in the summer of 1209 or 1210, we are not certain which, Francis and eleven of his companions trudged the hot and dusty road to Rome, there to seek an interview with Innocent III. They were received with suspicion, and even with the smile of superiority. But at last they were granted an interview. There is no greater contrast in history than that between the gentle mystic and the imperial pontiff,—one a spiritual vagabond, a poetic lover of the solitude of the woods and fields, a passionate champion of the poor and oppressed; the other an imperious ruler, handsome, learned in the canon law, entirely practical, a master of statecraft, asserting his indomitable will throughout the continent. Innocent was in doubt. For several successive days the applicants were examined by a cardinal. At last the pontiff gave a tentative and verbal approval. They were to make their rule of life, which was as yet unwritten, more definite. They were to continue the work they had begun, mitigate somewhat their ascetic austerities, and choose a responsible superior with whom the ecclesiastical authorities could deal. This they agreed to do; and for their official leader they naturally chose Francis. So, with the pontifical blessing, and

begging their bread by the way, they went back with light hearts to their native Umbria. Thus was established the Order of Friars Minor.

Development of the Order. The fame of their leader, his eloquence and humanity, spread far and wide, and many others flocked to join the friars, in the midst of the forest, at the Porziuncola. The little chapel was given to them by the Benedictines of Monte Subasio. More thatched huts were built, with a hedge around them, to shelter the newcomers who wished to live in accordance with the Rule of the Little Poor Man. It was the first Franciscan convent. For a few years the ideal carried everything before it. The friars renounced all earthly possessions; they worked wherever they found employment; only when no man would hire them did they beg; and their charity was extended to all without distinction, to the sick, to the poor and oppressed, even to robbers and brigands. They and the Dominicans, who to a certain extent adopted their ideal of poverty, were known as the Mendicant Orders. But eventually, and inevitably, the spiritual impulse began to slacken and grow faint. Worldly interests began to have their way. The continually increasing recruits had to be organized. Yet even then the Poverello did not write a definite Rule. He continued to rely upon the few texts he had selected from the Gospels and the blessing of the pope. Always he depended far more upon example than precept. In order to revive the zeal of the brothers he required them to return at least twice a year to the Porziuncola. Thus originated the general chapters of the Order. Later on, when the number of the friars had run up into the thousands, these gatherings took place every three years.

The teaching of Francis. Francis wandered about from place to place, dusty, ragged, sunburned, and lovable. He was a poet, and as he walked along he talked, earnestly and joyfully, of birds, trees, flowers, and the blue sky. He was a mystic. In all around him he saw the pulsations of a

single life, sleeping in the stones, dreaming in the plants, waking in man. So he had a deep tenderness for every living thing. He was able to persuade others of the truth that was in him because he had the voice of the heart which alone has power to reach the heart. And he came at the right moment. The hierarchy was deeply involved in worldly matters; priests were ignorant and immoral; scholastics spent their time thrashing the husks of theology; feudal lords made war upon one another at will; cities struggled for trade monopolies, roads, bridges, and seaports; the working people had sunk into the slough of poverty; heretical sects were numerous; hopeless pessimism was widespread. Francis saw all this quite plainly; and so he strove to bring into the seething life of men the simple and ethical religion of the Sermon on the Mount. He spoke to the people in their mother tongue. He told them the world is permeated with the divine spirit. The sadness and the hopelessness of life, he said, are due to the desire of men to possess such vain things as riches and honor, instead of desiring true liberty, which is the treasure beyond all price. The worst of all enemies in his eyes was property, the instinct of ownership, the cares of which, he believed, cripple the intelligence and dry up the heart. Ownership, he declared, gives rise to difficulties and disputes. It puts all manner of hindrances in the way of love of our neighbor and love of God. "If thou will be perfect", he repeated, "go and sell all thou hast, give to the poor, and come and follow me". We newspaper readers can hardly form an idea to-day of the tremendous effect of the spoken word on an unsatisfied or ignorant mind. Francis denounced luxury and variety, and spoke of the simple and deep things of life. He distrusted learning, for he knew the sterility of scholastic debate. Love, he proclaimed, is the one thing needed. Those of his followers, he said, who did not know their letters were not to take the trouble to learn them. And so he passed along the way filling men with ardor by his presence and

stirring them by his voice to kindly deeds. He had the spiritual passion to spend his life in helping the poor and the oppressed, a passion that could not be quenched by ridicule, nor checked by reason, nor satisfied by success, nor sated by the worship of the world.

The Second Order of Franciscans. Women, too, fell under his spell. Chief of them was Clara (1194–1253), daughter of an Assisian noble, who was filled with a desire to lead the same kind of poetic and humanitarian life. In 1212, in order to save her from the persecution of her family, Francis invested her with a habit similar to that of his friars; and two years later a nunnery was established for her and her companions at San Damiano. For forty years Clara was the abbess of that convent. She and her nuns were known as the Poor Ladies. They formed the Second Order of Franciscans. Eventually they were known as Poor Clares. Their peculiar vocation was nursing the sick and caring for the poor; and they kept the vow of poverty with no less strictness than the early friars. Before the death of their foundress they had spread all over Italy and into Spain, France, and Germany. In time separations appeared among them. Some groups softened the austerities of the early years. But Clara was always faithful to the vow of poverty; and she gave all the aid and encouragement she could to the friars who clung closely to the strict ideal of Francis.

The Third Order of Franciscans. Still another group of Franciscans was the Third Order. Many men and women wished to carry out in their lives the spirit and teaching of Francis who were unable to join either the friars or the nuns because they were married and had wives and children, or other dependents, to support. And so, about 1221, Francis drew up a Rule for them which provided for simplicity of dress and sobriety of life, for certain prayers and abstinences, and which forbade the bearing of arms. Men and women of all ranks of society, nobles, merchants,

artisans, peasants, eagerly sought admission to the new group, in which they felt the throb of a common sympathy. In many a commune a new community appeared in which the divided classes of the former, often a prey to mutual hostility, met and were reconciled before the same altar. At first these miscellaneous adherents were called Brothers and Sisters of the Order of Penance; later on they were known as the Third Order, and eventually as Tertiaries. Quickly they spread throughout the peninsula, and then over the mountains and by the sea into all the countries of western Europe. A more definite Rule was given to them in 1289 by Pope Nicholas IV.

Francis an unintentional founder of Orders. Every one of these orders was entirely unpremeditated on the part of Francis. As far as the friars were concerned, he had at first thought only of a group of men living, without a monastic rule, according to the teachings of the Gospel. Then he placed Clara and her companions in a convent with the single idea that there they would be free to live the same kind of life as the friars. And, finally, it had been his idea from the beginning that men and women might continue to live in the world and there practice the gospel teachings without coming to the Porziuncola and being governed by a new Rule. It seems to be true that Francis, while he had very precise views on poverty and learning, never had a definite plan for his work as a whole. He always depended, as we have said, far more upon example than upon precept. He welcomed his first companions as friends; but when their numbers grew to a multitude the bonds of friendship could no longer reach them, divergencies began to appear, and rules became necessary.

Divisions among the Franciscans. Among the friars were now some men who had studied in the universities, who entered with ardor into the theological and philosophical discussions of the day, and who did not wish to spend their time tending lepers and begging their bread from door to

door; and there were more who, having caught little of the spirit of the founder, looked with envy upon the rich abbeys, splendid churches, ample granaries, spacious vineyards, and bulging cellars of the older monastic orders. There were still others who realized that the mere increase in numbers was bringing about a profound change in the fraternity, that large convents, at least in the towns, were every day becoming more necessary. These friars who favored learning and property found a leader in Cardinal Ugolino. Opportunity was afforded them to have their way when, probably in the summer of 1219, Francis and ten companions set sail to convert the Mohammedans. He touched at one of the ports in Syria and then went to Egypt where the crusaders were besieging Damietta. There he was filled with horror by the greed and lust and cruelty of the soldiers; and the several interviews he had with the sultan failed entirely to convert that potentate and his entourage. A messenger brought him word that advantage was being taken of his absence to make the fraternity resemble the older monastic orders, and so he hastened home. It was too late. The tendency against the original rule had become too strong in the Order even for him to be able to stem it. A papal bull, issued on September 22, 1220, began the effective control of the friars by the papacy. Francis then found it impossible to remain minister-general. "Who are these", he cried out, "who have snatched my order and my brethren from me"? So he relinquished the control of the fraternity to Pietro di Catana, who, however, died in the following year. In 1221 he drew up a new Rule, a long document containing many admonitions, prayers, and appeals, a "medley of outbursts of joy and bitter sobs, of hopes and regrets". But nothing could halt the movement to turn the fraternity away from its original purpose. The next director was Elias of Cortona (1180?–1253), and under his supervision the change was greatly accelerated. Property was acquired, convents and churches were built,

and in other ways the fraternity assumed the aspect of a traditional monastic order. The last years of Francis were full of protests, but all in vain. Learning, as well as property, crept into the Order. Still another Rule was drawn up and approved in 1223, a legal charter in which zeal is tempered by worldly wisdom, fervor sacrificed to common sense, a code by which papal control was made even more complete. When Francis died three years later, three parties had already been formed among his followers. The group clinging to the early ideals of the fraternity, stigmatized at first as the Zealots, came to be known as the Spirituals; while the one completely favoring property and learning was known as the Conventuals; and between them, and including by far the largest number of the friars, were the Moderates.

Struggle between the Conventuals and the Spirituals. The death of Francis in 1226 hastened the impending clash between the two extreme parties, a struggle that was to last for more than a hundred years. For five years Elias of Cortona had been directing the Order with the title of vicar. His extraordinary activity now increased, for he was determined to make the most of the opportunity, and in this he was encouraged by Ugolino, who had now become Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241). Whenever he could he ousted the Zelanti from their positions. But a wave of indignation swept through the hermitages of Umbria, and in 1227, in a dramatic scene, he was deposed. His successor was Giovanni Parenti. It was, however, only a temporary defeat. Aided by papal influence Elias maneuvered to recover his lost control, and, in 1232, he was elected general. Then he strove energetically to carry out his own ideas. He continued the building of the great church at Assisi, attracted learned men to the Order, organized theological studies, compelled the novices to read, and with vigilance and severity crushed several revolts of the Zelanti. So widespread, however, was the resentment at these overbearing

doings that, in 1239, Elias was again deposed, this time never to be restored to the generalate. The next three generals, each of whom occupied the position for only a brief period, were Moderates; but the papal influence in behalf of property and learning continued to make itself felt, and the advocates of that policy within the Order were by no means idle. They were not as yet, however, to have their own way without interruption. The election of Giovanni di Parma to the generalate in 1247 was a decided victory for the Zelanti. Yet the joy of the survivors of the founder's first companions, and of those who held the same ideals, was tempered by the realization that it was now impossible to compel the entire Order to return to the early life of the woodland huts and mountain caves. "Welcome, father", said one of them to his new general, "but you come too late". Then the divergencies between the two contending parties became still more striking. The Zelanti became deeply dyed with the mystic dreams of Joachim of Fiore that threatened the prestige and even the existence of the hierarchy. Giovanni was in some way compromised with these dangerous teachings, and this, with other causes, brought about his resignation, seemingly under papal pressure, of the generalate. He was succeeded by Bonaventura (1227–1274), said to be of the middle party, but with an evident leaning towards the Conventuals. The new general, trying to bring about a working compromise, opposed the extremists on both sides. But recrimination and persecution had embittered the Zelanti and so they refused to submit. All the early literature of the Order supported them. So, in 1260, the general chapter commissioned Bonaventura to write a new life of Francis. This was completed three years later. Despite the fact that the author himself was a good deal of a mystic, the book is a colorless work in which the enthusiasm of the early years of the fraternity is discreetly subdued. The general chapter accepted the new biography as the one authentic record; and then, in 1266, as part of a

policy to lessen the influence of the party that wished for a return to the early poverty and simplicity of the fraternity, decreed that all the previous writings relating to Francis should be destroyed. Even the copies possessed by persons outside the Order were to be obtained, by stealth if need be, and made away with. This was done very thoroughly. Only a very few manuscripts of the condemned documents survived, nearly all of them being kept in out-of-the-way friaries. Naturally this still further antagonized the Zelanti. They now developed into a number of sects, all of them opposed to the hierarchy and some of them approaching the border of heresy, if, indeed, not crossing it. The principal groups of these zealots were to be found in Provence, Tuscany, and the March of Ancona. They had very little to do with one another, their only tie being the strict observance of the teachings of Francis.

Importance of Francis. The importance of Francis of Assisi lies in the spiritual awakening he brought about, in his democratic ideals, his wide sympathies, and in the social services he and his faithful followers rendered to the poor and needy. Many of the friars became relaxed and corrupt; and in numerous writings of the fourteenth century we can see the scorn in which they were held by the laity. They also aroused the indignation of their brothers. "So high has risen the flood of idleness and gluttony and continued familiarities with women", said Ubertino da Casale (1259–1330?), a leader of the Spirituals, "that I rather wonder at those who stand than at those who fall". But the high faith and compelling passion of their leader were not in vain. Life always begets life. Down through the ages his spirit has come, revealed in a few documents written by some of his faithful companions, but still more in the lives of men. It answered the deep need of a multitude of men. It enabled them to escape the close grip of ecclesiastical authority, to go straight to their creator and converse familiarly with him face to face, to enjoy more tenderly the things of this

life, and to meet death unafraid. Francis enabled every man to be his own priest, the author of his own faith, and yet remain in the bosom of the church. He knew there is no better form of worship than the spontaneous soaring of the soul to God. All this was a miracle far more remarkable than any of the childlike stories to be found in the legends that quickly gathered about his name. Mystic that he was, he relied not upon learning but upon love. His poems, like his life, are a continual song of love. He had limitations. Neither law, nor logic, nor any other sort of erudition was his. His ideal of absolute poverty was impracticable. It failed to estimate aright the strength of the opposing forces. Much of the trouble that arose among his followers may be traced to this exaggeration. It defeated its own purpose. Moderation would have been better. When the friars made their way from the seclusion of Umbria into the wide world, into the towns with their industry and commerce and schools, they came into contact with the modern spirit. New problems confronted them which they could neither ignore nor evade. Francis seems never to have any prescience of these circumstances. He seems to have thought only of a handful of friends and followers living at the sylvan shrines and in the lonely hermitages of his native province. And yet his life, despite his limitations, aye, perhaps because of them, is the finest flower of medieval humanity.

> Love had he learned in huts where poor men lie,
> His daily teachers had been woods and rills,
> The silence that is in the starry sky,
> The sleep that is among the lonely hills.

References for Further Reading

The original sources for the study of the new orders of canons, monks, and friars are named, and often discussed, in the leading secondary works dealing with them and with their founders. They are listed in the bibliography for chapter 21, of the sixth volume of

The Cambridge Medieval History, and also in Louis J. Paetow's convenient *Guide to the Study of Medieval History*. Most of those relating to the early history of the Franciscans will be found in the scholarly and helpful *Archiv für Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, edited by Franz Ehrle and Heinrich Denifle. Many of them are to found among the publications of the industrious and scholarly Franciscans who have established and maintain a printing press in the village of Quaracchi, a few miles down the river from Florence. See also Paul Sabatier's *Collection d'études et de documents sur l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du moyen âge;* and his *Opuscules de critique historique.* This entire literature has been discussed by Walter Goetz in his *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des heiligen Franz von Assisi.* See also the discussions of it in Heinrich Boehmer's *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi;* in A. G. Little's *A Guide to Franciscan Studies;* in Paschal Robinson's *A Short Introduction to Franciscan Literature;* in the chapter by George G. Coulton included in F. J. Foakes-Jackson's *The Acts of the Apostles;* and in Paul Sabatier's *Life of Saint Francis of Assisi.* Many of the Franciscan sources have been translated into English, among them being *The Mirror of Perfection*, which Sabatier believes was written by Brother Leo, companion and confessor of the saint, less than a year after the death of the latter; *The Legend of the Three Companions;* Giovanni Parenti's *Mystic Marriage of Brother Francis with the Lady Poverty;* the two biographies of Francis written by Thomas of Celano, the first of them written two years after the death of the saint; the biography written by Bonaventura; the *Little Flowers of Saint Francis*, a collection of legends, probably made by one or more friars at the end of the thirteenth century, which reveals the childlike and poetical credulity of the time and sums up the emotions of the spiritual revival inaugurated by Francis; and Thomas of Eccleston's *The Friars and how they came to England*, a charming chronicle, translated by the Capuchin Friar Cuthbert, who, in the introduction, has given a fine account of the spirit and genius of the early Franciscans.

George G. Coulton's *From Saint Francis to Dante* is made up of translations from the *Chronicle* of Frà Salimbene with notes and illustrations from other original sources; see also his *Christ, Saint Francis and Today;* and his *Five Centuries of Religion.* Father

Cuthbert's *Life of Saint Francis of Assisi* is written with insight and sympathy, but adds virtually nothing of its own. Ellen Scott Davison, *Forerunners of Saint Francis.* Augusta T. Drane, *History of Saint Dominic.* Heinrich Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens.* Friar Hilarin Felder's *The Ideals of Saint Francis of Assisi* contains a good bibliography of both original and derived sources, and also a list of other bibliographies of the subject. Harold E. Goad's *Franciscan Italy* is an attempt to describe the province of Umbria and interweave it with the story of Francis. Ernest Gilliat-Smith's *Saint Clare of Assisi* is not an altogether reliable book. Jean Guiraud's *Saint Dominic* contains a good bibliography of both original and derived sources. Max Heimbucher's *Die Orden und Kongregation–der Katholichen Kirche* is the most general and authoritative book on its subject. Augustus Jessopp's *The Coming of the Friars* is graceful and sympathetic. Johannes Jörgensen's *Saint Francis of Assisi* has a fine introduction dealing with the sources and is a well-documented book. A good deal of matter relating to Dominicans and Franciscans will be found in Henry Charles Lea's *Inquisition of the Middle Ages.* Anne Macdonald, *Sons of Saint Francis.* James Cotter Morison's *Bernard of Clairvaux* is a book "wherein superstition and fanaticism are laureled and nascent rationalism vilified". Paul Sabatier's *Life of Saint Francis of Assisi*, published in 1894, is still the best biography of the saint; a new edition, much revised, was promised before the recent death of the author. R. S. Storrs, *Bernard of Clairvaux.* S. J. Sales, *Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux.* Luigi Salvatorelli's *Life of Saint Francis of Assisi* is a well-balanced book. Beryl de Selincourt, *Homes of the First Franciscans.* Henry Thode's *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der kunst der renaissance in Italien.* Felici Tocco, *Studii francescani.* Heinrich Tilemann's *Studien zur Individualität des Franziskus von Assisi* is a keen analysis by a Protestant scholar. Abbé Elphège Vacandard's *Vie de Saint Bernard,* written from a somewhat ultramontane point of view, is the fullest and best biography of Bernard. Luigi Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati.* David C. Muzzey, *The Spiritual Franciscans.* Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Medieval Mind.*

CHAPTER 28

THE CHURCH AND THE HERETICS

The stimulus of new thought. Many causes contributed to the beginning of scientific investigation and the development of independent thought in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Intellectual life was greatly stimulated by the crusades. Intercourse went on continuously between East and West. The Westerners enriched their life, first of all, with material things from the finer civilizations they found at Constantinople, in Syria, in Sicily, and in southern Spain; and later on they received streams of new thought that poured over the frontiers from these places. Then, too, there was a great increase of indigenous thought in the rapidly growing western towns. Man is a seeker after excitement; and cities are exciting. The stimuli of the towns were far more multiple and varied than those of the castles and manors. Town life, with its crafts and arts, its schools in which were to be found the subtlest brains of different countries and social ranks, its problems of self-government, and its rivalries with other towns, demanded and provoked new thought.

Abélard and his method of study. Abélard (1079–1142) was one of the most important of all the original thinkers of the time. He declined to see anything merely as an emblem or a symbol of something else. He dared to look everything in the face. And that is the method of modern, not of medieval thought. He relied upon reason. He said the believer should be ready to give an account of his faith. What is to be defended must be understood. Mere authority is not enough. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153) and other conservatives were requiring faith even though it were unsupported by reason. The human intellect cannot be

trusted in such matters, they said; it is a phosphorescent light flitting over the marshes, a will-o'-the-wisp, that will betray man to the destruction of his soul. But Abélard replied that reason is just as divine a faculty as any other with which man is endowed; that it is a polar star leading to truth; and that faith which is contrary to reason cannot proceed from God. He was the sworn foe of every kind of implicit, unquestioning, faith. He endeavored, indeed, to restrict the sphere of authority as far as possible, and especially to strip it of all magical characters. Down to his time education was for the custody of truth, the mere safekeeping of truth already known. But he believed that one ought to inquire. So he compiled a book called *Sïc et Non* for his students in the schools at Paris. It is a collection of conflicting opinions from the writings of the great fathers of the church and from the *Bible* on the principal disputed points of theology. Plainly the authorities were not always to be trusted. They were not always agreed. Sometimes they contradicted one another flatly, and that, too, on the most important matters. The book makes no attempt to reconcile the clashing views. That was left for the students. Its purpose was to incite discussion. Perhaps these incongruous statements could be harmonized. Perhaps not. Anyway the students were to think. And they were to trust their own reason. No longer were they to accept things in blind faith. "By doubting we are led to inquire", he said; "and by inquiry we perceive truth". It remains the motto of all investigation that is true and free. Abélard was the very embodiment of self-reliance. The spell of his unrivaled eloquence and audacious logic drew thousands of students from all parts of Latin Christendom. They caught the fervor of his independent and passionate spirit, learned the method of his analysis and exposition, and then many of them went forth into the world to carry on the teaching of their master, to assert the supreme right of the reason. He was vain? Histrionic? Yes. But he gained

attention, stimulated enthusiasm, challenged preconceptions, and raised vital issues. Men might hate or love this stormy soul, but none could regard him with indifference.

Abélard's own thought. Abélard's own thought was not heretical, though he was accused of error regarding several dogmas, chiefly that of the Trinity. He was, indeed, rather disposed to defend the doctrines of the church. But he contended they ought to be shown to be reasonable, not put forth on the mere word of authority. Authority in such matters, he held is insufficient. What is to be believed must be understood; and it must be approved by the reason. He differed from his opponents only in his effort to restrict as far as possible the sphere of authority and increase that of reason. The only thing he contested was compulsion, the demand for blind submission, claiming, again and again, the right of every man to use his own reason and come to his own conclusions. Yet his method emphasized contradiction rather than agreement; and surely he must have known in the bottom of his heart that, sooner or later, it would be a powerful solvent of more than one traditional doctrine.

Trial and death of Abélard. Bernard of Clairvaux, however, who despite all his activity in the outside world was essentially a medieval monk, fought against this use of the reason even in defense of the doctrines of the church. He was, in his way, a saintly man. He had some admirable qualities. But he looked backward, while the man he distrusted looked forward. Instinctively he realized the danger of the new method. If the wind of intellectual freedom were allowed to blow, who could say how far it would carry men away from the old moorings? It is the basic question being fought out between religious conservatives and liberals in our own time. Bernard led the attack upon Abélard. Ransacking the writings of the man whose teaching he deemed to be dangerous he brought forward seventeen doctrinal propositions which he denounced. The trial was

to take place in a council held in 1141 at Sens. But hardly had the recital of the alleged heresies begun, when, for what reason we are uncertain, the hitherto undaunted dialectician appealed from that tribunal to the supreme decision of the pope. That, however, did not deter the council. The assembled bishops declared the accused to be guilty of fourteen errors in doctrine. More than one reason has been given for Abélard's abrupt retreat. His health was shattered, and his many troubles had doubtless broken his heart. Perhaps his courage failed him; or he may have realized the improbability of securing justice at the hands of the council. But whatever may have been the cause of his sudden flight, he never reached Rome. On the way thither he rested at the Abbey of Cluny. Bernard's messengers, however, lost no time in hurrying to the papal capital; and then, having read the letters and other documents sent to him, the curia confirmed the decision of the council and ordered the accused to be confined in a convent, his books to be burned, and his followers excommunicated. Thus did the curia give up the accused man to his accusers, though he had appealed to it, and that too without hearing him in his own defense. A few months later, having been taken there because of the more salubrious climate, Abélard died in a priory near Chalons. Long afterwards his body, together with that of Héloïse, the woman he loved, was buried in the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise in Paris.

Continuance of Abélard's method of study. Thus the great teacher was silenced. Yet no conciliar or papal condemnation of his opinions could avail to put an end to his method of inquiry. It continued to be used. And year by year, as its merits became more widely known, it fertilized an increasing number of minds. Thousands of students had listened to his lectures and taken part in discussions with him, among them being Arnold of Brescia (1100?–1155), whose attempt to form a democratic government in Rome we have already noticed, Bernard Silvester of Chartres

(1080?–1167), a leading teacher in that important school, Gilbert de la Porrée (1070–1154), almost the only logician of the twelfth century quoted by the great scholastics of the succeeding age, and Orlando Bandinelli, who taught canon law at Bologna and afterwards became Pope Alexander III (1159–1181). In many places, especially in the rising universities, the germs of rationalism multiplied. And by a strange and matchless instance of the irony of fate the method of the condemned teacher, the method of "for" and "against", was subsequently adopted by the church. Peter Lombard used it, and, later on, so did Thomas Aquinas. Both these eminent theologians discussed and weighed all the arguments on each side of the questions with which they dealt.

The restored Aristotle. The medieval universities became a very important power in the intellectual and social and political development of the time. They were a great public force. In every country where they had been established they were intimately connected with national life. They also took part in religious matters. And in some of them a real spirit of liberty made itself felt. Abélard's method was bearing fruit. Doubt was in the air. Subtle and fatal forms of unbelief were spreading. Then, too, a flood of new ideas was pouring in from other times and other places. Early in the thirteenth century some long lost writings of Aristotle began to make their appearance in the schools at Paris. Thus far in the medieval centuries western Europeans had known that Greek thinker only in fragmentary fashion. They had known only a few of his treatises on logic and dialectics. But now his books dealing with physics, plant and animal life, and metaphysics, translated into Latin, from Arabic versions, began to find their way over the Pyrenees into France. Greek literature and learning had been almost entirely lost sight of in the western lands in medieval times; but they had spread eastwards, into the countries conquered by the Saracens, and there they had been made

more widely available by translations into Syriac, Hebrew, and Arabic. These translations had then traveled all along the north of Africa into Spain. Later on the Westerners obtained a notable amount of ancient scientific and philosophical thought in Sicily, which had been ruled by the Saracens from 902 to 1091, and other lands of the eastern Mediterranean. They even learned ancient thought directly from the Greek. When the crusaders seized Constantinople in 1204 they made the original country of Greek philosophy more accessible than it had been to western scholars. Some of these scholars hastened to collect manuscripts and to make or obtain translations into Latin. The earlier of these translations were merely literal renderings, word for word, of the original Greek; but nevertheless they were better than the translations from the Saracenic lands which were often thickly strewn with Arabic words in Latin letters. For most of the new knowledge that came to them, however, the Westerners were indebted to the Saracens of Spain. But by whatever way they had obtained them, the Westerners, soon after the middle of the thirteenth century, were in full possession, save for the few fragments that have since been discovered, of all the works of Aristotle. And they were prepared to use them, for, during seven centuries, their minds had been trained by his logic as they had learned it in the schoolbooks of Boethius. They seized upon them with avidity. Aristotle won them because he seemed definite, systematic, and complete. He explained everything. So they called him "the master of them that know". Especially were they enamored of the recovered treatises on logic. More than ever before they devoted themselves to dialectics. They debated all things.

Saracenic commentaries on Aristotle. With the recovered writings of Aristotle came a large body of commentary made by Saracens. Those thinkers, many of whom were Jews and Persians, had fallen under the spell of the ancient philosopher and had gradually built up an extensive system of

orientalized Aristotelianism. One of the first of them was Alfarabi (?–950?), in whose commentaries on Aristotle there is a large infusion of lyrical feeling and mystical thought. More faithful to the thought of the Greek sage, though his own thought was mystical, was Avicenna (980–1037), whose mother was a native of the district of Bokhara in central Asia and whose father was a Persian. We have already seen something of him in our study of Saracenic science. His *Encyclopædia* is a paraphrase of Aristotle, and through it a great deal of the thought of that ancient philosopher, with interpretations and commentary, was transmitted to western Europe. Saracenic philosophy declined after him in the East, but its development continued in Spain. Avempace (?–1138) was the earliest and one of the most notable of the philosophers in that peninsula. He seems to have been a skeptic and to have regarded death as the end of our existence.

Averroës and Averroism. Far more important than any of these in his influence upon western thought was Averroës (1126–1198), with whom the history of Saracenic philosophy came to an end. This great scholar did not know Greek. His only knowledge of Aristotle was through the imperfect and often incorrect translations into Arabic. Yet he devoted his life to the interpretation of that ancient philosopher; and it was through his writings, more than those of any other man, that the scholars of Latin Christendom first came to know the complete Aristotle. Averroës profited by the Saracenic commentators who preceded him. The Westerners, however, not knowing this, gave him credit for all of it. Dante called him "the great commentator". Averroës was deeply religious; but the interpretations of his predecessors which he accepted and his own explanations emphasized and developed the elements in the teaching of Aristotle most opposed to medieval Christianity. So, too, did his own philosophical writings, especially his contention that every man has the right and duty of understanding

and interpreting the sacred writings of his faith in the most perfect manner of which he is capable. From his books came the theory of the eternity of matter, which is opposed to the scriptural story of the creation of the world. And from them, too, came the theory of the unity of the intellect, which was developed by subsequent writers into the theory of one soul common to all mankind into which at death every individual soul is absorbed. Obviously this makes diety an impersonal force, banishes it beyond the reach of prayer, and is a negation of the doctrine of personal immortality. These and other heretical theories were still further developed by the followers of "the great commentator". We must distinguish between Averroës and Averroism. The former was by no means as radical as the latter. Averroism was in reality a thinly veiled materialism; as such it was a subtle solvent of the basic creeds of both Islam and Christianity; and it was far more influential in the Christian than in the Mohammedan world. At first its most active propagators were to be found among the Spanish Jews. Driven from the peninsula by the fanaticism of the rulers they found a refuge in the cities of Languedoc and Provence. From these points of vantage Averroism spread northward to Paris and over the mountains into Italy. The soil was ready for the seed. Doubt and bold speculation were already undermining orthodoxy in many places. And now a skeptical society was formed at Paris. Averroism, however, and other heresies, were already being attacked by the schoolmen, especially by the Dominicans.

What was scholasticism? Who were these schoolmen, these defenders of orthodoxy? What was scholasticism? At first the conservatives declined to debate the disputed questions. They relied entirely upon faith. They had only the words of authority for all the problems crying aloud for an answer. They denounced the rationalistic thought of the time; and, going still further, they denounced the use of reason in matters of faith. Such opposition to intellectual

freedom, however, could not win the day. Merely to refrain from thought upon the great questions of the time could not persuade the fearless and eager youth of the universities. Heresy became ever bolder. So the conservatives stooped to the use of reason. They tried to prove that the various doctrines deemed to be essential for salvation were reasonable. This attempt to unify theology and philosophy, to reconcile the teachings of the church with the new thought of the time, is called scholasticism. From it sprang all the great scholastic systems. The schoolmen debated questions that were purely philosophical; but here we are most concerned with their task of bringing reason to the support of theology.

The beginning of scholasticism. It is not easy to say when scholasticism began. Dialectics, as we have seen in our study of the rise of the universities, reigned supreme in the schools in the later medieval centuries. But when was it first used to support faith? Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) may be regarded as the first of the schoolmen. Certainly he was the first full-fledged philosopher since John Scotus Erigena. He held that it was a "sacred duty to reduce the truths of faith to scientific form". But his use of reason in the support of faith was always made in a spirit of reverential submission to faith. He put belief before understanding. He chained philosophy to the chariot of theology.

Abélard's advocacy of reason. Far in advance of this was the position taken by Abélard (1079–1142). He was a forerunner of the modern rationalists. It is true he believed that reason and authority would gradually approach each other and prove to be the same; but he insisted upon starting from doubt and proceeding along the road of reason. Anselm said man should believe in order to understand. Abélard declared that he should understand in order to believe. For half a century or more after his death there was little new material for the dialecticians to discuss.

Their debates were often nothing more than mere displays of logical ingenuity. Then came the recovered writings of Aristotle, with the commentaries upon him, and even writings wrongly ascribed to him, by the Saracens. These importations caused an outburst of bold speculation. Heresy spread in many directions. Clearly something had to be done. Only at the gravest peril could the conservatives continue to neglect reason. So the schoolmen set themselves definitely to the task of reconciling reason and revelation, science and faith, philosophy and theology. The starting point of their speculation was the assumption that revelation and reason connot contradict each other because both proceed from God. Their effort was to bend two pillars, which rose from distant bases, into a perfect unity at the top. Careful and correct thought, they said, would dissipate the mirage of differences between them. Rationalism would establish the truth of revelation. But the rationalism of the scholastics was by no means identical with the rationalism of to-day. Modern rationalism trusts only the reason in the pursuit of truth. It rejects revelation. The rationalism of the scholastics, however, is merely a process of demonstration which has for its purpose the elucidation of the mysteries of revelation.

Alexander of Hales. Alexander of Hales (?–1245) was the first scholastic to be acquainted with all Aristotle's works and with some, at least, of the Saracenic commentaries upon them. He was the author of the first attempt to combine in a single synthesis the various bodies of theological and philosophical thought that were then being studied and debated. But this cautious scholar, more theologian than philosopher, used the new knowledge only to support the doctrines of the church. He was a Franciscan; and it was in his time that, after a severe struggle with the university authorities, a papal bull admitted the mendicant orders to all the privileges of students and teachers.

Albert the Great. Leaning more to philosophy than theology the writings of Albertus Magnus (1206?–1280), the

most widely read and most learned man of the time, made available to his contemporaries all the philosophic thought and scientific knowledge contained in Aristotle and the commentaries and original works of the Saracens. But he was not content with merely reproducing these works. He explained, commented upon, and even attempted to complete the works of Aristotle. His avowed object was to give us back that great thinker as he was when all his works were available, and even as he must have been if he had himself been able to finish his work. That is why his contemporaries regarded him much less as a commentator than as an original philosopher. Only tireless energy and a masterly power of assimilation could have accomplished the mighty task. But the reasoning of this Dominican friar is not always clear, much of his knowledge is ill digested, and he was a vigorous supporter of implicit faith. We are bound to rely upon the word of authority, he tells us, for otherwise we would not be obliged to believe what we cannot understand.

Thomas Aquinas. Greatest of all the scholastics is Thomas Aquinas (1225?–1274), scion of a noble Italian family, a student of Albertus, very intimately associated with his master, and, like him, a Dominican. The great work of this theologian and philosopher, in whom the scholastic method of exposition and argument is personified, is the *Summa Theologica.* In it the distinction between revelation and reason is explained. Each is a source of knowledge, but the former is the more important. The mysteries of revelation are to be believed even when they cannot be understood. Before his time several doctrines had been withdrawn by ecclesiastical authorities from the sphere of reason. They were no longer to be tested by reason. And during his time and after still more were retired from the test of reason and relegated to the sphere of faith. This servile deference to authority is an admission, in fact if not in form, that scholasticism had failed in its fundamental

task of rationalizing the doctrines of the church. And such a confession indicated internal decay. But the great compendium of the greatest of the scholastics contains far more than the attempt to support revelation with reason. It is a remarkable synthesis of the several bodies of thought then engaging the interest of scholars. It is a summary of Christian creeds, Neoplatonism, Aristotelianism, and the venturesome commentaries of the Saracens. Above all else it is a combination of the philosophy of Aristotle and the faith of Augustine.

Duns Scotus. The temperament of Duns Scotus (1275?–1308) was emphatically conservative. Revelation, he held, is the only true source of religion. Reason cannot deal with religious truth. Nothing that is demonstrable has been revealed from heaven, and nothing that has been revealed is demonstrable. And revelation is not to be found only in the *Bible*. Side by side with the scriptural writings, or even superior to them, are the doctrines of the church. We believe the biblical writings, indeed, because they are approved and authorized by the church. But the subtle mind of Duns Scotus was more critical than constructive; and by a strange irony of fate his thought eventually proved to be a powerful solvent of scholasticism, a stimulus in the development of the independence of the individual. He held that there is no true knowledge of anything knowable apart from theology based upon revelation. Revelation, not reason, is to be our guide. We are to distrust reason. We are to be skeptical of every intellectual ground of belief. This encouragement of skepticism, however, proved to be a dangerous thing for orthodoxy.

Decline of scholasticism. With the close of the thirteenth century the ways of faith and knowledge began, more definitely than before, to part asunder. Men, more and more, perceiving the inherent defects of scholasticism, its concern with abstract and supernatural things and its fatal reliance upon the syllogism, were turning their attention

to the world in which we live. And in order to know the world they depended more and more upon science,—upon observation, experimentation, and reason. Dialectic was losing its leading position. The syllogism was no longer universally regarded as the sole and sufficient instrument for learning truth. Deduction was being supplemented by induction. Lecture rooms were being forsaken for laboratories. Scholasticism, therefore, began to decline. The secular culture of the towns, the powerful swing of social development, the quickened pulse of public and private life, were displacing it. And by a singular irony scholasticism helped to bring about its own decay. It employed reason in an attempt to support the immovable dogmas of the church, and in doing so it helped to awaken and cultivate the critical spirit. The students whom it had trained to think continued to think. The young scientists and humanists skilled in dialectic were the first to perceive the advantage of the direct observation of nature, of experimentation, and of reasoning. They were the first to gather large masses of information by their own observation, their own research, and then to make generalizations. They were the first to realize that the syllogism proves nothing if its premises do not contain the data of experience. Yet though scholasticism had passed into its twilight its spirit long survived. It had made too deep an impression upon the mind, molded it in too imperious a manner, and was too closely connected with theology, to be abolished suddenly and completely. There were scholastics, bristling with syllogisms and barbaric formulas, thickening the gloom and leading thought astray, all through the period of the Renaissance. All their virtuosity of dialectic was employed for the defense of dogma. They neither saw nor felt the vibrating and mobile life of the religious sentiment. They did not perceive that religion is a life rather than a set of creeds. They distrusted the growing freedom of the individual, and were therefore opposed to the humanists

from Petrarch to Ramus. But they were not to win. Scholasticism suffered shipwreck on the impossibility of its task.

What is mysticism? Mysticism was another stream of thought and feeling flowing into the river of medieval life. Its fountains were far away in time and space. In the western world its first great exponent was Plato; but even to him it doubtless came from the Orient. We have already seen something of mysticism in dealing with Neoplatonism, with the Pseudo-Dionysius, and with John Scotus Erigena. But here we must deal with it more definitely. What is mysticism? Mysticism distinguishes, in the first place, between appearance and reality. The brain knows nothing of the outside world at first hand. All its knowledge of the material world is obtained by means of the several senses of sound, sight, smell, touch, and taste. But the senses inform the brain only of appearances, not of realities. When we look at a rose in the garden certain vibrations we call red and others we call green come through the ether and are transmitted through the eye along the sensory nerves to the brain. The fragrance of the rose, as far as we know it, is only another set of vibrations perceived and conveyed to the brain by another sense. All that we know of the rose is certain disturbances in the brain. We know only appearance, not reality. Our physical senses tell us that this is a world of multiplicity. They tell us it is a world of good and evil, truth and error, pleasure and pain, hope and fear, life and death. It rings with laughter and is watered with tears. And, what is more, the good and the true do not always triumph. Strength prevails over weakness, though the strong man be wicked and the weak be virtuous. There is no recognizable homogeneity. And then our physical senses tell us that this is a world of change, of irrevocable change. Things vanish never to return. Days and years go by. Friendships fade. At the end of life is the grave. It is the tragedy of "the never again". But can we trust

the physical senses? Do they tell us the truth? No! says the mystic. They inform us only of appearances, not of realities. And they misinform us. "The senses interfere everywhere", says Emerson, "and mix their own structure with all they report". The mystic denies multiplicity. He says the universe is unified. Deeper than apparent diversity is the underlying unity of the universe, its fundamental identity, its essential homogeneity. Divinity is the primal essence. Divinity is the simple unity that lies beneath all seeming multiplicity. The mystic also denies change. This follows inevitably from his general denial of division. All is one. The distinction between past and future is illusory. Time is infinite. How, then, can it be otherwise than immutable? We must distinguish, therefore, says the mystic, between appearance and reality. Our physical senses tell us this is a universe of multiplicity and change. It is, however, unified and immutable. We must not let appearances deceive us. "While the soul is occupied with time or place or any image of the kind", said Meister Eckhart, "it cannot see God".

The mystic way to God. The mystic looks inward. He trusts his spiritual sense. With it he hopes to find his way to God. He craves union with divinity as an actual experience, even in the present life. He has a nostalgia for the infinite. He is joyful, for he believes that in his own life there beats the pulse of the eternal life. He realizes the mind does not get us far. He knows the heart is deep. So he is a lover. He woos God. And he regards God as the Great Lover. Open the books of the mystics. The dusty pages exhale a tenderness and a violence of passion no other singers have ever felt, love that ravishes, drowns, annihilates, swallows up. In every man is a spark of divinity. Like can find like. With the spiritual sense the soul can find its way to God. Man can make what Plotinus (240?–270?) called "the flight of the alone to the Alone". There are three stages in this ascent of the soul to God.

Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite describes them. "Threefold is the way to God. The first is the purgative way, wherein the mind is inclined to learn true wisdom. The second is the illuminative way, wherein the mind by pondering is kindled to the burning of love. The third is the unitive way, wherein the mind by understanding reason and intellect is led up to God." There is, then, first, the stage of purgation in which the mystic tries to rid his life of all that is undesirable, in which he renounces the particular and the fleeting in this world of multiplicity and change. It is his preliminary discipline. By prayer, fasting, and especially by meditation the powers of the soul may be enhanced. There must be at the beginning a feeling or conviction of the unreality of the passing show and of the existence of the spiritual reality behind it. There must be a willingness to merge self in the universal and immortal life. The sense of personality, the desire of personality, must be overcome. The mystic stakes all to gain all. He seeks to liberate the soul from the importunities of the body, to emancipate it from bodily desires. He flees from self. "Until the desires be lulled to sleep by the mortification of sensuousness", said John of the Cross (1542–1591), "and sensuousness itself be mortified in them, so that it shall be contrary to the spirit no more, the soul cannot go forth in perfect liberty to the fruition of the union with the Beloved". The second stage, that of illumination, is a condition in which consciousness is sharpened and intensified to such a degree that direct contemplation of the unseen and eternal becomes possible. The third stage, that of unity, is an indescribable intoxication, an ecstasy, in which one reaches the summit, sees everything, achieves an actual unity with God. These three stages of beginner, proficient, and perfect are the three stages in the ascent of the soul from multiplicity and change to unity and immutability. They are the ladder leading from earth to heaven. Their description by Dionysius, whose writings had become in-

vested with semi-apostolic authority, profoundly impressed the imagination of the medieval centuries.

Renewal of mysticism. Obviously the mystic, believing he can find his own way to God requires no track made to suit the common herd. He stands in no need of a church. Priest and sacrament may be dispensed with. Neither is any creed, other than his own doctrine, necessary. So it is not surprising that mysticism sometimes led to heresy. Many of the mystics, however, remained within the bosom of the church. Nearly three hundred years after the death of John Scotus Erigena (800?–877?) mysticism began to make itself felt with renewed force in medieval life. In that long stretch of time there had doubtless been many mystics, humble spirits, nameless contemplative souls, who were content to live in secret, leaving no memorials behind them. But now mysticism began to blossom again. We can see its renewal in Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), whose many writings, often touched with poetry, and extensive journeys distinctly influenced many of her contemporaries. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), the dominant figure in the ecclesiastical affairs of the twelfth century, was not an original mystic thinker. For the most part he merely repeats Augustine. But his little treatise *On the Love of God*, and some of his sermons and hymns, gave a romantic color to mysticism by quickening the devout and loving contemplation of the figure of Jesus nailed to the Cross and stimulating the worship of him as the Bridegroom of the Soul. Later mystics constantly quote him and appeal to his authority; and Dante chose him as the initiator of the soul into the highest secrets of Paradise.

The Victorines. Hugh of Saint-Victor (1096–1141) was the first notable mystic of the rich and influential abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris. Renouncing his inheritance as a son of a Saxon noble, the ardent boy entered a cloistered community, and by the time he was twenty had become an accomplished scholar. Then in order to escape the dis-

turbances in his native duchy and the better to pursue his studies, he made his way to the abbey of Saint-Victor, which then was to be found in a suburb outside the wall of Paris. Not far away from there crowds of students were listening to Abélard. Many of them were won over to rationalism. But Hugh, though one of the most cultivated men of the time and always a student, declared that while "logic, mathematics, and physics teach us some truth, they do not reach the truth wherein is the soul's safety, without which whatever is is vain". And then, going further, he declared, as a mystic, that "even faith has virtue only when it becomes effective through love". His eloquence and his writings made him illustrious; and with him began the mysticism of the school of Saint-Victor which was widely influential throughout the second half of the twelfth century. Richard of Saint-Victor (?–1173) took a more decided stand against the rationalists. Continually he extolled contemplation as a means of learning truth far superior to reason. "The objects of mystic contemplation", he declared, "are partly above reason, and are, indeed, in some cases, contrary to reason". He was particularly interested in psychology in order to fit himself to describe the mystic way leading to God; and he is the first contemplative to give a psychological account of the successive mystical states. After him a proud and disdainful, even arrogant, contempt for science and philosophy was displayed by the Victorines.

Joachim of Fiore. Joachim of Fiore (1132?–1202) lived quite apart from any of the mystics we have thus far described. All of them lived north of the Alps. He lived far to the south in the peninsula of Calabria. Of noble birth, he was brought up at the court of Duke Roger II of Apulia. With a retinue of servants and friends he went to visit other lands and the courts of foreign princes. But a plague was raging at Constantinople. People were dying by the thousands, and some of his own companions fell victims to the dread disease. The scenes of death and desolation

changed the course of his life. Dismissing all his servants and friends save one, he made his way on foot, clad only in a poor tunic, to the Holy Land. When he returned home he became a monk in the Cistercian monastery of Corazzo. Even there, however, life was too worldly. So, with a few faithful followers, he retired to a mountain solitude, amid a forest of pine and oak, more than three thousand feet above the level of the sea. There they built a monastery and dedicated it to John the Baptist. The woodsmen called the place Fiore; and so the new convent was known as San Giovanni in Fiore. There the hermits could look out over the dense forests, through wide spaces of sunlit air, to the blue and languid sea. The scene was one to lend wings to thought, to lift the soul. Joachim devoted himself to the study of the *Bible*, being especially attracted, it would seem, by the mystical Gospel according to John and the book of the Apocalypse. No doubt the events of the time made him turn to these visions of a spiritualized society. The twelfth century was drawing to a close. The Norman kingdom in southern Italy was falling beneath the blows of Henry VI, the able and energetic son of Barbarossa. In the northern cities, alert to improve their craftsmanship, and forever disputing with one another the possession of roads and rivers, seaports and trade monopolies, the medieval atmosphere of life was rapidly being dissolved. Popes and lesser prelates were absorbed in worldly affairs; monasteries had become wealthy and corrupt; and everywhere heresy was spreading like a plague. Little wonder the heart of the old hermit was filled with anxiety as he dictated to his companions his calculations and his dreams.

Joachim's Writings. After the death of Joachim many writings were wrongly credited to him, spurious manuscripts causing those who accepted them to be charged with heresy. Three books, however, and two or three hymns and letters, may safely be ascribed to him. They are a *Concordance to the Old and New Testaments*, a *Commentary on the Apocalypse*,

and a *Psaltery of the Ten Strings*. The chief thing for us to note in these books is the division of time into the three epochs of (1) the reign of the Father, (2) the reign of the Son, and (3) the reign of the Holy Ghost. The first, an age of law, a wintry time of fear and trial, in which men were slaves, a time of nettles, an age of the laity, illuminated by the stars, passed away with the coming of Jesus. The second, an age of grace, the springtime of wisdom and action, in which men were freemen, a time of roses, an age of the secular clergy, illuminated by the moon, was rapidly coming to an end. The third, an age of love and contemplation, the full summer, in which men were to be friends, a time of lilies, an age of monks, illuminated by the sun, was soon to begin.

The Everlasting Gospel. Joachim's authentic works have slight intrinsic value. They are important chiefly because of the use made of them by the Spiritual Franciscans in their struggle with the Conventuals and the Papacy. Some of those intransigent friars, passionate advocates of poverty, seized upon the Calabrian mystic's vague allusions to an approaching age, denounced the hierarchy, and declared that the third epoch, in which the world would be given over to their ideals, was close at hand. And according to them the leaders of this new age were to be, not the monks of the older orders, but themselves, the Spiritual Franciscans. They likened Joachim to John the Baptist. He had announced the coming of Francis, just as John had announced the mission of Jesus. So they cherished his writings, and those wrongly attributed to him, and passed them from hand to hand more or less surreptitiously. Then suddenly, in 1254, a crisis was precipitated by the publication in Paris of a book bearing the title of *The Everlasting Gospel*. It consisted of the three authentic works of Joachim, with explanatory notes and an introduction. Apparently the notes were written by Gherardo da Borgo San Donnino, a Franciscan friar who was then teaching theology in the University of Paris. At least his name appears in them. But

we are not certain of the authorship of the introduction. That part of the book is anonymous. We know the writer was a distinguished Franciscan. Perhaps he was none other than John of Parma, who was then the general of the Order. Why did the book immediately create a furore? It changed the tendencies and the intonation of the prophecies of the dreamy old abbot of Fiore. It gave precision to his indefinite predictions. It declared that the second age, the age of the four gospels in the New Testament, would end in 1260, only six years away. The third age, then to be ushered in, would be the age of "the eternal gospel", in which the secular clergy would be entirely replaced by the friars. The written word is a dead letter; it must be replaced by the gospel that is ever living in the hearts of men. This rendered the former gospels obsolete and meant nothing less than the abolition of the church. Little wonder, then, that the opponents of the friars fell upon the book. The opportunity was too good to be missed. They denounced its heresies and demanded papal condemnation. A commission of cardinals pronounced judicial sentence against the introduction and the notes, and passed over in silence the three books by Joachim. Three bulls were issued against the condemned doctrines, and all copies of the "new book" were ordered to be burned. And soon thereafter John of Parma was compelled to resign the generalate of the Order. Yet the influence of the Joachitic writings, genuine and spurious, continued. We can see it in the numerous bands of flagellants who, just before 1260, went about from town to town, dressed in white, whipping their bare shoulders, and singing hymns in the language of their native lands. We can see it in many another indiscreet group of radicals that suffered persecution. And finally it is to be traced, though as a river disappearing in the sands, in the early years of the Beguines and Beghards.

Bonaventura. Last of the Italian mystics we have to notice was Bonaventura (1221–1274), a diligent student of

the Victorines. Born of lowly parentage in Tuscany, he became a Franciscan friar when only seventeen years old and was sent to study at the University of Paris. There, as a teacher of theology, he became steeped in the thought of Augustine and the Neoplatonists. His mystical writings, especially the *Journey of the Soul towards God*, were widely used by preachers of a similar temperament. He valued the intellect more highly than did many other mystics, yet he regarded it as being inferior in power to the affections of the heart.

Meister Eckhart. Most profound of all the German mystics was Meister Eckhart (1260?–1327?), of whose early life very little is known. He was a Dominican friar, and he displayed unusual executive ability as the provincial of his Order in Saxony and vicar-general in Bohemia. He came into wider fame, however, as a preacher at Strasbourg and at Cologne. Of his writings only his sermons and a few pamphlets remain; but from these it is clear that he was well acquainted with the thought of the leading scholastics and that he had read deeply in the books of the Neoplatonists, the Pseudo-Dionysius, and Scotus Erigena. Long had he pondered the mystical doctrine of immanence, and, with implacable logic, he carried it to the furthest extreme. The original and ultimate spirit of the universe, he said, is a simple stillness without quality or distinction. It is neither this nor that. It is absolutely one,—formless, void, interminable, passive. This illimitable ocean of being, this simple and eternal darkness of the silent waste, is the Godhead. Far beyond all human understanding, it is the Nameless Nothing. But eternally begotten of this central mystery, which lies forever beyond the range of knowledge, is the Son, whom we call God. The destiny of man's soul is to find its way back into the Godhead. Then the twain become One. The soul is in perfect union with the Godhead. But it is not lost in the nameless abyss. Its personality is not annulled. It becomes active in and with the personal

God. In the meantime, in this world of phantoms and shadows, every man should help his fellow men. "What a man takes in by contemplation", said the popular preacher, "he must pour out in love". Such teaching quite evidently made for independence of church and creed, and so it is little wonder that complaint was made against it. Before the case was settled in the papal court the great mystic died. Two years later seventeen propositions taken from his writings were pronounced heretical and eleven others were declared to be rash and suspect. One of the seventeen items found to be heretical, and one that may be regarded as a summary of Eckhart's teaching, is the assertion that man, by means of the divine spark within his soul, may rise into union with the Godhead and take part in the personality of God. No unusual keenness of insight was required to realize that if this be true there is no need of any priesthood or sacramental system.

The dawn of heresy. Heresy, in the later medieval centuries, had many sources. It sprang from scholasticism; and it followed from mysticism. It filtered in from the East, through the Balkan peninsula and from Spain. The secular life of the towns, far more competitive and competent than that of the countryside, continually refreshed with books and scholars from other lands, greatly stimulated thought. And so the orthodox creeds and the power of the clergy were being undermined by adversaries of many kinds during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The word "heresy" was at first a living word. It meant reaching out to grasp, taking, choosing, a studious and zealous pursuit. It was always something personal, even passionate. In the early medieval times heretics were men who followed that which they had chosen for themselves. Only in an enemy's mouth did heresy become a negative thing, a sect, causing schism, a rending of the living robe. Then it was hated and hunted. But we owe much to many of these bold thinkers. They were light-bearers. They suffered

martyrdom for what they believed to be the truth. "Every step of progress the world has made", said Wendell Phillips, "has been from scaffold to scaffold, and from stake to stake".

Siger de Brabant. Many heresies flourished in the schools. Some men trained by scholasticism to think kept on thinking. Some, indeed, declined to start from the safe premises of the church. They were troublesome questioners. The most important of the heresies originating in the schools was Averroism. That was the chief intellectual heresy of the time. It asserted the eternity of matter, and thus denied the scriptural story of the creation of the world; it affirmed the existence of one soul common to all mankind into which at death every individual soul is absorbed; and these two theories made deity an impersonal force and denied the doctrine of personal immortality. How can there be personal immortality if all men are but the transient expressions of one enduring soul? Siger de Brabant (1235?–1284?) was the chief Averroist at Paris. He and his associates rejected all belief in a personal creator and affirmed the eternity of matter and motion. They denied the fall of man, and, therefore, the doctrine of redemption. All things, they said, exist as they are by the decree of fate. Impersonal reason alone is immortal. Theological creeds, prayers, fasting, and all such things are utterly vain. In the future there is neither reward nor punishment for our actions. And the fables of orthodox religion are worse than useless. They are a positive hindrance to science. We know little of Siger's life, save that his teaching was very popular, that it aroused the antagonism of the church, that he fled to Italy, seemingly to escape the Inquisition, and that there, somewhere between 1281 and 1284, he died in Orvieto. Scholastics set themselves to refute this subtle and insinuating heresy. Both Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas replied to Siger. Still the heresy spread. Its books, though placed under the papal ban, were passed from

one end of the continent to the other. True, this thinly veiled materialism almost entirely disappeared after the thirteenth century in the University of Paris; but it flourished increasingly in Italy. It prospered in the cultured and skeptical courts of that peninsula, and found a center, from which it continued to spread in many directions, in the University of Padua.

The Cathari. Most formidable of all the heresies of the time were the Cathari, known in Lombardy as Paterini, and in southern France as Albigenses. They were spiritual descendants of many earlier heretical groups, especially of the Manicheans. And they were widely scattered, under many names, from Persia to the Atlantic. Manicheanism, like a sleeping epidemic that may spring to life again on any favorable opportunity, had continued for a thousand years in the Byzantine Empire. It reappeared from time to time, more or less disguised, in first one sect and then another. As early as the end of the tenth century we catch a glimpse of the Cathari in Champagne, the district of the great fairs that went on all the year round, a center of world commerce. To that western district, and to many another, their doctrines had found their way from distant, mysterious, and equivocal places in the East. Along the roads, over mountain passes, and up the rivers they came; across the Balkans, through Dalmatia, into Lombardy, over the Alps to southeastern France, up the Rhone, and into the valley of the Rhine and the Low Countries.

Why the heresy spread. The principal cause of the success of this heresy was the discredit into which the clergy, by their own fault, had fallen. In his letters this was admitted again and again by Pope Innocent III. The conviction was widespread and deep-seated that orthodox sacerdotalism had failed to fulfill its task and would soon be destroyed. People looked with scandalized eyes on the corrupt life of priests and monks; and a great longing for reform arose. To this was added political and social dis-

content. The capitalistic age was dawning. The distinction between rich and poor became ever more apparent. Distribution of wealth became more and more unequal in the life of the towns. The modern proletariat was coming into existence. The pressure of social misery increased. A demand for the simplicity of the apostolic life became ever more insistent and threatening, and it was the effort to realize this ideal that brought success, for a time at least, to the Franciscans. This alliance of heresy with social discontent is to be found in the Cathari. They were dualistic heretics, like their far-off ancestors, the Manicheans. They held that this world is the creation of Satan; and that peace and happiness are to be found only in the next world, the creation of God. This life, therefore, is merely a probationary stage, a time of trial, necessarily hard and evil, In the next life the faithful will be freed from the body with its burden of sorrow and sin. They placed no value upon external things. A church, they said, is not an institution; still less is it a building of stone and mortar. It is a company of men and women living in accordance with the inspiration of the divine Spirit.

Doctrines and character of the Cathari. The Cathari were divided into two groups, the larger one being made up of the Believers, and the smaller one consisting of the Perfect. The latter had received the gift of the Spirit. They were extremely ascetic and took a vow of absolute continence. They regarded the begetting of children as a positive evil, for it helped to prolong the inherently evil life of the present world. The life of a Perfect was so austere and, thanks to their persecutors, so dangerous that most of the Cathari deferred elevation to that rank, their central rite, the *consolamentum,* until the hour of death. But their story is difficult to learn. With scarcely an exception the writings about them that have survived are from the pens of their antagonists and persecutors. Of all their own literature there is left only a single ritual, written in the thirteenth

century and now kept in the city of Lyons. It recalls, in a striking manner, the religious life of the apostolic age. The rest has perished. So we are obliged to gather their doctrines, for the most part, from the writings of men who wrote to confute them, above all else from the reports of the Inquisitors. But even their bitterest opponents were forced to bear testimony to the fine character of their daily lives. "If you interrogate them", said Bernard of Clairvaux, "nothing can be more Christian; as to their conversation, nothing can be less reprehensible, and what they speak they prove by deeds. As for the morals of the heretic, he cheats no one, he oppresses no one, he strikes no one; his cheeks are pale with fasting, he eats not the bread of idleness, his hands labor for his livelihood". They were earnest and energetic proselytisers, zealous missionaries, and they spread their views far and wide. They were mostly poor men, industrious peasants and craftsmen, who realized the ecclesiastical and social corruption of the time. They had no fear of death. This world, in any case, was the work of man's worst enemy. The fatherland of the soul lay beyond death. Thither the fires of martyrdom would surely send them. So they were bold missionaries. They were especially successful in southeastern France; and it was there they received the name of Albigenses, from the little town of Albi. The name is scarcely a fitting one, for the center of the heresy was the larger city of Toulouse.

Conditions in southeastern France. It is in the early years of the eleventh century that we first hear of these heretics in that part of the world. They were persecuted by the clergy; but the townsfolk and nobles protected them, and they rapidly increased in number. Political and social conditions favored them. From the beginning of the twelfth century the several states in southern France had been virtually free. Their dukes and counts acknowledged suzerains only in form and changed them at will. Full municipal liberty had been gained by the larger communes, such as

Arles, Marseilles, and Toulouse. The last, under the nominal sway of its count, was really a republic. It was a peaceful country, at least for that time, a land of olive and vine, of mulberry trees and wheat fields, a cosmopolitan land to which, from the dawn of history, adventurous folk had found their way. Ligurians, Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Visigoths, Arabs, all had contributed to the racial mixture; and these varied and versatile folk had produced the most refined and elegant civilization in Latin Christendom.

The Crusade against the Albigenses. Many attempts, some peaceful, others with show of force, were made to check the progress of heresy in that smiling land, but in vain. The heretics were supported by the nobles, the communes, and the local bishops who refused to recognize the unusual authority conferred upon the papal legates sent to direct operations against "the enemies of God". At last, in 1207, Innocent III (1198–1216) decided upon more vigorous measures. He called upon Philip II (1180–1223) of France, as suzerain of Count Raymond VI (1194–1222) of Toulouse, to suppress the heresy by force of arms. But Philip, despite the offer of all the spiritual privileges granted to the previous crusaders and the right to seize and hold the territories of all nobles who refused to join the war against the heretics, evaded the papal entreaties for intervention. He was occupied, for the time being, with other things; and, anyway, the wily monarch preferred to wait and watch. In 1209 one of the papal legates, who had excommunicated Raymond for encouraging the heretics, was assassinated. A thrill of horror ran through all the West. Passion was inflamed. Innocent renewed his appeal. Everywhere monks made fiery speeches in church and market place. A motley host soon assembled under the supreme command of one of the papal legates. Many motives, bigotry, spiritual privileges, racial hatred, lust, the prospect of material gain, had swelled the ranks. The crusade opened with the terrible massacre of the inhabitants of

Béziers. According to the report of the legates nearly twenty thousand men, women, and children fell victims to the sword before the town was set on fire.

Change in the character of the warfare. Then Simon de Montfort (1160?–1218) became the leader of the invaders. He was a skillful general. Quickly he took place after place, defeated the chief leaders of the southern forces, and then turned his attention to organizing and governing the captured provinces. Innocent, though rather reluctantly, confirmed him in possession of most of the lands belonging to Count Raymond. Still the war went on. It had become, more than before, a secular struggle between north and south. Southern Catholics fought side by side with southern heretics. Southern nobles and townsfolk whatever their creed, realized they would have to exert all their strength to maintain the virtual independence they had hitherto enjoyed against the encroaching feudalism of the north. For a moment the prospect seemed favorable. Simon was killed while besieging Toulouse. But Amauric de Montfort (1218–1241), unable to hold his father's gains, relinquished his interests to Louis VIII (1223–1226), who had become king of France. Louis, while still heir to the throne, had assisted in the war against the heretics. He knew all that was to be gained by making their lands a part of the kingdom. So, as soon as possible, he set out to accomplish the task. In 1226 he received the submission of all Languedoc. Louis IX (1226–1270) continued the struggle, and the end of the independence of the southern nobles was acknowledged in 1229 in a treaty signed in Paris. But, though the crown had now extended its rule over this distant corner of the country, heresy was not extinguished. Its extirpation required the unremitting activity of the Inquisition for yet a hundred years. From time to time the nobles and the people of the towns, roused to fury by confiscation and persecution, broke out in rebellion, but they were quickly suppressed with pitiless cruelty. Gradually the heretics

were thinned out. They hid in the marshes, forests, and mountains, where, of course, few converts were to be made; and in the second quarter of the fourteenth century they disappear from view.

Defects and merits of the heresy. One cannot disapprove too strongly the means by which this heresy was extinguished. Yet it must be acknowledged that it was not favorable to progress and civilization. It condemned the world as the work of Satan. It was a religion of despair. Why, then, did those cultured nobles and intelligent townsfolk accept and defend it? Perhaps because it satisfied the one demand of the time in being anti-sacerdotal. It swept away all relics and sacraments. It did away with all dependence upon a corrupt priesthood which claimed the right to bind and loose the minds as well as the souls of men. It responded to the developing individuality of the time. Then, too, it allied itself with the growing sentiment of nationality. It was espoused by the southerners who were opposed alike to the political encroachment of Paris and the ecclesiastical intrusion of Rome.

The Waldenses. One of the most sincere of all the attempts to restore what they believed to be the simplicity of Galilean Christianity was that of the Waldenses. It was begun by Peter Waldo (?–1197), a rich merchant of Lyons. He was deeply sympathetic with the hard lot of craftsmen and peasants who were "taxed when they were orthodox and burned when they were heretics". Having read a translation of the Gospels and certain passages from the writings of the fathers he became disillusioned about the character of the contemporary church. It was rich, powerful, worldly. It seemed the very opposite of the spirit and teachings of the peasant leader who so long ago had preached a kindly and simple way of life amid the hills of Galilee. So, about 1170, he sold his goods and gave the money to the poor, left his family, and went forth into the streets and roads preaching voluntary poverty. Soon his

ardent spirit, democratic feeling, and simple faith won many followers. They called themselves the Poor Men of Lyons; but they were given many nicknames, and in subsequent years they have been most generally known as Waldenses. Continually their numbers increased; and here and there they combined with similar bodies of dissenters. They declared that the *Bible* is the only religious law. They were opposed to the secularization of anything and anybody devoted to religion; and they stood positively for purity of heart and life. They asserted that the transformance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus could be effected only by priests whose lives were pure and whose faith was apostolic; and, later on, some of the more extreme groups denied the doctrine of transubstantiation altogether. They rejected the belief in purgatory, the value of relics, pilgrimages, and indulgences, and the fitness of venerating the saints. And they affirmed the right of all laymen to preach, without distinction of age or sex. These opinions were plainly subversive of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and were naturally regarded with extreme disfavor by its members. The Waldensian organization was very simple, resembling that of the Cathari. The more thoroughgoing, who gave all their time to religion, were called the Perfect. They led a much stricter life than the others. They declined to take oaths, spoke the truth always, were honest in their dealings, and refused to take life for any pretext or cause. Many of them earned their living by some lowly occupation, such as cobbling, tinkering, or peddling; while others, in a simple way, practiced medicine and surgery. Thus they were able to meet people in their homes and there unfold to them their spiritual mission. Those whose lives were less severe were known as the Faithful. All of them of whatever rank, placed greater emphasis upon conduct than creed. They clung tenaciously to their way of life, bravely facing death in order not to disavow it; while their enemies vainly tried to tarnish it by bringing

against them the most shameful charges. They were subjected to pitiless and unremitting persecution; but they spread in large numbers through southern France and nothern Italy. And their history still goes on, for, though they have by no means completely regained their footing in the cities, they reckon some fifty communities in the valleys of the Alps and elsewhere in Italy, and several important associations in Uruguay and Argentina.

The Amalricians. We have already dealt with the great mystics, heretical and otherwise. Here we have to notice only the more important of the heretical mystical sects. One of the earliest of these sects were the Amalricians. Amauri de Bene was born in the neighborhood of Chartres, and he seems to have been influenced by the pantheistic theories radiating from the famous school in that city. He was a subtle thinker, an interesting lecturer, and, at the dawn of the thirteenth century, enjoyed great popularity as a teacher of philosophy and theology in the University of Paris. God, he said, is immanent in everything; and in this changing world everything, including man, becomes God. Amauri died about 1207, and then his followers, mostly men of education and intelligence, carried his ideas still further. If deity is everything and everything is deity, how can there be evil? It is impossible for a true believer, no matter what he does, to commit sin. Such a doctrine might easily lead to immorality; and the enemies of the sect were not slow to charge them with having actually taken this step. They did not hesitate to persecute men whose theories abolished belief in purgatory and hell and nullified their claim to monopolistic control of the necessary means of salvation. In 1210 they burned ten members of the sect at the stake outside of the gates of Paris. But the heresy continued to spread. It found its way into many places in northern France, Switzerland, and Germany. Its adherents became especially numerous in the valley of the Rhine, where their thought seems to have infected the originally

orthodox communities of the Beghards. Scholastics wrote against this heresy. More and more the schoolmen relied upon Aristotle. Only through him, it seemed, could the pantheistic tendencies, to which Platonism always gave rise, be effectively checked and the dualism of God and man, which the church required, and which was the corner stone of scholasticism, be established in a philosophic manner. In 1225 Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) condemned Erigena's *De Divisione Naturæ* as being the source of this pantheistic heresy.

The Brethren of the Free Spirit. Among the many other mystical sects of the thirteenth century were the Brethren of the Free Spirit, with headquarters at Strasbourg. Their doctrines were derived from the Amalricians. They, too, were accused of immorality by their ecclesiastical enemies; and there is plenty of evidence to show that some of these sectaries, lacking the spiritual refinement of their fellows, did indulge in gross sensuality. Another pantheistical sect was that of the Friends of God. They taught that the divine spirit dwells in the soul of every man. They advocated a lay religion, in place of that controlled by a priesthood. Anyone, they said, who listens to the voice of divinity within him can accomplish far more than any worldly and unworthy priest. Similar views found their way among the Beguines, groups of women who had lost their husbands in the crusades; among the Franciscan Tertiaries; and among the strict Franciscans who were known as Fraticelli. But the history of these groups falls in the fourteenth century, the first century of the Renaissance.

Mysticism as an answer to the needs of the time. Mysticism was decidedly individualistic. It required no external means of grace which could be supplied only by a duly consecrated priesthood. It required only inward experience. Thus it answered the needs of the time. It satisfied, at least in part, the growing spirit of democracy, the reviving individuality that announced the coming of a new era. Everywhere the leaven of freedom, political, social,

religious, was fermenting beneath the surface. It was a time of change. Mighty energies were being released. The modern world was coming into being.

The punishment of heresy. The chief instrument used by the church in the detection and punishment of heresy was The Holy Inquisition. That formidable weapon was an institution of gradual growth. It did not spring from a decree, but from a practice, at first restricted in use, then gradually extended and perfected. In the first centuries of our era there is no trace of persecution by Christians because of difference in religious belief. But laws against heretics began to appear in the latter part of the fourth century, when Christianity had been made the state religion; and then they increased with marked rapidity. Imperial law banished from the state all religious dissenters who made their heresy public, confiscated their property, and, in some cases, even condemned them to death. Some of the fathers of that time approved mild forms of punishment; but all were opposed to the death penalty. Augustine favored only fines and exile. Chrysostom said that "to put a heretic to death would be to introduce upon earth an inexpiable crime". Not much is heard of the infliction of the ultimate penalty upon heresy in the subsequent centuries until, in 1022, thirteen Cathari were burned at the stake in Orléans. From that time on stranglings and burnings were numerous. They seem to have been the work chiefly of the people and the secular magistrates and rulers. There are many instances in which heretics were burned despite the opposition of the local bishops. But in the latter part of the twelfth century bishops became increasingly active in getting rid of dissenters.

Heresy made equal to high treason. There was much uncertainty, however, both as to the theory and the practice of punishing heresy. Peter II of Aragon (1196–1213) was probably the first secular sovereign to prescribe the death penalty for difference of opinion in religious matters. He

was a ruler of lands on both sides of the Pyrenees, and so had to do with the Albigenses. But the most powerful impulse to the development of the punishment of heresy was given by Innocent III. That pontiff, highly trained in the canon law, made heresy equal to high treason against temporal rulers, and thus made it entail all the terrible consequences of the greatest of secular crimes.

Heretics judged by bishops. Many executions then took place; but there was no definite organization and no generally recognized procedure for the detection, trial, and punishment of heretics. The matter was in the hands of the bishops; and, quite naturally, the practice of dealing with heretics varied from one diocese to another. Some bishops were zealous, others indifferent. Their action was too intermittent, variable, and scattered. But even the Inquisition was by no means perfect at first. It consisted only of temporary committees of friars who were instructed to make inquiries anent heretics in some particularly contaminated diocese. These committees, whose powers were almost unlimited, and whose proceedings were carried on in secret, yielded good results, however, and they were increased from time to time despite the protests of bishops who resented this invasion of their territories.

Establishment of the Inquisition. No definite date can be given for the establishment of the Inquisition. The tribunal was shaped gradually as experience dictated. But its permanency was due very largely to the bull *Ad extirpanda*, which, in 1252, Innocent IV (1243–1254), a notable student of the canon law and an able administrator, addressed to all the rulers of Italy. This papal decree required the establishment of machinery for the systematic punishment of heresy in every city and state in the peninsula. It was revised six times in the next thirteen years; and in this period of experimentation the Inquisition became generally recognized as the chief instrument in the detection and persecution of heresy.

The Dominicans and the Inquisition. Dominican friars were chosen as inquisitors. The institution was not formally and exclusively confided to that Order. Bishops continued for a time to have a voice in the proceedings; and some inquisitors were chosen from the Franciscans. But the Dominicans made the most satisfactory detectives. They were exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and were free from all territorial attachments. Many of them were well trained in the canon law, and all of them had devoted much time to the study of theology. They had been subjected to strict discipline. And the chief purpose of their Order was to refute heresy and maintain the orthodox faith. So they were better fitted than any other ecclesiastics of the time for the attempt to search out not only a man's words and deeds, but also the very thoughts and inclinations of his heart. And the extreme punishment of heresy was approved by the most illustrious member of their Order. "If false coiners or other felons are justly committed to death without delay by worldly princes", said Thomas Aquinas, "much more may heretics, from the moment they are convicted, be not only excommunicated, but slain justly out of hand".

Development of the Inquisition. The Inquisition was developed gradually by experiment. Dominican friars, sure they were serving divinity, became familiar with the beliefs and the subterfuges of heretics, skilled in ferreting them out, and in questioning them. The dread institution, enjoying immunity from the secular authorities, accumulated extensive records, had a police of its own, developed a fixed type of examination and a code of sentences, and, in the state, found a ready executioner. Justice, as we know it, was absent from its courts. Roman law had provided for the defense of the accused, but this provision was overthrown. The prisoner was helpless. His guilt was assumed until he could prove innocence. The procedure was secret. The names of the witnesses against him were concealed.

He was left without an advocate. It was useless for him to count on witnesses to help him, because they were practically certain to be suspected of sharing his heresy. Torture was applied at the discretion of the inquisitors. Why did secular rulers tolerate such an institution? They shared in the confiscated property of the victims. Sometimes, indeed, they got all of it. And many princes, then as now, were needy. And then, too, by carrying out the sentences of the inquisitional courts they bought "clerical support at the cheapest possible price". Only when confiscation began to injure industry and commerce did they take measures to restrict the sentences.

The witch persecution. At first this dark tribunal confined its attention to heresy; but "when, in the lands where it had found entrance, heresy was at last rooted out, when the souls of the faithful were safe and the hands of the inquisitors idle, then, as was natural, the hungry organization cast its eyes about for other victims". Gradually it turned its attention to witchcraft. A witch is a person, young or old, male or female, who is in league with Satan. In return for certain advantages to be enjoyed in this present life he has sold his soul to the Devil. He has, in some cases, agreed to help in the ruin of his fellow men. Very early the belief in a master demon and his legionaries was adopted by Christians; and then, somewhere about the ninth century, stories of written compacts between men and the Devil began to find their way from Byzantium into the West. These legends, retold in poems and plays, became widely popular and served to intensify curiosity regarding the interferences of the Devil in the affairs of men. At last sanction for the belief in the existence of these human allies and servants of Satan was given by the greatest of all the scholastics, Thomas Aquinas. What should be done with the witches? These men and women in league with the Devil, who had agreed to help in the eternal ruin of their fellows, were they not more subtle and dangerous than the heretics? The an-

swer was obvious. And so, with papal approbation, the Inquisition rapidly extended its jurisdiction to them. The dogma of witchcraft was challenged by some thinkers, especially by some Franciscans; but it was powerfully championed by Dominicans. Friar-inquisitors pointed to the terrible biblical command to "suffer not a witch to live", and to many other passages in the same book. They also appealed to other authorities, to canons of synods and councils, patristic and scholastic writings, legends of the saints, and papal opinions; but it was the support of the *Bible*, more than anything else, that won, not every one, but the great majority of people to their side. So the Inquisition proceeded with its work. It extracted confessions from its victims with torture. Who then could doubt the reality of the crime which the accused themselves confessed? "Torture was a new thing in procedure, as yet unknown outside the ecclesiastical courts", says George Lincoln Burr; "and two centuries of horrors must pass before men should learn that its victims may confess more than the truth". Persecution for witchcraft began in the thirteenth century, the last of the medieval age. It continued until, near the close of the seventeenth century, there was a last enactment of the terrible tragedy at Salem, in Massachusetts.

Heresy as a factor in the changing times. Many things of this time reveal a change in men's attitude towards life, a change rising out of the secular culture of the towns, out of the growing independence of the individual. This new culture was inherently hostile to feudalism and to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It was overflowing the old moral and intellectual boundaries. It was dissolving the old order of things. Its ideal was no longer asceticism and contemplation, devotion and obedience, resignation and self-denial, but work for the satisfaction of the individual and the improvement of society here and now, enjoyment of the present life,—will, strength, independence, dominion. This growing feeling of personality challenged the old restraining forces.

The things that were to determine the character of a new era were rapidly gaining strength. The richly colored sunset of medievalism was mingling with the pale dawn of the Renaissance. One of the most important factors in bringing about this change was heresy. From many of the heretics of this time we have much to learn, even to-day. If the predominant religion of our own time and country has a future it belongs, not to its dogmas, but to its heresies, to the thought of great souls who, instead of receiving it passively, have wrestled for themselves with spiritual problems, and have passed through the anguish of perplexity and the fire of persecution.

References for Further Reading

Original sources for this study are listed in the bibliography for chapter 20 of the sixth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History;* and many are named in the bibliographies, or indicated in the footnotes, of the books of such scholars as Henry Charles Lea and Maurice de Wulf. Very useful, too, is Louis J. Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History.* The best edition of the *Opera omnia* of Thomas Aquinas is that published between 1882 and 1918, at papal expense, at Rome. There is an English translation of his works by Dominican friars, which is published at London.

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médiévale, his *La philosophie au moyen âge*, and also his *The Philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, are the work of a scholarly and liberal Catholic. Ellen Scott Davison's *Forerunners of Saint Francis* has several useful chapters on the principal heretics of this time. Martin Grabmann, *Die Philosophie des Mittelalters;* and also his *Geschichte der scholastischen Method.* C. R. Harris, *Duns Scotus.* Charles H. Haskins's *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* has a chapter on the revival of philosophy. Adolf Hausrath, *Arnold von Brescia;* the same article may also be found in his *Weltverbesserer im Mittelalter.* Frederick May Holland, *The Rise of Intellectual Liberty.* B. Haureau's *Histoire de la philosophie scholastique*, now more than fifty years old, is still of fundamental importance. The best book dealing with implicit faith is Georg Hoffmann's *Die Lehre von der fides implicita.* Rufus M. Jones's little book on *The Church's Debt to Heretics* is a good introduction to the subject; and his *Studies in Mystical Religion* contains fine chapters on several of the leading mystics and heretics of the end of the Middle Ages. Charles V. Langlois, *L'inquisition d'après des travaux récents.* Pierre F. Mandonnet's *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au moyen âge* is the standard work on that notable heretic and includes the works ascribed to him. Charles Molinier, *L'Inquisition dans le Midi de la France.* Henry Charles Lea's monumental *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* remains, as Lord Acton described it in 1888, the "most important contribution of the new world to the religious history of the old"; the author's "information is comprehensive, minute, exact, and everywhere sufficient, if not everywhere complete"; his three volumes are the result "of labors such as no man ever achieved before him, or will ever attempt hereafter"; no other work on the same subject equals "their profound and admirable erudition". W. E. H. Lecky, *Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe.* Wilhelm Preger, *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter.* Reginald Lane Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning* is very valuable for our present study. Charles de Remusat, *Abélard.* Ernest Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroïsme.* Hermann F. Reuter, *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter.* Joseph Rickaby, *Scholasticism.* Carl Schmidt's *Histoire de la secte des Cathares ou Albigeois* is still the most important work on the subject. Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Medieval*

Mind. Abbé E. Vacandard's *The Inquisition* is the work of a scholarly and fair-minded priest; see also his fine article on Arnold of Brescia in volume 35 of the *Revue des Questions Historiques.* Gioacchino Volpe, *Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali nella società medievale italiana.* Dom Joseph Vaissète. *Histoire de Languedoc.* Maurice de Wulf's *History of Medieval Philosophy* is an excellent survey of the subject, written from a rather conservative point of view, and containing very useful lists of references.

CHAPTER 29

MEDIEVAL ART

Architecture as an expression of the spirit of the time. The art that has the closest and widest relation to the life of a people, to its wants, its habits and culture, and which gives the most complete expression to its temper, its imagination and its intelligence, is architecture. Sculpture and painting and literature are predominantly individual arts. A statue or a painting or a poem gives expression chiefly to the spirit of the man who carved or painted or wrote it. Architecture, however, is essentially a communal art. It is not the miracle of a single brain. It gives voice to the ideals animating the mass of the people. Every architectural style is above all else an expression of the spirit of the age that gave it birth. It is like a great chorus or a vast orchestra, rather than like a solo played or sung by a single artist. No other art, therefore, reveals the intellectual interests and the emotional spirit of a people or a period with such clarity and such fidelity. It is less plastic than poetry, less subtle than music, less varied than painting; but it gives an unrivaled expression to general intellectual interests and elemental emotional moods, revealing them to the world with epic power. It is always and inevitably a reflection of the life and thought of the people who produced it.

Romanesque architecture. The architecture of the earlier medieval centuries is usually called Romanesque. It was first completely established, about the beginning of the sixth century, in Italy. It was derived mainly from the Roman building of the later imperial time; but it was affected here and there by influences coming from the Byzantines, the Saracens, and the Normans. There were, naturally, many variations of it, among them being those of Lombardy,

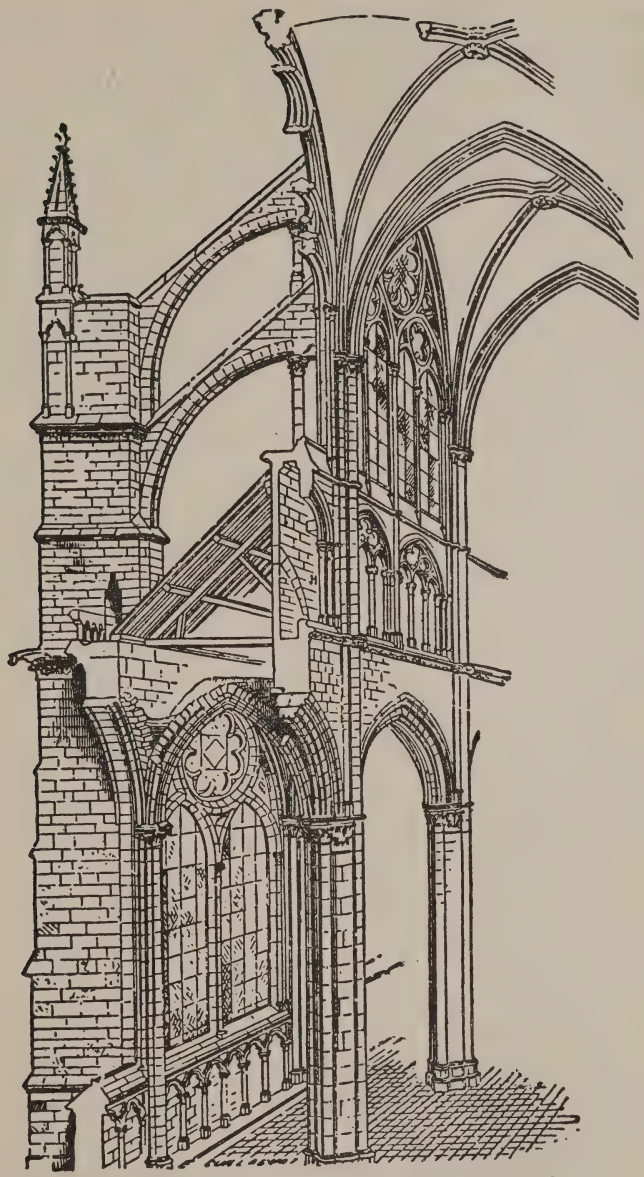
Provence, and Normandy. All these local variations, however, employed round arches, were characterized by a general massiveness, displayed a fundamental similarity beneath their differences, and were obviously derived in the main from Rome. Romanesque was not a mere corrupted imitation, the last echo, of Roman architecture. It used what was left of the Roman tradition, the column and the round arch; but it was a new thing, the slowly matured product of four or five hundred years and of many influences. Roman in plan and construction, its spirit was nevertheless not classic, but medieval. At first crude and tentative in manner, stark, strong, enduring, it gradually improved in design and construction until it attained the stately dignity and serenity of such a church as that of the Abbey of Vézelay.

Gothic architecture. Yet the barbarians who had overwhelmed the empire did not produce a distinctive architectural mode of their own until the beginning of the style that long afterwards came to be known as Gothic. Gothic is therefore the first direct and thoroughgoing attack of the northern peoples upon Romanesque, upon a style which, with all its variations from one locality to another, retained a great deal that was Roman. It was the embodiment of a great thought. It was the expression of a profound conviction of the northern peoples. It was the first revelation of the northern spirit in art, the spirit that can be fed only by adventure, that searches for height and cannot be satisfied with the low and gloomy interior of the Romanesque. This explains the enthusiasm to which it gave rise everywhere in the northern lands and the zeal with which the people, despite the great difficulties to be overcome, spontaneously set to work to build churches in the new style.

The three elements of Gothic architecture. What is Gothic architecture? Strictly speaking there are only three essential elements in a Gothic building: (1) piers, or pillars; (2) arches, or vaulting; and (3) buttresses. These three elements, as may be seen in the accompanying plan, constitute

a structural framework; and in this framework, alone, reside all the indispensable features of the style. The walls, windows, doors, spires, statuary, and other parts and adornments are all accessory to this framework. The complete design of the building is determined by this skeleton form; and in that form, rather than in the walls, resides its strength. Each of these three parts of the framework has a distinct structural function of its own. The piers support the arches, or vaulting; the vaulting supports the ceiling and the roof; and the buttresses resist the lateral thrust of the vaults. Walls are unnecessary, save to keep out the wind and rain. They are not needed to carry the weight of the ceiling and roof, for that, as we have seen, is done by the piers and the vaults. They may, therefore, be replaced by very large windows. This was done in a remarkable way in the building of the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, one of the most spiritual buildings in the world, which resembles a great lantern. In this beautiful building there are no walls, but only tall and slender piers between which the wide spaces of crimson glass glow like a sunset. It was done in an even more remarkable manner in the fairylike church of Saint Urbain at Troyes. This architectural eggshell, built about 1263, is an airy and beautiful example of fragile grace. Its walls seem literally to be built of glass, so slender are the stone shafts between the windows, so entirely is it uplifted and upheld by its piers and by its flying buttresses that stretch away from the roof and delicate sides transmitting the thrust of the vaults to the ground. This skeleton framework of the Gothic church was the result of an evolution. It did not spring suddenly into being. Only gradually was it conceived and perfected as a logical unity. Only in the course of time was its significance fully realized and all its emphasis and power displayed.

Development of the piers. And just as the framework as a whole, nervous and vibrant with life, was the result of a gradual growth, so, too, did each of its three parts undergo



Courtesy of Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer

A Section of the Nave of the Cathedral of Amiens

refinement and development. At first the piers were single round columns, heavy and massive, like those of the Romanesque churches; but little by little they became slender; and then, instead of a single column, a group of shafts was used, for this made the pillar appear even more slender than it was. The multiple pier had another advantage over the single column in addition to that of being slenderer and more elegant. It was more logical. It was more organically related to the vaulting that rested on it. It continued the lines from the highest point of the ceiling to the ground.

Development of the vaulting. Romanesque ceilings, when made of stone or brick, were barrel vaults. In the later medieval centuries they were no longer satisfactory. They could not span wide spaces, for the powerful lateral thrust of the wide round arch would require too thick a wall to resist it. Nor could they soar very high, because a round arch can rise only to the height of one half its diameter. With them it was impossible to have a wide building; and they failed to give the lofty appearance which is so necessary to the Gothic effect. But when the arch became pointed the buildings could be made wider and higher, for the pointed arch has a much less powerful lateral thrust than the round arch; and, with a given span, it can be made to soar to any height. The use of the pointed arch stimulated invention. The vaults were split. They radiated out like the ribs of a fan. The spaces between the vaults were filled with ribs; and the spaces between the ribs were filled with thin pieces of stone, each one fitted into its place like the stones in an arch. The thin and concave slabs of stone filling the spaces between the ribs and forming the ceiling are not, structurally, an integral part of the framework of the building. They are needed only as a protection against the storms of winter. And likewise the roof that rises above them is a superstructure imposed upon the stone framework of the building. We can see the ribs collecting the pressure, both vertical and lateral, of the ceiling and conveying it to the vaults; and

then we can see the vaults carrying it on, in great sheaves or bundles of sinewy lines, to the cluster of shafts that form the pier, and which, in their turn, transmit the vertical pressure to the ground. As time went on these vaults and ribs became lighter and lighter, and they soared higher and higher.

Development of the buttresses. The pointed arch enabled the builders to concentrate the thrust of the vault at the points where the vaults descended to the piers. The vertical thrust was met by the piers, which rested on the ground. The lateral thrust was met at the point of greatest pressure by buttresses outside the building. At first these buttresses were ponderous masses of stone; and, from top to bottom, they were attached to the wall. But the pointed arch, while it increased the vertical thrust, reduced the lateral pressure of the vault, and so the architects were enabled to use lighter and more graceful buttresses. As the evolution of the style went on they invented the flying buttress. Buttress was thrown out beyond buttress, each resting on a separate foundation, until the lateral thrust of the vault was finally resisted by the ground.

Gothic architecture best fitted for churches. Such is the skeleton framework of a Gothic building. Only in churches can it be used logically, consistently, and completely; and only in such a building, therefore, can the style be fully embodied. Many secular buildings, such as castles, episcopal palaces, and town halls, had Gothic characteristics; but only in church buildings, inspired by the religious zeal of the time, was the soaring spirit of the new style fully expressed.

Energy as a characteristic of Gothic architecture. The constant pressure exerted by the ribs and vaults and its resistance by the piers and buttresses gives to Gothic architecture the quality of energy, of action; and this quality is one of the characteristics that differentiate it from all the other styles of architecture, particularly from that of

the ancient Greeks. Repose, contentment, fulfillment, satisfaction,—these are the things to which Greek architecture gives expression. The Greek ideal of life was that of a sound mind in a sound body. It is an ideal that man can reach. And it was reached. It was completely attained. Then life was fulfilled. There was nothing more for which to strive; no vision of a far-off future, unattainable in the present life, filled the heart with longing and disturbed the soul with dream. The Greek was concerned only with the present life. He placed a lintel of stone upon two upright columns, and there it was able to sleep until the stones dissolved. The horizontal lines of his temples keep the eyes close to earth. And so, like his philosophy, his architecture is informed with the spirit of repose. But the arch never sleeps. It is full of energy. Its stones are kept in place only by the equally tireless counterthrust of the buttresses which sometimes leap through the air to meet the opposing force. All the lines of rib, vault, pillar, and buttress became light, sinewy, and lofty; and so they convey the sense of a vital and unending movement, and, together with those of the tall windows and the pinnacles and spires, they carry the eye away from earth, with which the medieval man was so slightly concerned, and let it penetrate, with his thoughts, into the fathomless depths of the sky. And always there is the stress, the ceaseless stress, of vault and buttress, the agony of medieval life. In their own image and likeness did the men of the later medieval centuries bring to perfection the energetic and aspiring art of the Gothic church.

Beginning of Gothic architecture. Where did Gothic architecture begin? It is not easy to say. Some buildings have disappeared entirely, others have been greatly changed, and in many cases we are uncertain of the date of construction. In the eleventh century pointed arches were used in Lombardy. Those buildings, however, continue to depend upon the walls. They show no tendency to develop a skele-

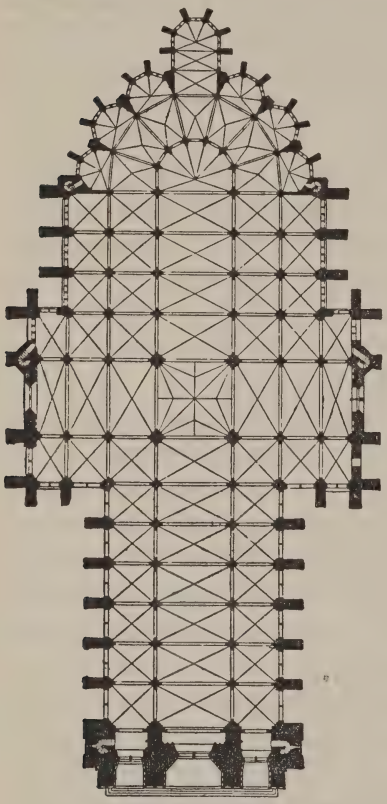
ton system. Perhaps we shall not be very far wrong if we say that the beginning of the new style, in a more or less hesitating manner, may be seen in the church of the Abbey of Morienval, somewhat less than forty miles from Paris. That church, however, built about 1122, is still predominantly Romanesque. The new principle of vaulting is to be seen there only in one part of the building; and, even there, only in its germinal stage. Far more definitely is the new style displayed in the church of the Abbey of Saint-Denis, only five miles from Paris. Abbé Suger (1081?–1151), it will be remembered, was one of the greatest statesmen of his time. He was made abbot in 1122; but for some years he was occupied with the temporal affairs of the kingdom. Then he undertook the task of reforming his rich and powerful monastery, where the royal insignia were kept, the crown and scepter, the garments and ornaments used at the coronation of the kings, and the national oriflamme, and of building for it a new church. He began the construction in 1131, six years later he consecrated the choir, and in ten years the entire church was completed. Up to this time the use of the pointed arch had been rare and restricted; and it had not led to any consistent change in the method of vaulting. It had not shaped any other features of the framework. Abbé Suger, however, employed this generating member with an intelligent understanding of its consequences. He united definitely the pointed arch and the intersecting ribs. Thus he concentrated their thrust at the points where their sinewy lines descended to the piers. Then he dared to make the piers so slender that the beholders were astonished they could carry the weight of a stone ceiling. And, still further, he dared to open his walls with windows so large that people called his choir the lantern of Saint-Denis. Most of the work completed by the great abbot has been destroyed; but we can see in what remains of it, for the first time among existing buildings, the essential framework, though in an elementary stage, of the Gothic style.

Progress of the Gothic style. Comparatively there was only slight fulfillment of the possibilities of the new style in the abbatial church of Saint-Denis; but there was abundant promise. In the following half century development was constantly accelerated. Skill in the application of the new system of vaulting increased with practice. Soon the builders saw that it involved essential and extensive changes in every part of the structure. Wider and loftier interiors were gained without a corresponding increase in the weight of the ceiling; for the vaults with their elaborately intersecting ribs, made of smaller and smaller stones as time went on, concentrated the thrust, made it more vertical than lateral, and conveyed it directly to the piers, where it was carried to the ground or met by the counterthrust of the buttresses. Something of this progress may be seen in the cathedral of Noyon, which lies about sixty-seven miles northeast of Paris, though, quite naturally, a good deal of the building is still Romanesque. The western front is very severe, yet it is instinct with sober benignity; the nave has a soaring lightness; and the church as a whole is a bold advance in the development of the new style. Further advance is to be seen in the earlier parts of the cathedral of Senlis, situated thirty-four miles northeast of Paris. One should not be misled, of course, by the later parts of this building, which, owing to the limited resources of the diocese, was not completed until the sixteenth century was well under way.

Some of the larger Gothic cathedrals. Of the larger cathedrals the one in which the principles of the new style were first systematically and completely employed is that of Paris. Begun in 1163 with the choir, it was finished in 1235 with the raising of the western towers. Every functional member (vaults and ribs, piers and buttresses) is there fully developed, though not as slender and refined as in later buildings. The interior, in which the crusaders under Louis IX heard mass, has an austere majesty; while the façade, in dignity and sobriety, and in the beauty of its details,

has hardly been surpassed. Alike in nobility of plan and fidelity of feeling this church, built on an island in the river, is an architectural glory. In 1194, thirty years after the cathedral of Paris was begun, workmen laid the corner stone of that of Chartres. The town, fifty-five miles southwest of Paris, had long been a center of learning. In 1260 the new church, not yet entirely finished, was consecrated in the presence of Louis IX. Set on an easy hill, with a little town crowding about it, this cathedral dominates a wide and fertile plain, contains the most beautiful glass, and glories in the most perfect spires in France. Rheims, ninety-eight miles east of Paris, was begun in 1211 and was completed in its main parts by the end of the century. Cruelly injured as it was in the recent war we may still see the impressive nave, so bold and free yet stately, and the majestic façade, with its great towers, its gallery filled with statues, and its deeply recessed portals, one of the finest expressions of the Gothic ideal. Most perfect of all the Gothic churches, however, is the great cathedral of Amiens. It is situated eighty-one miles north of Paris. No one of these great cathedrals was entirely completed within one definite period of the evolution of Gothic architecture, but the one that came nearest to it is Amiens. Begun in 1220 it was finished, almost as we see it now, in less than seventy years. And the period in which it is built is the best, having neither the heaviness of the new style when it was struggling to emerge from the Romanesque nor the too florid decoration, the wanton magnificence, of the waning time when it became flamboyant. Its builders were able to profit by the experience of others. The nave soars confidently to the height of one hundred and forty feet above the floor; and vaults and ribs, piers and buttresses, are refined to a degree beyond which it could not have been carried with safety. Lofty and yet restrained, it is the last word in audacity and wisdom of construction. Here, more than anywhere else, the long slender lines rush upward and fling their passion

against the sky, while far away, at the end of a long vista, glimmers the golden candlelight of the altar in the choir. A popular summing up of the supreme achievements of Gothic building is "the façade of Paris, the tower of Chartres, the sculpture of Rheims, and the nave of Amiens".



Courtesy of The University Prints

Ground plan of the Cathedral of Amiens

Further development of Gothic architecture. Every part of a Gothic church naturally underwent a process of development. Piers became slender. They had to be thick enough only to bear the weight of the vaults. Eventually the pier came to be a central column surrounded, in part at least, by shafts which rose from the pavement to support the vaults. Vaults became lighter and loftier. And the ribs that rested on them and helped them to bear the ceiling, which was made of thin stones concaved in all directions, were also refined. Buttresses, meeting the outward thrust of the vaults, became lighter and more graceful with their double, triple, and even fourfold flights; some leaping in simple grandeur, others highly wrought with delicate moldings and traceries. The eastern end of the church, the apse, where the high altar stood, experienced an interesting evolution. With few exceptions the eastern termination is semicircular in France. The only notable square eastern end

in that country is that of the cathedral of Laon. The round apse is more poetic in appearance than the square, though the latter can be very beautiful, and with its complicated vaults gives abundant opportunity for invention and calls for the most delicate architectural skill. The triumphant virtuosity of the Gothic builders can be seen in the apse of the cathedral of Amiens. Transepts vary very greatly from one church to another. They are only of slight projection, and are without aisles, at Paris; while they are deeper and with aisles at Amiens. At the end of each transept there is usually a door, sometimes very large and richly adorned with sculpture as at Paris and Chartres. Then the western end, where the main entrance to the church is to be found, had to be carefully considered. It had to be dignified and impressive and, at the same time, to represent as truthfully as possible the structure of the building of which it was the front. Of these façades the more magnificent, with their deeply recessed portals and their noble towers, are those at Paris, Amiens, and Rheims. The spire is the most obvious feature of a Gothic church. It soars aloft, carrying the eye upwards until vision is lost in the blue abyss above. It tells its story simply and directly. It symbolizes both the municipal pride and the spiritual aspirations of the men who built it and of those for whom it was built. But architecturally it presented a difficult problem. How should an octagonal spire rise, with stability and beauty, from a square tower? In the middle of the twelfth century this task in building was successfully accomplished. The transition from a square base to an octagonal spire with a just and skillful proportioning of the various parts was contrived in a manner never to be surpassed in the southern tower and spire of the cathedral of Chartres. The present northern spire of that cathedral was not built until the sixteenth century. It is therefore more elaborate than the earlier one; but is not as chaste and beautiful. Something of the grace and refinement which the thirteenth century was to give to

Gothic architecture may be seen in the spire of the cathedral of Senlis; while the elaborate skill of a later century is revealed in the two airy spires, networks of stone through which is seen the blue sky, of the cathedral of Burgos in Spain.

Medieval sculpture. Romanesque architecture, especially in its later years, used sculpture as an ancillary art, but only to a very limited extent. Gothic architecture employed it freely; and not merely as an accessory, not only as an ornament that might easily be dispensed with, but as an intimate part of the building, skillfully subordinated to the structural lines. Elongated statues were often placed against the walls, in motionless attitudes, their arms hanging straight and close to their sides, or crossed on their breasts. Thus the human body was made to look something like a column. In this manner statues were given "a strange look of forming part of the very building itself, and of sustaining it". Most of the life and expression of the statues are to be found in the faces, some of which are very lifelike. Here and there, too, one finds an entire figure full of life, natural and graceful in gesture, refined, beautiful, noble. Towards the close of the thirteenth century statues tended to emerge from the mass of the building, to stand forth in the round, to lose their strict harmony with the structure, and to become the object of more special attention; yet they did not entirely lose their architectural feeling. Medieval sculpture is often to be seen at its best in the great doorways of the churches, especially in those of the western façades. A host of sculptured figures guards the deep porches of Paris, Amiens, and Chartres. One of the most beautiful of all medieval statues is that of the Beau Dieu over the central door of Amiens. In addition to these statues in the round, or in high relief, the chiseled story of heaven and earth, every Gothic church has much carving in low relief of foliage and flowers and beasts and birds, of ivy, ferns, and strawberry leaves, of roses, violets, and gera-

niums, of water cress and parsley, of apples and pears, and of such faithful helpers of man as the ox, the ass, and the horse. This sculpture is not repeated with the exactitude of the stencil. Every leaf is carved separately and spontaneously. Much of it is done with delicate truth and grace, as if youth and springtime were enchanted in the stone; and all of it adds to the sense of life palpitating in the building.

Gothic windows. When Gothic architecture rendered the inclosing walls unessential to the strength of the building, the size and shape of the window openings at once became optional. Windows could be made as large as the builders desired, for all the space intervening between the piers became available for them. Yet in the early buildings of the new style massive walls filled the space between the piers and the window openings were small, and often they were round arched. Gradually, however, the apertures were enlarged. When this was done the pressure of the wind had to be considered. Something had to be done to prevent the glass from bulging inward when the wind blew a gale. Narrow columns of stone, called mullions, were employed. At first the designs of the mullions were severely geometric, but, as time went on, the stone bars branched out at the tops of the tall windows in elaborate tracery. These mullions and traceries, in themselves, greatly enriched the beauty of the windows. Among the beautiful creations of this tracery are the rose windows. They are circular openings divided by mullions radiating from the center, or filled with tracery suggestive of the form of a rose. The first large one, after which the others were patterned, is that of the church of Notre Dame at Nantes, some forty miles down the river from Paris. Sometimes a rose was inserted in a great window with a pointed arch; and then delicate feeling and technical skill were required to harmonize them.

Colored glass. We have no definite knowledge of the beginning of the art of stained glass windows. It is certain,

however, that colored glass came from the East. It found its way to Byzantium, to Venice, and then to France. Late in the tenth century, we are told, a colony of Venetian workers in colored glass settled at Limoges; but the story of those nameless craftsmen and their apprentices in the following century is very vague and uncertain. Like so many other things, it has disappeared in the irrevocable past. We know little about colored glass in the western lands before the opening of the twelfth century. How was stained glass colored? Glass is melted sand. In order to give it color, or to stain it, a metallic oxide was mixed with the molten white glass in the melting pot; ferric oxide for green, copper oxide for crimson, and manganese oxide for violet. Thus the glass became green, or red, or yellow, or blue, or purple as the craftsman desired. The color was in the glass, not painted on the surface. To-day, with our swift and powerful machinery, we are able to roll a large mass of glass in a viscous state, like dough, with iron rollers into a wide sheet. But in those days it was not possible to make large sheets of glass. Only small pieces, uneven in thickness, could be made.

Glazing. In order to make a window of any size it was necessary to bind together many small pieces of glass, cut into the shapes that were desired, with strips of lead. Long and slender strips of lead, with narrow channels in each side, were wound around between the bits of glass, the edges of the glass were fitted into the slits on each side of the lead, and the strips were soldered together where they met. Thus was a window made of many pieces of variously tinted glass held together securely by the grooved strips of lead. This cutting and putting together of the glass is called glazing.

Storied windows. At first, as we have seen, the window openings were comparatively small; and they were without mullions. And at this time the windows were merely jeweled lights. They were "richly dight," but they were not "storied" windows. Gradually, however, the desire to teach,

to tell a story, made itself felt. The glazier was required to do something more than fill the apertures with jewelry of glass. He had to put figures in his windows. He had to recite the biblical narratives and to tell the legends of the saints. It was not possible, however, to make satisfactory representations with small pieces of glass of the folds of drapery, of the rich surface of brocaded vestments, and of the faces of men and women. So he resorted to paint. He painted these things on pieces of glass that were already appropriately colored. He painted them in an opaque brownish enamel made up of metals ground up with glass with a low melting-point. Then the painted glass was placed in a kiln and heated until the enamel melted and became a part of the glass on which it was painted. Such glass may be described as stained-and-painted glass. From this time on, slowly at first and then with accelerated pace, glass windows became less and less mere jeweled lights and more and more pictorial, until in the sixteenth century they became almost entirely so under the influence of the Renaissance.

Jeweled windows. Early medieval windows, then, are made up of a multitude of small pieces of stained glass. Each separate patch of color always meant a separate piece of glass. Byzantine mosaics furnished an abundance of appropriate designs. Mosaicists lent their skill and taste to this new art, and so stained glass spread rapidly. The glazier wound slender and supple strips of lead around and between the bits of glass demanded by the design. The black lines of the lead did not lessen the beauty of the window. They increased it. They helped the drawing, which otherwise might have been too indistinct, by providing definite outlines. A window of flaming jewelry, intense and brilliant, not a picture, was what the early glaziers desired. The color was in the pieces of glass. Their surface was not obscured by paint. So they were translucent and brilliant. Then, too, the coloring matter was unequally

diffused throughout each piece of this pot-metal glass; a piece of green glass, for instance, would not be evenly green in all its parts; and no two pieces were of the same thickness or were surfaced alike. There were bubbles and blisters and other opacities. From a mechanical point of view the glass was, therefore, very imperfect. An even tone, such as results from more mechanically perfect methods of making glass, was impossible. But this very unevenness helped to break up the light rays. And the early glazier was keenly alive to the value of this unevenness of tint. He knew it helped to produce the effect of a window full of richly colored jewels, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, glistening and tremulous. He also knew that color in a stained glass window is not absolute. It is always affected by neighboring color. Blue is so radiating that it always modifies the near by tones. Red, on the contrary, absorbs light, and so it has only a slight influence upon contiguous colors. The beautiful effects of this modifying power of stained glass may be seen in the rose window of the north transept of Notre Dame at Paris, one of the most glorious of all the great rose windows in the world. There seems to be a good deal of lavender and purple in that window, but it is an illusion produced by the influence of blue upon red. Early in the fourteenth century the palette of the glazier was greatly enriched. It was discovered that if the blowpipe is dipped first into liquid glass of one color and then into liquid glass of another color the bubble, when blown, is of one color inside and of another outside. The bubble may then be opened out into a flat sheet in the customary manner, but a sheet with two colors. Many new tints could now be obtained. An imperial purple could be gained by coating a piece of red glass with blue, while blue on yellow gave a brilliant green. Then, in the waning sunlight of the afternoon, the great windows burned in more glorious colors than before and a deeper appeal was made by the grave and mysterious beauty of the house of God.

Mullions and tracery. The window openings of the twelfth century are filled with large single lights in which the glass is supported by the lead strips and by iron bars; but the following century saw the gradual evolution of mullions and tracery till at its close the great window, filling all the space between two piers, had become a row of narrow lancets divided by slender mullions which branched in the upper part of the window into an elaborate tracery of roses, quatrefoils, trefoils, and little openings of many shapes and sizes.

The appeal of Gothic windows. This division by mullions and tracery, and by the lead strips that held the glass together, was the only pronounced form possessed by the windows of those centuries. The figures of saints and angels were as yet comparatively few and inconspicuous. The beauty of the windows of that time is in their color, far more than in their form. They are glowing lights of colored jewels. They light the gloom of the great church with rich and deep color, solemn and dreamy. They make a deeper emotional appeal than do those of later times that are definitely pictorial. Form addresses itself to the intellect, but color speaks directly to the feelings. There is something deep down in us that vibrates in answer to the appeal of color. Color is the language of the soul made articulate. Early stained glass windows were resplendent in color and vague in form. The ideal of the early and unknown glaziers was not a picture, but a window with rich, deep, pure color, a window with jewel-like effect. Their work may be seen better than anywhere else, perhaps, at León; and very beautifully, indeed, at Chartres. At Chartres the "unsubstantial pageant faded" of the medieval world is something more than a memory. "To sit there upon some summer afternoon", says Lewis Day, "when the light is softened by a gentle fall of rain, is to be thrilled by the beauty of it all. It is as though, in a dream, you found yourself in some huge cavern, lit only by the light of jewels, myriads of them gleaming darkly through the gloom. It is

difficult to imagine anything more mysterious, solemn, or impressive". But even more perhaps do the windows at León fill the heart with the long echoes of beauty. These beautiful windows are an expression of the vein of mysticism that ran through medieval life, and that, like the stained glass, can be traced to its home in the East.

The land of Gothic architecture. All the great cathedrals we have mentioned in noting the rise and tracing the development of Gothic architecture would easily be contained in a circle drawn with a radius of a hundred miles from Paris. A part of that district was known as the Île-de-France; and most of it lay within the royal domain. It was the most fruitful soil for all the splendid wealth of medieval culture. There the awakening spirit of nationality was fostered by the king, and the progressive burghers were given liberal charters of self-government. Peace was more likely to prevail there than in the lands of the more turbulent feudal nobles. For long there had been a notable school at Chartres; and in the thirteenth century all the western world acknowledged the intellectual leadership of the University of Paris. Dawn was at last dispelling night. A fusion had been going on there, as elsewhere, of Roman, Celt, and Frank. It was a happy blend, in which practical and poetical qualities were combined. Silent for so many centuries the townsfolk had at last won a fair measure of political liberty and had greatly improved their social conditions. It was they who built all the new churches not belonging to a monastery. It was they who built the great cathedrals. City vied with city in raising each a loftier and more glorious shrine than the other. An unusual conjunction of influences, racial and cultural, spiritual and material, combined to produce the new architectural style. Art and learning were leaving the cloister, where for so long they had been sheltered, and were spreading from town to town. Builders, sculptors, glaziers were no longer celibate monks. They were secular craftsmen, who wandered from place to

place, carrying with them their artistic ideals and their technical skill, living the life of the world, loving wine, and women, and song; their exuberant fancies chastened, no doubt, by the realization of the fact that the building on which they were at work was the house of God. To them it is we owe the swift and resolute creation of this new architectural form.

Gothic architecture in other lands. The new style which these secular craftsmen developed spread in all directions from the Île-de-France. And everywhere it found its way it was affected by the racial characteristics of the peoples who adopted it and by the circumstances of the physical environment. In Normandy the Gothic churches suggest above all else the power and strength of the people who built them. In Provence they have nothing of the virility of the north and are never wholly disengaged from the flowering period of the Romanesque. In Germany the new style made headway rather slowly, and even such a building as the cathedral of Freiburg, completed in 1270, is still very imperfectly Gothic. Several great cathedrals were built, very largely by French architects and craftsmen, in Spain, among them being León, Burgos, and Toledo. Yet even these were modified by the racial characteristics of the people of those districts, by the climate, and by the architectural survivals of the Visigoths and the Moors. And not until the middle of the thirteenth century did Gothic gain much of a footing in Italy. The new style was altogether foreign to the genius of the Italians. It was so predominant that they could not altogether escape it; but they never adopted it in a whole-hearted manner. There is no true Gothic church in all the peninsula. We must remember that those people had maintained an unbroken connection with the pagan past, and that some of their finest churches were pagan temples appropriated to the rites of Christianity. Their climate and landscape, their instincts and their social traditions, were all antagonistic to the new style. Every-

where about them were architectural memories of the bygone days of pagan Rome. And then, too, the commerce of their cities kept them in touch with the eastern Mediterranean, where they saw the masterpieces of Byzantine architecture, and whence came masons and mosaic workers to build and adorn in a style more acceptable to the southern temperament. The northern imagination is stirred mainly by the unknown, the southern by the known. The northerner is in love with the unseen, the southerner with the seen. To-day the chief art of the north is music, of all the arts the least dependent upon the facts of reality, the most dependent upon the mind and heart of its creator. The racial character of the Italians made them reluctant to adopt the vertical lines of Gothic so they modified them wherever possible with horizontal lines, with lines that keep the eyes close to the earth, that do not soar in the dim interior to the lofty ceiling, or outside to the blue sky. The Italians knew what they wanted. Their genius did not dwell above the earth, but on it, in the heart of its warm life. Their deepest instincts attached them to the horizontal principle in architecture. When they attempted the new style they were speaking in an alien tongue. So everywhere they restrained the vertical tendency. They insisted upon breadth as well as height. They continued to employ round arches as well as pointed ones; and so the eye was not carried swiftly to the apex but was brought back by the gradual curve to earth. And in that southern land the spire was rarely built. The dome prevailed. And even this modified Gothic did not last long in Italy. Very soon the sunlight of the mind began to show itself there in the architecture of the Renaissance. Gothic went on its way in the north, however, culminating in the fluid forms of window tracery, lace-like portals, and other sophisticated elaborations, that we call flamboyant. It reflected faithfully the spirit of its time, a spirit which had reached the end of its career, the closing years of the Middle Ages.

References for Further Reading

The chief original sources for this study are, naturally, those buildings, statues, and windows of the medieval period that are still in existence. Of the printed material the most important is Jules Quicherat's facsimile reproduction of Villard de Honnecourt's famous *Sketchbook*, the little leather-bound original of which, with some of the pages missing, may be seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The book contains sixty-three sketches, and is the record of travel and study in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Hungary. Interesting comments on medieval church building are to be found in Abbé Suger's *De consacratione ecclesiæ Sancti Dionysii*. See the bibliography for the first part of chapter 22 of the sixth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*.

The fascinating pages of Henry Adam's *Mont Saint Michel and Chartres*, of which the illustrated edition should be used, should be read with care. "Adams was superficial student", says George Gordon Coulton, "and the whole book, in spite of the author's real ability and the interest of his subject, is full of false impressions. Under a style which implies a vast reserve of learning from which the writer is drawing almost at random, he conceals a frequent ignorance of the most important documents". Hugh Arnold's *Stained Glass in the Middle Ages* is the best introduction to the subject. Francis Bond's *Introduction to English Church Architecture* is the most helpful book on the subject. Heinrich Bergner's *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunstaltertümer in Deutschland* is recent and encyclopedic. Charles Amos Cummings's *A History of Italian Architecture from Constantine to the Renaissance* is popular, dependable, and liberally illustrated. The second chapter, written by W. R. Lethaby, of *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, edited by C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob, is devoted to medieval art. Georges Durand's *Monographie de l'église Notre Dame d'Amiens*, the best book on the subject, is a notable publication. Louis Demaison's *Album de la cathédrale de Reims* contains a masterly "notice historique". Martin Shaw Briggs's *The Architect in History* contains a fine chapter on the architects of the Middle Ages. Yves Delaporte's *Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres* is a gorgeous book and is the best attempt to suggest the jeweled translucence of medieval glass. Lewis F. Day's *Windows* is the standard book

on the subject in English; and his *Stained Glass* is a subsequently written handbook. Georg Dehio's *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, of which the first two volumes bring us down to the sixteenth century, is a monumental work to which the medieval historian is deeply indebted. Max Dvořák's essay on *Idealismus und Naturalismus in der gotischen Skulptur und Malerei*, published in volume 119 of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, and also separately, is one of the best things on the subject. Camille Enlart's *Origines françaises de l'architecture gothique* and his *Architecture religieuse en France* are worthy successors of the books of Viollet-le-Duc. Chapters ten and fourteen of Havelock Ellis's *The Soul of Spain* deal with the cathedrals of Barcelona and Seville. Sir Thomas Graham Jackson's *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*, his *Reason in Architecture*, and his *Gothic Architecture in France, England, and Italy* are the books of a practicing architecture and an accomplished scholar. Fiske Kimball and George Edgell, *A History of Architecture*. V. Lamperez y Romea's *Arquitectura Christiana en la Edad Media* is an authoritative source of information about Gothic architecture in Spain. W. R. Lethaby's *Medieval Art* is a rather mediocre book. Robert de Lasteyrie, *Architecture religieuse en France à l'époque Gothique*. A volume by P. Lorquet on *The Art of the Middle Ages* is announced. Emile Lambin, *Les églises de l'Ile-de-France*. Eugene Lefèvre-Pontalis's *Les architects et la construction de la cathédrale de Chartres* is a study of great importance; see also his *L'architecture gothique dans la Champagne méridionale*. A sympathetic and interesting chapter on Romanesque architecture will be found in William P. Longfellow's *The Column and the Arch*. There is a very satisfactory translation of Émile Mâle's *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* into English with the title of *Religious Art in France*; see also his fine book on *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*. Margaret and Ernest Marriage's *The Sculpturess of Chartres Cathedral* is scholarly and abundantly illustrated. Elizabeth Boyle O'Reilly's *How France Built her Cathedrals* contains bibliographical aids. Charles H. Moore's *Development and Character of Gothic Architecture* is the best study of the subject; but it deals rather unsympathetically with all Gothic building save that of the thirteenth century in France; a new edition of the book, now out of print, is very much needed. In Walter Pater's *Miscellaneous*

Studies there is an interesting description and interpretation of the communal cathedral of Amiens and the monastic church of Vézelay. A. K. Porter's *Medieval Architecture*, in two large volumes, is scholarly, inclusive, and lavishly illustrated. Suggestive chapters will be found in Lisle March Phillipp's *Form and Color*, which is also published under the title of *The Works of Man.* Joseph and Elizabeth Pennell's *French Cathedrals* is charmingly illustrated. John Ruskin's *The Bible of Amiens*, though replete with errors, is still stimulating and suggestive. Richard Phene Spiers, *Architecture, East and West.* Henri Stein, *La Sainte-Chapelle de Paris.* Russell Sturgis's *History of Architecture* deals very satisfactorily with the Gothic style and abounds with illustrations. C. E. Street's *Gothic Architecture in Spain* is still the best general work on the subject. The ten volumes of Eugène E. Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècles* are still of fundamental importance. Wilhelm Worringer's *Formprobleme der Gotik* is a book with a wider scope than its title indicates; it is an attempt to describe the artistic impulse of the northern peoples, as distinguished from that of the southern peoples, and to account for it.

CHAPTER 30

LEARNING AND LITERATURE

Development of mathematics. One of the most important aids in the development of mathematics in western Europe, it will be remembered, was the adoption of the so-called Arabic numerals. They supplanted the awkward Roman numerals; and they added the zero, which those numerals did not possess. The history of these new numerals remains obscure, but it is quite certain they were used in the early centuries of our era in India. Sometime or other in the twelfth century they found their way from the Saracens into western Europe. How they came westward we do not know. Very likely they were brought by traders rather than by scholars. They made possible great progress in arithmetic and algebra, though they were not generally used in business and in the schools until the sixteenth century. In this development the most important person was Leonardo of Pisa (1175?–1250). He was the son of an official in Bugia, in Barbary, one of the many commercial stations established by the Pisans on the southern and eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. The Saracenic learning in mathematics which he studied was an eclectic knowledge derived from the ancient civilizations of Greece, Egypt, Persia, and the Far East, to which Moslem scholars had contributed something of their own. Leonardo's *Liber abaci*, one of the most important treatises in the history of mathematics, was first published in 1202; and, with his subsequent works, it advanced mathematics to a point beyond which no notable progress was made in the next five hundred years.

Development of astronomy. This increased mathematical knowledge made possible the beginning of the development

of astronomy on the part of the western Europeans. But before this was done men had to learn all that had been discovered by the ancients. Ptolemy's *Almagest*, which summarized ancient astronomy, was translated from the Greek about 1160 and from the Arabic in 1175. "Henceforth", says Haskins, "the full reception of the astronomical knowledge of the ancient world depended upon the assimilation of this work". Additional astronomical information was gained from the Saracens. Translations from the Arabic of books dealing with that science were fostered by Frederic II and Manfred at their court in Palermo; and many astronomical and other scientific books found their way into Latin Christendom from Spain, especially from Toledo, where for more than a hundred years there was an unbroken succession of active translators from Arabic into Latin. These translators found an intelligent and generous patron in Alfonso the Wise (1252–1284) of Castile. All this astronomical lore was interwoven with astrology, and the possibility of a sharp separation of the two had to wait until, in 1543, a new cosmology was given to the world by Copernicus.

Development of physics. In physics, too, the Saracens had acquired much of the knowledge possessed by the ancient Greeks and had increased it slightly by their own discoveries. They were particularly interested in astronomy, and their observations led them to investigate the laws of light and vision. To their works, and to the older writings of which they were the custodians, the first treatise on optics produced in western Europe was greatly indebted. It was written about 1270, but was not published until 1572, and was the work of Vitello, a native of Poland. The history of the invention of spectacles, the microscope, and the telescope, is uncertain. Perhaps none of them is to be attributed to any one man. Each of them may have been developed gradually as the result of the study and experiment of a number of men. Spectacles probably came into

use in western lands towards the end of the thirteenth century; but the ancients could not have cut jewels so perfectly without the aid of magnifiers. Doubtless those forgotten artificers made convex glass lenses to aid their vision. And perhaps it was they who invented the microscope and the telescope; but nowhere in ancient or medieval writings is there an account of the use of those instruments.

Development of chemistry. Chemistry, as yet deeply involved in alchemy, in the attempt to discover "the philosopher's stone" by which base metal may be transmuted into gold, made slight progress until the medieval period was over. Yet some "permanent chemical knowledge was acquired as a by-product of alchemical research, and the most recent chemical theories and experiments incline us to much greater tolerance toward these early attempts to transmute one metal into another".

Development of medicine. Medicine, as we have seen, was studied at Salerno; but greater progress in that subject seems to have been made elsewhere, especially at Montpellier. In the twelfth century a full recovery was made, by translations from the Arabic, of all the writings on medicine by the ancient Greeks, of which the most valuable were those of Hippocrates, the father of medicine, and Galen, his voluminous successor; and knowledge was gained of the important original contributions to that study by the Saracens, chiefly by Avicenna.

Adelard of Bath. The first important student in the twelfth century of the science and philosophy inherited from the ancients by the Saracens, and augmented by them, was Adelard of Bath. We know little of his life save that he lived in England, that he traveled in distant lands, going as far as Syria, and that, by his activity as a translator, he did much to make the mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy of the Saracens known to Latin Christendom. And his own writings must have given much encouragement to scientific investigation. Haskins tells us that he "occupies a position

of peculiar importance in the intellectual history of the Middle Ages. Standing at the point where the traditional knowledge of the cathedral schools meets the new learning of southern Italy and the Mohammedan East, his attitude was one of personal inquiry and not mere blind receptivity. The first, so far as we know, to assimilate Arabic science in the revival of the twelfth century, to him we owe the introduction of the new Euclid and the new astronomy into the West. Moreover he was a pioneer in more than a chronological sense. He went out to seek knowledge for himself by travel and exploration, penetrating as far as Sicily and Syria and, probably, Spain; and he showed a spirit of independent inquiry and experiment quite his own. Fragmentary as our information is, it reveals something of the originality and many-sidedness of the man; and if further research should lead to new discoveries concerning his life or writings, it will throw light on one of the most interesting and significant figures in medieval science".

Roger Bacon. Far more important than the acquisition of knowledge, more important even than the new mechanical aids for gaining knowledge, was the spirit and the method of scientific investigation now slowly beginning to be developed in western Europe. And of this spirit and method the best exemplar was Roger Bacon (1214?–1292?), who flourished more than a century after Adelard of Bath. Little is known of his life. He was a student at Oxford, where he met a number of prominent men of whom the most important was Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253), the scholarly Chancellor of the University and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. Later on, for what reason it now seems impossible to learn, he became a Franciscan. Perhaps he felt the need of the protection of a powerful religious order and was attracted to the one he joined by the fact that several of its prominent members were liberal and rationalistic. Rashdall tells us that at Oxford, all through the medieval centuries, "the speculative, enthusiastic, often democratic Franciscans

were more influential than the sternly orthodox, authority-loving, persecuting Dominicans". Quite naturally such a scholar felt the attraction of Paris. So he went there, and found great excitement at the University. Men were eagerly discussing the translations of Arabian texts, especially the commentaries of Averroës. In those debates, however, he was not greatly interested. The method of the dialecticians failed to satisfy him. The ways of those importunate controversialists were not his ways, nor their thoughts his thoughts. They depended too much upon authority; and they relied too much upon deduction. He speaks of "abandoning the usual methods". He was not overawed by any man, though it is true he quoted on almost every page he wrote from Aristotle or Averroës; and he knew that scientific investigation, and not the syllogism, is the means by which new information is to be gained. He learned things at first hand. In his keen power of observation we see the art of vision awaking from its long medieval sleep. And he knew the necessity of experimentation. Experimental science, he declared, is "the mistress and ruler of all". Roger was not the first medieval man to realize the value of experimentation, but in the writings of no other scholar of that age is the method of scientific research described so clearly, so completely, and so correctly. He knew that it consists of observation, experimentation, and reasoning. And he explained quite definitely and clearly the difference between observation and experimentation. Thus he forged the weapon that was eventually to deal the deathblow to scholasticism. The ways of faith and knowledge were soon to diverge. Dialectic was to yield its leading position to research. The laboratory was to supplant the lectern. Roger Bacon, to be sure, did not free himself completely from the trammels of authority. He did not escape from that intercourse with theology which is so characteristic of his time. We could not expect that from a lonely thinker. Inevitably he was influenced by the intellectual conceptions of his time,

especially by the belief that the ultimate purpose of all knowledge is to serve theology. But he was aware of their limitations; and he did what he could to free himself from them. He turned away, though not completely, from the great authorities who held the minds of men in thrall, and with tireless energy pursued his studies in mathematics, astronomy, physics, and chemistry. It was no slight thing to reject authority in those days. It was nothing less than a sharp revolt against the method and the spirit of scholasticism. And naturally he suffered the consequences of such a revolt. His books were condemned, and he was thrown into prison for perhaps fourteen years. What became of him after he was set free we are uncertain. Even the date of his death is disputed. But his method was used and developed by others. It was a product of the individualistic tendency of the age; and it was a great help in ushering in the modern world. It made men dissatisfied with the futile discussions of vague conceptions of universals and taught them how to investigate the concrete things of the actual world in which we live.

The chief encyclopedia of the time. Naturally, in that age of expanding information, there was a desire for a summary of all that was known to man. Earnest students wished to know everything and to have everything put into order. Several attempts to provide such a compendium were made in the later medieval centuries; but by far the most important was the ponderous *Speculum majus* of Vincent of Beauvais (1190–1264), written at the request of Louis IX of France. It was a more ambitious undertaking, in scope and purpose, than any of our modern encyclopedias. It was to provide men with a universal summary of human knowledge and to aid in the salvation of their souls. It was to contain, in brief, says the author, "whatever, from unnumbered books, I have been able to gather, worthy of consideration, admiration, or imitation as to things which have been made or done or said in the visible or invisible world

from the beginning until the end, and even of things to come". Vincent strove to include all that was known about everything. His vast compilation is arranged in three folio volumes of eighty books and 9885 chapters; and to it there was added later on a fourth volume by another compiler. It is a work of immense industry, of tireless activity with scissors and paste, in collecting from about five hundred separate works and in arranging the contents in systematic form; and, despite errors and omissions, it was of great value in making accessible to the earnest student the gist of the learning known, in the middle of the thirteenth century, to western Europe.

Rise of the vulgar tongues. From learning let us pass to language and literature. And, first of all, let us see how Latin gave way to the modern tongues. Rome gradually spread her language over the greater part of southern and western Europe. At first the new language was nearly uniform throughout the empire. But quite early disintegrating forces made themselves felt. Something of the native tongues survived and helped to split the imperial language into local dialects. Linguistic changes have always been continuously taking place; and in the early medieval centuries, owing to the poor facilities of transportation and communication, they could not be uniform over so large an area as the empire. Latin, therefore, varied more and more from one district to another. The conquered peoples slowly modified the speech of their masters. And so it came about that the Latin which was eventually to be changed into the vernacular tongues of Italy, Castile, Portugal, Provence, and northern France was not the literary language of the Romans. It was the vulgar Latin, spoken by peasants, soldiers, and artisans. It was the daily language, learned by oral intercourse with their neighbors, of Romanized Germans, Celts, and Iberians. All through the medieval centuries it was the clerics alone, who were almost the only people who could read and write, who kept up the use of

literary Latin. They regarded that language as the only one capable and worthy of expressing serious thoughts. "That is a fact of capital importance", says Gaston Paris, "for it destroyed all harmony in the literary production of the epoch. It divided the people into two groups, learned and illiterate, clerical and secular; and it took the most distinguished and instructed minds from the cultivation of the living speech of daily life and imprisoned them in a dead language alien from the modern genius, where an immense and consecrated literature imposed upon them its ideas and its forms, and where it was almost impossible for them to develop any originality". And when the vulgar Latin of everyday life was eventually differentiated into the vernacular tongues of the rising nations it was again the common people, not the scholars, who brought about the change. "Language is not an abstract construction of the learned, or dictionary-makers", says Walt Whitman, "but it is something arising out of the work, needs, ties, joys, affections, tastes, of long generations of humanity, and has its bases broad and low, close to the ground. Its final decisions are made by the masses, those people nearest the concrete, having most to do with land and sea". Language is made by the peasant on his farm, the sailor on his ship, the trafficker in the market-place, even the criminal in the jail, as well as by the scholar in his study.

The chansons de geste. The literary language of northern France, the country in whose tongue the word for "yes" was *oïl*, the *oui* of to-day, was known as the *langue d'oïl*. It had been built up during a period of more than four hundred years out of the decomposed and reconstructed Latin, with the addition of some slight elements from the Celtic and Iberian dialects of the early inhabitants of the country, and from the Germanic speech of the Visigoths and the Franks, and was in full and varied use in the later decades of the eleventh century. Its earlier remains are the *chansons de geste*. More than one hundred of these epical poems of

historical *gesta*, or deeds, have come down to us. They cluster about the name of Charlemagne. They were the spontaneous recitals of a growing nation which has experienced tragic events and which unceasingly respects the names and the brave deeds of its heroes. From the deep convulsions of barbarous history men had preserved the memory of the great leader whose rough hand began to bring order into the confusion of the West. The earliest and most famous of these epic songs is the *Chanson de Roland*, probably composed about 1108 by a Norman writer who used the old popular songs relating to the subject at a time when the Norman spirit was the most powerful influence in the life of Latin Christendom. When Charlemagne returned, in 778, from his expedition against the Moslems in Spain he followed the old Roman road that runs from Pamplona to Bordeaux. The rear guard of his army, in command of Roland, Keeper of the Breton March, was destroyed by mountaineers, now said to be Basques, in a deep wooded gorge, a long day's march, as marching was then done, from the summit of the Pyrenees. A vivid impression was made upon the popular imagination by this disaster in the Pass of Roncevalles. Many poems, with varying details, sprang up about it, and they spread to all parts of the continent, and even to Iceland. All through the succeeding centuries the mournful echoes of Roland's marvelous horn resounded in castle, convent, village, and town. The stories of the Charlemagne cycle multiplied. The legends grew. And, in the course of three hundred years or more, personages and events of widely separated times and places became so confused and melted together that it is now impossible to discriminate completely between fact and fiction, or even to distinguish one age from another. Such were the narrative poems utilized by the author, a great poet whose name has been lost, of the *Chanson de Roland*. Yet, fictitious and confused as are many of its details, the poem, a direct and vivid narrative, is the finest

literary expression of the later medieval centuries. It is full of the barbaric vigor, the brutality, the credulous piety, and the high sentiment of honor of the aristocratic society of eleventh-century France. It was immensely popular. "Many thousands of times", says Henry Adams, "these verses must have been sung and echoed in every castle and on every battlefield from the Welsh Marches to the shores of the Dead Sea". This great work, "bleak, bare, gaunt, majestic, stands out, to the readers of today, like some huge mass of ancient granite on the far horizon of the literature of France". The later *chansons de geste* are not the works of notable poets. They are looser in construction, simpler in language, and less personal than their great predecessor. Only in a few cases are the names of the trouvères who composed them known. These anonymous improvisations, originally not written but recited, sprang spontaneously from the soil of France. The men who put them into the shape in which they have come down to us were the nameless minstrels who, in castles and at fairs, found an audience that delighted in long narratives of adventure. And so, lacking grace, full of warlike energy, animated by the fierce passions of the time, they reveal, quite sincerely, the customs and conditions of feudal society, the spirit of chivalry in its more masculine period.

The Arthurian Legends. We have seen that a change came over the spirit of chivalry. Its masculine and military character was gradually softened and refined with feminine grace. A corresponding change took place in architecture, in the change from Romanesque to Gothic, and also in literature. While *chansons de geste* were still being written there came into vogue the dreamy and romantically spiritual stories, dealing more with love than with war, of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table. They came from the far western lands where men listened to the eternal plaint of the sea and heard the inarticulate murmurs of the deep forests. Whether, in the fifth or sixth century, there

was an historic King Arthur of Britain has long been disputed; but it seems to be true that, while there was at that time no king by the name of Arthur, a noted chieftain, who fought against the Saxon invaders of the island and fell in battle, bore that name. As time went on the stories of his deeds grew, much as did those about Charlemagne. As the Charlemagne cycle of legends waned the Arthurian waxed in popular interest and gradually exercised a profound influence upon all the literature of western Europe. And of course the Cymric chieftain of that far-off time, and the personages who surrounded him as well as the events in which he took part, were represented in the varying lights of all the succeeding centuries in which the stories of the cycle were rewritten and in which additions were made to them. Thus did the Arthurian legend become very confused and complex. Somewhere about the year 1136 Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Welsh priest, wrote in Latin a *History of Britain*, a compilation of materials probably obtained from British sources. The book is pseudo-historic; but it served as a storehouse of legends from which later writers drew narratives which they developed and changed. Geoffrey's history was apparently welcomed in northern France as a more convenient and perhaps fuller repository of the legends than any other to be found there. It arrived there just when it was needed, and so it became an epoch-making book. Other writers soon began to avail themselves of the material it contains. One of the most popular presentations of the stories was a free metrical version of Geoffrey's narrative, called the *Roman de Brut*, written in Norman-French by Robert Wace (1100?–1175), a priest born in the isle of Jersey. The process of improvement and accretion continued. The old narratives were embellished and new ones invented.

Chrétien de Troyes. The most famous, though not the first, writer in northern France to utilize these Celtic legends was Chrétien de Troyes, a native of Champagne. We know little about his life; but we are certain he was in close rela-

tions with the court of the Count of Champagne, that of the Count of Flanders, and also, for a brief time, that of the king at Paris. The years lying between 1150 and 1182 are probably those of his literary activity. He was interested in the Arthurian heroes as types of chivalry; and he retold their stories with a color, a delicacy, an easy and graceful style, a subtlety of insight, a sentiment of romantic melancholy, a mystic mood, thus far unknown in medieval literature. His poems contain more numerous and varied characters and better descriptions than the *chansons de geste*, and they appeal to a greater variety of interests. They met the changing tastes, the growing refinement, the increasing number of female readers, listeners, and patrons, of the time. So they rapidly supplanted the older poems in popularity. Chrétien seems to have been the first poet to diffuse throughout the western part of the continent the subtle charm, the soft colors and flowing lines as of some old and faded tapestry, the sense of remoteness and mystery, the vague love of some imaginary rainbow land, the world of shadowy idealism, that differentiate these Celtic stories from the rough, firm, precise, realistic character, the starlit nights and storm-swept days, of the *chansons de geste*. His versions of them, and those of writers who patterned after him, intoxicated readers until a stronger wine was poured out by such writers as Ariosto in the time of the Renaissance in Italy.

Poems of adventure. A third development of French literature was the *romans d'aventure*, poems of adventures almost entirely imaginary, though some of the personages bear historical names, which began to be written in the thirteenth century and continued until prose became the generally accepted form of fiction. They were the novels, if one may say so, of their day. The best known, and the most charming of them, though not the most representative, because parts of it are in prose, is the song-story of *Aucassin and Nicolette*. Nothing is known of the author of this delicate

and beautiful story of the son of a noble and of the Saracen slave girl with whom he fell in love, save what little we can learn from his poem. The jibes against the church tell us almost certainly that he was neither monk nor priest. That he was not a noble seems proved by the evident sympathy with the common people. We may conclude, therefore, that he was a trouvère sprung from the common folk, going from fair to fair and reciting to eager crowds his list of songs and stories. He helps us to see the dawning of the modern world, for he thought for himself in religious as well as in social matters. No hope of reward or fear of punishment in the future kept him submissive to the doctrines and discipline of the church. "In paradise what have I to win?" asks Aucassin when told that his soul will burn forever in hell should he take Nicolette for his mistress. "Therein I seek not to enter, but only to have Nicolette, my sweet lady that I love so well. For unto paradise go none but such folk as I shall tell thee now: Thither go these same old priests, and halt old men and maimed, who all day and night cower continually before the altars and in the crypts; and such folk as wear old amices and old clouted frocks, and naked folk and shoeless, and covered with sores, perishing of hunger and thirst, and of cold, and of little ease. These be they that go into paradise, and with them have I naught to make. But into hell would I fain go; for into hell fare the goodly clerks, and goodly knights that fall in tourneys and great wars, and stout men at arms, and all men noble. With these would I liefly go. And thither pass the sweet ladies and courteous that have two lovers, or three, and their lords also thereto. Thither goes the gold, and the silver, and cloth of vair, and cloth of gris, and harpers, and makers, and the princes of this world. With these I would gladly go, let me but have with me Nicolette, my sweetest lady."

The fabliaux. Feudal wars are the theme of the *chansons de geste*, gallantry and romantic spirituality are the chief

motives of the Arthurian legends, while adventure and foreign travel supply the material for the *romans d'aventure*. All of these appealed to the medieval aristocracy. The lower classes, now rising in importance, especially the townsfolk, were inclined to be contemptuous of tournaments, courts, crusades, languorous legends of adulterous love, and all the other ways and customs and delights of the nobility. They were interested in other things. It was they who suffered most from the corruption of priests and prelates and the oppressive deeds of the nobles. The communes were, in reality, republics founded by merchants and artisans who joined themselves together under oath to escape the bonds of feudalism. The crown encouraged them to do this, because they in turn helped the crown. Many feudal lords, in need of money, or perceiving the inevitable drift of things, granted charters of municipal freedom. But in more than one town the middle class had to fight for a long time before they succeeded in forcing their masters to a composition. And ecclesiastics were frequently hostile to this process of enfranchisement, especially in the north of France. The townsfolk, therefore, listened eagerly to satirical narratives of the folly and misdeeds of the classes of persons against which they had grievances. Such were the *fabliaux*, amusing recitals of real or possible events happening in ordinary human life, skeptical and mocking, often richly spiced with indecency. These brief and lively tales not only ridiculed the priesthood and the nobility for the special privileges they enjoyed, but created a contempt for all ecclesiastical and knightly notions and ceremonies, and even for the religious and chivalric spirit. In them the essential character of the French people, the opposition of the real to the ideal, of the understanding to the imagination, manifested itself in an emphatic manner. The sharpest sting, indeed, was reserved for the secular clergy. One of the most fecund of all the *fabliers* was Ruteboeuf, who flourished in the reigns of Louis IX and Philip III, a man

evidently of humble birth, a true Parisian, the forerunner of Villon and Voltaire.

Stories of the Fox and the Wolf. Closely related to the *fabliaux* are the gay and lively poems, current also in Dutch and German literature, which gathered about the names of Reynard the Fox and Isengrim the Wolf. These satirical stories, written by literary townsmen, the most insolent of all the parodies of the feudal system, are realistic in character; but they are far more refined and witty than the *fabliaux*. They grew in number continually, and were unceasingly retouched and embellished. Under a thinly veiled disguise of animal life they expose the weaknesses and the vices of men and women. Yet their satire is joyous and not at all bitter. They have the animation, the good temper, and at times the delicacy of a true work of art. They anticipate, by four hundred years, the delicate and charming tales of La Fontaine.

The Roman de la Rose. One of the most important of all the medieval poems is the *Roman de la Rose*. The first part, written about 1230 by Guillaume de Lorris, is, despite some beautiful passages of description, a rather flat and dull allegory dealing with love and intended for the aristocratic society that had been fascinated by the courtly romances of Chrétien de Troyes. Forty years later it was completed by Jean de Meung. The second part, much the longer of the two, is extraordinarily interesting. It is the work of a townsman, a Parisian, a clear and bold thinker, a man familiar with all the scholastic learning of the day, keenly observant of the life about him, scornful of the shallowness and the pretensions of clergy and nobility, and bitterly satirical as to women and marriage. The power of thought, so long unused, had gradually aroused itself and was fast gaining strength from exercise. After a long silence the common man had much to say. So popular was the poem, voluminous and heterogeneous as it is, that more than two hundred manuscripts of it have come down to us. And so

modern is its rationalistic spirit, so vivid its testimony to the stirring of the intellect, that it may rightfully be regarded as a true forerunner of the Renaissance.

The first notable French historian. In every country the development of literature in prose was much later than in verse. In due time, however, prose became important in France. And quite naturally the first field in which it came into its own was history. French chroniclers wrote in Latin prose at first, and then in French verse; but as time went on prose narratives, first translated from Latin, and then written in the vernacular, became common. The first notable historian who used the vernacular tongue of northern France was Geoffrey de Villehardouin (1160?–1213?), Marshal of Champagne. He was one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade and wrote a history of that enterprise under the title of *The Conquest of Constantinople*. It is a simple and direct narrative, restrained, sober, always sincere, and touched at times with color and animated with a sense of movement. The little book is one of the best presentations of the spirit of chivalry when it was masculine and enthusiastic, before it became sophisticated and subtle; and it is "well worthy, by its clarity and firmness, to inaugurate French prose".

Joinville and his history. The second notable writer of history in French prose was Jean, Sire de Joinville (1224–1319), who was the head of a noble family in Champagne. He was a close friend of Louis IX, and wrote an account of the two crusades, both futile, the last one tragic, in which that monarch took part. It was not until late in his life, when he was an old man, that the Lord of Joinville wrote his *Histoire de Saint Louis*. The book makes no attempt to reveal the spirit and describe the habits of the feudal nobility of the time. It is the narrative, in the easy flowing style of intimate speech, of a garrulous old man, full of personal details, replete with repetitions. Yet it is no mere record of trivial memories. There are more than a few

vivid passages describing important events. And then the old seneschal had a hero. So his book has the charm of biography. It is so full of human nature that it interests us as does a contemporaneous narrative. Everywhere there is a feeling of devotion, deep and enduring, to the ruler in whose service the old soldier had spent the active years of his life and whose memory he adored.

The langue d'oc. The literary language of southern France, the country in whose tongue the word for "yes" was *oc*, was known as the *langue d'oc*. It was not confined to the province of Languedoc; but was used throughout a wide territory extending from the mouth of the Gironde into northern Italy and northeastern Spain. It was by no means uniform throughout this wide territory. There were many local varieties. No appropriate name was found for it in the medieval age. Later, and gradually, it came to be known as Provençal. That is not an entirely satisfactory name, because strictly speaking it applies only to the variety of the *langue d'oc* spoken and written in Provence; but it is the best that has ever been suggested.

Provence and its people. Provence lies in the southeast of France. On the north it is bounded by the province of Dauphiné, on the west by Languedoc, on the east by the Alps, and on the south by the Mediterranean. Easily accessible by sea, it is shut off by mountains from its neighbors. Every one knows that the Alps separate it from Italy; but we do not always remember that the long and bleak range of the Cevennes separates it even more effectively from the rest of France. The only easy roads to the north and west were the narrow passes of the Garonne and the Rhone. Provence was therefore aided by its geographical situation in preserving through all the storms of the barbarian invasions and the wars of the feudal age a good deal of the civilization inherited from Rome. This land of subtle and fluctuating charm was the first province acquired by the Romans outside the peninsula of Italy. So they called it

"the Province". That is how, later on, it came to have the name of Provence. And not only the name of this most beloved province bore memories of the imperial past, but its roads, bridges, aqueducts, temples, theaters, law, and many a less prehensible inheritance. No grievous traces had been left on its life by the wave of barbarism. Latin culture and the grace of the Greek mind never entirely disappeared from those towns that long ago were outposts of pagan wisdom and beauty in the West. The noble traditions which the misfortune of the times had elsewhere effaced were symbolized by the architectural monuments of the imperial epoch at Arles, Nîmes, and Orange. Kindly seeds had been sown by the Saracens; and at Montpellier the studies in mathematics, medicine, and philosophy were continually refreshed by communication with Toledo, Cordova, and Salerno. Nor were the Jews inactive. They were, indeed, the most alert and capable of all the scholars in the city schools of that province in utilizing the learning that streamed over the Pyrenees or found its way across the sea and up the Rhone. Commerce was prosperous and contributed not only to the necessities but also to the elegance of life. Merchants brought magnificent stuffs, perfumes, spices, and jewels from the East. The middle class grew rich, and its wealth increased its power. Early in the twelfth century the towns began an effort to form their new governments independent of the feudal lords, and some of them became self-governing. In doing this the townsfolk were only maintaining their traditional privilege, handed down from the municipal government of Rome. They were gentlemen of the second degree; and they even figured in the tournaments and wore the armor of chivalry. The nobles of the province made no serious objection to this. They were much less combative and they were far more cultured than the nobles of the north. That is why, with no great effort and in a few years, that smiling land of the olive and vine shook off the most galling fetters of the feudal system.

The early troubadours. This secular civilization was bound to find expression in literature. And, equally so, that literature was bound to be lyrical. One cannot hear the soft tones and rhythmic cadences of those volatile and expansive people without feeling that their speech must be set to music. It was to be a literature of troubadours, of poets who were also composers, of poems intended, not for recitation, but for singing. The first of these poets of whom anything definite is known is William (1071–1127), Count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine. The comparative perfection of his technique, however, and the fitness of his language for refined and elevated ideas in poetical form make it quite certain that he was not the earliest troubadour. His poetry is evidently indebted to much previous development. But when this development began, and what things contributed to its progress, are questions we are unable to answer. Probably a large debt was owing to poetry written in Arabian, in the tenth century, in the north of Spain. Eleven poems of this princely singer have come down to us. Several of them are love songs; and all of them are essentially aristocratic, appealing to the nobles and their courts where could be found talented members of the lower classes. What most interests us in them, however, are the thought and the spirit of the approaching modern era. Troubadours who were nobles, and perhaps others who had become famous, usually circulated their poems by the mouths of *joglars,* or *jongleurs* as they were called in the north, who recited them in castles and towns. A *joglar* gifted with originality might rise to be a troubadour; and, correspondingly, if a troubadour disgraced himself, or fell upon evil days, he might fall to the estate of a *joglar.* The *joglar* always, and the troubadour often, led a wandering life, going from court to court wherever an audience could be found and a recompense obtained for his songs and stories. Nearly five hundred different troubadours are known to us by name. Most of them, it would seem, were nobles.

Later troubadours. The best known of these highborn minstrels is Bertran de Born, the most fiery singer of them all, impetuous and violent, a friend and an enemy of kings, influential in the continental politics of his time, who wrote two laments for his royal patron that are among the most sincere and beautiful works in all this southern literature. A few troubadours of plebian birth found places more or less permanent under patron lords. Bertran de Ventadour, one of the most famous of these, seems to have been the son of a scullion in the castle of the Viscount of Ventadour. His poems, written for the beautiful wife of his patron, are the finest of all the troubadour songs. They are a true expression of the ennobling power of love. Another troubadour who climbed from the bottom of the social ladder was Marcabrun, left at the door of a rich man in Gascony. Bitter of tongue and hostile to women, he was perhaps the most original of all these poets. His patrons were Richard the Lion Heart and Alfonso II of Aragon. Most of the troubadours, however, led a wandering life. They traveled far and wide, to the neighboring countries in which dialects of their own speech were spoken, to England, the Danubian lands, and even to Syria. One of the most famous of the wandering troubadours was Peire Vidal of Toulouse, the son of a furrier, who was called "the maddest man in all the world". He believed himself to be an irresistible breaker of hearts, and consequently his early life was a series of astonishing adventures. The best known of the later troubadours is Peire Cardinal of Le Puy, who managed to escape the armies gathered to exterminate the southern heretics and found protection at the court of James I of Aragon. He wrote the most outspoken satires against the clergy, and he even addressed a powerful "poem of blame" to God. Last of all the troubadours of the old school of southern France is Giraut Riquier of Narbonne, who took refuge at the court of Alfonso X of Castile. His poems are a pathetic expression of the sorrow and suffering of his native

land. "Song should express joy", he said, "but sorrow oppresses me, and I have come into the world too late". He is but one of many troubadours who left their desolated homeland to spend their remaining years in Spain or Italy.

The songs of the troubadours. The troubadours sang chiefly of love. They had escaped from the medieval religious discipline. The passion which the monks had trampled under foot and the theologians condemned, the pleasure in which had been seen only a mortal temptation, the joy so long lost, all were born again and flourished once more. But war also called these poets. So they bade their ladies adieu and hastened to battle. They were interested also in politics. Naturally they were partisans of their noble patrons. Some of their songs, therefore, are pungent with personal satire. And the ecclesiastical shortcomings of the day did not escape their attention. They reproached the prelates in plain language for their simony, rapacity, perjury, and hypocrisy. All these songs are artificial. They were the first literature to emphasize the value of form in poetry. Among the verse forms employed are the *canso*, or *chanson*, for love or the praise of a benefactor; the *sirventes*, for political passion and imprecations against the corrupt clergy; the *complainte*, for grief at the death of a friend or patron; the *tenson*, for the discussion of some uncertain opinion or the subtleties of chivalric love; and the *aubade*, to represent a lover with his mistress, while a vigilant friend outside keeps watch and warns him when the dawn appears.

Decline of the troubadour songs. The troubadours flourished until the outbreak of the war against the Albigenses. Most of their patrons, the rich and cultured nobles of the south, were indulgent to the heretics and suffered accordingly in the crusade. Aside from the war, however, their literature declined because of the decay of the spirit of chivalry of which it was a brilliant expression. Then, too,

their poetry had the defects of its rare qualities. It was lyrical, enthusiastic, intimate, impetuous; but it was not given to dispassionate contemplation of the world and to noble and lofty thought. Even in the recital of heroic deeds and the mocking portraiture of society it was decidedly inferior to the literature of northern France.

Language and literature in Spain. Three languages developed from the Latin speech of the common people are spoken in the Spanish peninsula,—Catalan, Portuguese-Galician, and Castilian. The first, as we have seen, is one of the varieties of the *langue d'oc* of southern France. It seems to have been taken southward across the Pyrenees by men whose forefathers had fled before the conquering Saracens into France. From the ninth to the twelfth century, as they gradually regained the country of their origin, they carried it farther and farther southwards in the eastern part of the peninsula until it was spread over the province of Alicante. Troubadours wrote and sang in that recovered land just as their fellow minstrels did north of the Pyrenees. It was not until the fifteenth century, however, that any literature of importance was produced there, and that is more than a hundred years after the close of the Middle Ages. This is true also of literature in the language of Portugal and Galicia. But, about the middle of the twelfth century, the *Poema del Cid*, a noble *chanson de geste*, which rises almost to the dignity of an epic, was written in Castilian. It tells the story of Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar (1030?–1099), better known in history by the Arabic surname of the Cid. This freebooter, rebel, and consorter with the enemies of his country, who pillaged church and mosque with prompt impartiality, falls far below the idealization of the poem; but still he remains the greatest soldier of the long struggle between the Cross and the Crescent in Spain. The poem in which his memory has been embalmed "glows with the pure fire of poetry, is full of a noble simplicity and a true epical grandeur", and, despite the unhistorical characteriza-

tion of the hero, it is "invaluable as a living picture of the age". Many other poems were written about the Cid, ballads, rich in romance and adventure, which are the popular record of a passionately patriotic race.

Literature in Germany. Many *chansons de geste, fabliaux,* and poems of the Arthurian legend found their way into southern Germanic lands. So, too, did songs of the troubadours. But vigorous native writers were beginning to appear. Three styles of literature, the national epic, the court epic, and the *minnesang,* or lyric, were developed in Germany. The decentralization and disorder of feudal times were unfavorable to literature; but now, under Frederic Barbarossa and his immediate successors, the German people were drawn together more than they had been and they became the chief political power in the continent. Their cities, too, some of which were really free republics, grew in population and wealth and were now able to protect life and property effectively and to encourage the arts and crafts. Literature, therefore, began to flourish.

Songs of the Mist Land. Chief of the German national epics is the *Nibelungenlied,* which seems to be a dramatic story of medieval people and events confused with remains of myths brought long ago from the misty northern lands by the invading barbarians. The central historical theme is the overthrow of the Burgundian kingdom, in 437, by the Huns. Subsequent historical events were added later on with an ingenuous disregard of chronological possibility. The authorship of the poem is uncertain. Perhaps it was first put into writing in the latter part of the tenth century and then several times rewritten, with interpolations in the spirit of chivalry, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Its literary power, dramatic intensity, and, despite the presence of inharmonious elements, its singleness of purpose, make it the most authentic epic of German medieval life. Another epic poem, written in the thirteenth century, is *Gudrun,* suggested by some of the sagas that originated,

long before the northern folk began to migrate southwards, on the shores of the North Sea.

Literature at the German courts. The German court epic began in the last quarter of the twelfth century, and, at first, followed the similar French poems quite closely. It became distinctly more independent in the hands of Hartmann von Aue, who belonged to the lesser nobility of Swabia. Three of his four narrative poems are patterned after French models; but his charming story of *Der arme Heinrich* is wholly indigenous. Wolfram von Eschenbach was one of a brilliant group of poets whom the Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia gathered about him in the historic castle of the Wartburg. He was a Bavarian, probably of the lower nobility, and in his poems he makes frequent allusions to his poverty. He was the most individual and notable German poet of his time, and his *Parzival* is the finest and most spiritual version of one of the most attractive of all the Arthurian legends. The extent of his indebtedness to previous literature is uncertain, but that he was a true poet is beyond all doubt. Gottfried von Strasburg gave the final medieval form to a story of shadowy Celtic origin in his epical poem of *Tristan*. He spiritualized this tragic story of two lovers with subtle insight and depicted the results of overpowering passion. Very different from these court poems is Wernher der Gartenaere's realistic and lively peasant story of *Meier Helmbrecht*, the best picture we have of life in the last medieval century in Germany.

The Minnesingers. The German *minnesingers* correspond to the troubadours. They were lyric poets who sang principally of love, but also of politics and religion. They were greatly influenced, especially with regard to the complicated verse-forms and the *amour courtois*, the minute and artificial etiquette of love prevailing among the nobility, by the literature of Provence. Yet they were by no means enslaved by their foreign patterns. They had a wider range of interests, and the tone of their poetry was more sincere and

salutary. Their most flourishing period began at the end of the twelfth century. Chief of the earlier *minnesingers* is Heinrich von Morumgen, whose lyrics disclose great imaginative power and strike a modern note. Reinmar von Hagenau, because of his subtle and elegaic verse, has been called "the scholastic philosopher of unhappy love". Greatest of all these lyric poets is Walther von der Vogelweide, who seems to have been born in Tyrol, and who learned the art of song under Reinmar at the ducal court of Vienna. There he wrote lyrics so beautiful as to win the admiration even of his rivals. After the death of his patron he led a wandering life, going from town to town, from court to court, glad if his song got him a meal and a lodging for the night, and making many enemies by his merciless criticisms of men and manners. He had emphatic political and social opinions, and was an ardent supporter of German independence and unity in the struggle between empire and papacy. He never renounced the faith of his fathers; but, because of their extreme claims, he let loose his wrath upon the popes. As an advocate of religious tolerance in an age when that virtue was by no means common he deserves at least a passing word of praise. A greater degree of realism is to be found in the poems of Neidhardt von Reuental than in those of most of his predecessors. He sang of village life, depicting the peasants sometimes with humorous banter and again with biting satire. It was a time of change. The ideals of the aristocratic world of chivalry were fading. The material prosperity, the comfort, the political independence, and the intellectual development of town life were now awakening a response on the part of the poets, some of whom were not content to picture and extol the life of village and town but, in terse and witty verses, deliberately parodied the artificial code of chivalry. Some of these later singers would doubtless have written in prose if that medium of literary expression had been sufficiently developed in Germany.

Language and literature in Italy. There were many dialects in Italy derived from Latin. Most of them are still in use in their respective districts for the purposes of daily speech; but the one that became the literary language of the entire peninsula was that of the small province of Tuscany, or, speaking more strictly, that of the city of Florence. This was due principally to the overwhelming genius of Dante. It was a fortunate victory. Of all the dialects of the peninsula the *lingua Toscana* is the most dignified, the most flexible, and the one that best trains men in the orderly habits of grammar and syntax. And it is the most musical. Byron was enchanted with the beauty of its liquid numbers, the sonorous sound of its vowels, and the sustained *cantilena* of its verse. Latin held its own far more tenaciously in Italy than elsewhere, and so the development of a new vernacular language was later there than in France and Spain. The Italians wrote no *chansons de geste*, no romances of adventure, no lyrical love poems, in their native tongue. Chivalry never blossomed on their soil. In the later medieval centuries their intellectual life was almost exclusively confined to the study of the Roman law, of which all the documents were in Latin. Before the opening of the thirteenth century there was no writing in the Florentine tongue that was to become the literary language of Italy. Two literary invasions of the peninsula therefore took place, one from the south and the other from the north of France. The former was the earlier of the two, and the more important in its results. When, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the crusade against the Albigenses destroyed the civilization of that lovely land many troubadours fled to Spain and Italy. Frederic II, who was himself a poet, and whose own animosity to papal encroachments also enabled him to sympathize with the refugees, welcomed some of them to his court at Palermo in Sicily. Others found asylum at ducal and princely courts in northern Italy. We know of more than twenty troubadours who found shelter in the

peninsula. They were, however, rather late. The spirit of chivalry from which they derived their inspiration was decaying, and the technique of their verse-making had become meticulous and artificial. Yet to them Italy was indebted for the beginning of its lyric poetry. The language they brought with them was near enough to the dialects of the peninsula to permit the circulation of their poems. And very soon they had Italian imitators who wrote in Provençal and thus helped to make that tongue the literary language of the Italian nobility. Advance was made when native Sicilian troubadours, *provenzaleggianti*, began to write in a composite dialect, the nature of which has been much disputed. From that it was but a step to writing in the leading dialects of the peninsula.

Jacopone da Todi. We can see this development in the religious lyric poetry of Umbria, of which the chief inspiration was Francis of Assisi. The movement inaugurated by that religious reformer had a powerful influence upon the literature and the painting of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century in Italy. It gave them a new impulse, a quickened vitality. Francis bade his followers speak to the common people in words they could understand. And he set them an example. His rhythmic prose is the earliest specimen of religious literature in an Italian dialect. To his immediate followers this gentle mystic, who charms the modern reader with the simplicity, gaiety, and sweetness of his character, seemed the friend and servant of God. And to none other did he seem more so than to Jacopone da Todi (1228?–1306), a brilliant lawyer, a seeker of pleasure, a cynic, who loved and married the beautiful Monna Vanna. He dressed and adorned her with rich brocades and costly jewels and took her to feasts and revels. At first, we are told, she resisted and tried to convert her husband to her own ascetic fear of luxury; but, failing in this, she submitted and wore the beautiful garments he bought for her. One day, when they were at a wedding feast, a bal-

cony on which she was seated broke and fell. She was fatally hurt. In a neighboring house they unlaced her, and next to her body they found a rough shirt of hair. The shock changed the life of Jacopone. He renounced the world, became a friar, and then gave free rein to his extraordinary poetic power. His *laudi* are full of erotic and mystic passion; and if they may not rightly be called great poetry they nevertheless flash ever and anon with the real fire.

Poets of " the sweet new style ". But the most important development of Italian literature at this time took place in Tuscany. The towns of that province had shaken off the triple yoke of feudalism, imperialism, and papalism. They were now controlled by the gilds, in which both employers and employees were to be found. These busy centers of material activity, in which we see the beginning of our own industrial age, were still torn with internal struggles; but nevertheless prosperity smiled upon them, and literature and the other arts were encouraged. Every year they grew richer, more intellectual, more cultured, more beautiful. Swarming with a new brood of people, craftsmen and tradesmen, the literature they produced was bound to differ from that of the castle and that of the cloister. The democracy of their streets, taverns, and workshops was the very antithesis of the chivalric and monastic ideals. Irony and sarcasm were leveled at the classes that hitherto had held themselves aloof from the common people. Even their songs of love were different from those of the troubadours. Their ideal was no longer that of courtly love. They transformed the conception of that emotion, sublimated it, touched it with mysticism. They exalted woman to a symbol of angelic nature, and so made her an object of adoration. At first, however, this difference was slight. The early poetry of Guido Guinicelli, the founder of this *dolce stil nuovo*, this "sweet new style", is hardly to be distinguished from that of the troubadours. It is artificial, with continual and clever rearrangements of conventional

commonplaces. But gradually his work became more real and human. He gained a deeper and nobler conception of the nature of poetry. He succeeded in making the transition from chivalry to the new idealism of the intellectual aristocracy of the towns. His poetry leads the way to the *Vita Nuova* of Dante. Treading on the heels of this first poet of the love which makes the man who feels it virtuous and pure came Guido Cavalcanti (1250?–1300), a learned man with a high conception of his art, who eclipsed his predecessor and still further prepared the way for the coming of Dante. In his poems we can see the medieval spirit slipping away. The best of them are simple and graceful, and have the freshness and ingenuousness that belong to the early years of a literature. The dawn of a new era was breaking. Dante tells us that Cino da Pistoia (1270–1336) was one of "those who have most sweetly and subtly written poems in modern Italian". His love poems are so mellow and melodious that they are surpassed only by those of his great successor. Thus it was that the Florentine dialect became the national language. More than any other it had succeeded in combining the regularity, the precision and the gravity of the Latin with the vital characteristics of a living tongue. Evoked from the chaos of dialects and the darkness of the dying medieval tongue there had come into being a new language whose liquid and melodious vocables invite like limpid waters, a tongue of delicate grace and of tragic accent. It was ripe for a literary efflorescence, and with unparalleled swiftness it now reached the greatest height it ever attained.

Dante. There are but few events in the life of Dante degli Alighieri (1265–1321) of which we have certain knowledge. We know he was born in Florence, that his youth was devoted to study, poetry, and the affairs of public life, that he married Gemma Donati by whom he had several children, that because of his participation in political matters he was exiled from his native city, that for twenty years

he was a wanderer in Italy and France, knowing the salt taste of patron's bread, alternately trembling with hope and disheartened by cruel disillusions, and that he died at Ravenna, where often he had mused in the pine forest by the sea, and where his remains still rest. Such, in brief, is all we know of the outward life of him in whose immortal epic the medieval centuries culminate, one of the greatest poets of all time, and incomparably the greatest among the Italians.

The New Life. Something of the morning freshness of the time, the dawn of a new era, the thrill of awakening life, is to be discerned in the earliest and most directly autobiographical of Dante's writings, *The New Life*. You may not venture into it suddenly from your marketing and gossiping. Try it and you will find yourself beaten back at the threshold. It is the entrance to a cathedral. The desecrating dust of the world's highway must be left with the shoes at the door. Mystic imagery united with verbal music, love refined almost to religion, had been made known by the earlier poets of the *dolce stil nuovo;* but this is the most ethereal and spiritual romance of love in all literature. What is this new life of which the poet writes with such tenderness and frank simplicity, whose charm it is impossible not to feel? Is it simply the story of his early life? Or is it the story of the new life revealed to him by the poignant experience of love? The latter seems to be the true interpretation. *La Vita Nuova* is the story of Dante's life refined and ennobled by the presence of Beatrice. It does not recall the facts of the poet's life in their due order, but rearranges them freely for the purpose of revealing a spiritual experience. And under this story of love there seems to be the story of a soul torn with a conflict between faith and science,—the two things that disputed the allegiance of every thoughtful man in the thirteenth century. Such, it would seem, is the inner meaning of this book with an enigmatic title.

Dante's advocacy of Italian. Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is a Latin treatise on the subject of poetic composition in Italian. At least four books were planned, but only one and a good part of another were completed. At the outset the author declares boldly that the vulgar tongue is nobler than Latin. The purpose of the book was to prove that assertion. Dante had very little material for such a work, but nevertheless he proceeded to discuss the origin and growth of language, the separation of the Romance languages from Latin, and the different dialects of the peninsula and their literary possibilities. It was his intention to form from the various dialects, avoiding their shortcomings and combining their merits, a language adequate to meet all the demands of a national literature. This he did later on in his great epic, and so his purpose was accomplished far more by example than by precept.

The Banquet. Dante wrote his next book of prose in Italian; and in it he became the first lay philosopher of his country. He had accumulated a large store of knowledge, and he wished to share it with all who cared to read. The title of *Il Convito*, which means *The Banquet*, needed explanation. So the author tells us that, though he had not been a guest at the blessed table where the bread of angels was dispensed, he had sat at the feet of those who were there, and had gathered the crumbs that had fallen from the feast. And because of the delight which that little afforded him he desired to share it with those who had not even that. This was the banquet. He intended to write fourteen books, but only four were completed. If it had been finished it would have been a medieval encyclopedia. The first book explains the title and the intention of the work; the second treats of the several sciences; the third deals with philosophy; while in the fourth is unfolded a thoroughly modern theory of nobility. True nobility, he says, is based upon personal worth alone. "Not the race makes a man noble", he declares, "but the man ennobles a race". *The*

Banquet is an attempt to bring philosophy out of the academic halls, away from the disputations of the scholastics, and make it accessible to a far greater number of people. The scholastic method is used throughout, and it renders the book difficult to read; but the language is simple and there are many beautiful passages. It did much to bridge the gulf between scholars and the more intelligent of the townsfolk.

Dante's book on politics. Dante's *De Monarchia* was doubtless intended for all the countries of western Europe, and so it was written in Latin. It is the first work of modern times dealing with the problems of theoretical politics. In it he gave to the world his theory of the relation of the empire and the papacy. The relation of church and state was a burning question of the later medieval centuries. Out of it had arisen wars between nations, and the most sanguinary conflicts between cities and between principalities. Dante had suffered from the bitter rivalry between political parties in which the question of the rights of church and state was involved. Was he not even then an exile from his native city? "O miserable race of men", he exclaimed, "by how many storms and shipwrecks, by how many destructions must you be overwhelmed while like a many-headed monster you pull in different ways? Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity"! Peace was obviously the supreme good, peace that would enable cities and nations to improve their laws and governmental institutions and permit the individual to develop his faculties, to refine his taste, and to increase his store of knowledge. Only a strong, stable, just, and universal government, one in which the spiritual and temporal powers were rightfully related, could insure such peace. Dante asked three questions. Is a universal monarchy good for the world? Yes, he answered. The end of man is intellectual activity, and this can be carried on satisfactorily only in time of peace. Peace cannot be maintained without a

universal monarchy. Have the Roman people a right to this empire? Again he answered, this time with what seems to us fantastical reasoning, in the affirmative. Is this universal monarchy derived immediately from God, or indirectly from the pope? The empire is not dependent upon the papacy, he declared. In making this third affirmation all the papal arguments are met skillfully and with learning equal to any of those who had upheld the opposing opinion. Dante contended that man needs two leaders, one in temporal and the other in spiritual affairs. Both, he said, are ordained of God, and each is answerable to him alone. Neither is subject to the other, although the emperor should maintain an attitude of filial respect for the pope. Thus he swept away the proud claim of the papacy to universal sovereignty. Naturally a storm of clerical indignation burst upon his head; and in the sixteenth century his work was included in the Index of Prohibited Books. The treatise is not a work of the imagination; neither is it the work of a solitary thinker. It is the manifesto of the Ghibelline party.

The Divine Comedy. All that Dante had previously written or thought or done is summed up in the *Divine Comedy*. He called his great work a "comedy" because the pilgrimage is not a tragedy ending in death but a journey "issuing in triumphant life"; and posterity has given to it the epithet "divine". Embracing as it does not merely a single aspect of life but the whole of life it is one of the greatest conceptions that ever issued from the mind of man. It is the drama of the soul. Eternity is involved within its lines. Written in the last years of the poet's life, after joy and sorrow had in turn come to him, after he had labored and thought, it may be said that the great epic is the story of his own soul's pilgrimage in characters so universal as to possess vitality for all succeeding ages. His actual mind may doubtless be seen filled with bitterness in the gloom of the *Inferno*, calmed by reflection in the *Purgatorio*, and

lifted above the world and its disappointments in the *Paradiso*. Endowed with the keen sense of his race for reality, he wove the story about himself and filled it with the details of his own life and the personages of his own time. Beatrice, the lady of his youthful dream of love, sent Vergil to guide him through the dread scenes of Hell and the purifying realm of Purgatory to Heaven. The story of the awful journey is given with great minuteness of detail. For each of the lost souls in Hell the principal motive that actuated him upon earth has become his inexorable fate. Against that fate the individual still struggles. In the midst of hopeless death, in this place of everlasting pain, each is still undefeated. Instead of repenting, the damned persist in their sins. All blaspheme the God who inflicted punishment upon them. The terrible tragedy of the poem lies in the fact that this struggle is in vain. Something, too, of earth's passion still survives. The dwellers in the black wastes of Hell retain the loves and hatreds of their earthly lives. This place of damnation is, then, a world of fatal passions. In Purgatory each soul remembers his earthly life as a dream. But each is concerned with his former life only because of its consequences. The hostilities of the bygone days are forgotten. Each soul is animated with the single passion of repentance. This place of penance is a world of contrite sorrow. Yet it is illuminated by the assurance of ultimate salvation, and so it has a brooding peace. The souls are joyful in the midst of the flames, for they can sin no more, and are sure of obtaining in due time eternal felicity. Paradise, with its radiant and celestial imagery, is a world of rarefied air, too thin for mortals to breathe. In it there is no force of individual character. Each soul, steeped in the beatitude of the Divine Presence, is simply a reflection of the divine love, a single note in the divine harmony. This place of beatitude is a world of perfect accordance with the will of God. The poem may also be regarded not as a description of the future world, but as one

of the existing spiritual world with its three states of sin, trial, and beatitude.

The beauty and the message of the poem. There are many passages in the *Divine Comedy* which are not poetry at all, but merely sections of scholastic philosophy, sections of matter that the poet failed to melt and fuse with his emotion and to subordinate with the power of his imagination. These tedious passages are now no more than records of a vanished civilization. What remains for us, and for all lovers of poetry in the future, is the wonderful beauty of the poem, the remarkable vividness of its personages, the canorous melody of its majestic lines, the lurid glare that illuminates some of the scenes, the soft pervasive glow in which others are steeped, the touching conception of human love, the delicacy of heart, the pity, the tenderness, the exquisite sadness, the beautiful descriptions of nature so often touched with tears. Dante's purpose was to show "how the soul of man, lost in the mazes of life and defeated by the fierceness of its own passions, can learn its peril, escape from the stain and power of sin, and enter into perfect blessedness", that the foes of man are not the adverse accidents of his history but his own tumultuous passions, and that it is possible for every one to change his life from darkest tragedy to glorious happiness. This message he uttered in a clear and penetrating voice. It is the message of a lonely spirit, whose vision was as vast as time.

The epic as a summary of medieval life. Dante's epic is the final summary of medieval life. In it we can see the men of that far-off time quite clearly and completely. All their troubles, all their triumphs and tragedies, their superstitions, their knowledge, their faith, their hopes, their fears, live on forever in its lines. The record is strikingly realistic at times and at others illuminated with light thrice refracted through a spiritual prism. Yes, the twilight of a vanishing age is here, but also the dawn of a new one. The deep currents of life that were silently producing a profound

change in human affairs affected his thoughts, his dreams, his deeds. To summarize an age is to end it. The world cannot stand still. Life is dynamic. It flows on ceaselessly, forever changing in its aspects and its vision. Deep as was the sympathy of the great poet with the medieval past he was nevertheless a child of the new birth. He saw, though perhaps only dimly, the new realms of knowledge looming vaguely along the horizon. It matters not, however, that he saw the new world but indistinctly. It is the direction of a man's gaze that is of chief importance. And it is true that in his poem, despite the deference to authority, individuality, upon which all modern life depends, is supreme. Dante's powerful personality, the exploring solitary soul, is everywhere revealed in the great epic; and this autobiographical character of his poem makes him a harbinger of the new age. And next to this what interests us most in the poem is the individuality of its personages. Even in the dark realm of the dead we feel the life of the modern world palpitating for the first time.

References for Further Reading

The footnotes and bibliographies of the two books by Charles Homer Haskins, the titles of which are given below, are the best guides to the original sources for the study of the revival of learning; while the original sources for the study of the rise of the vernacular literatures are, of course, the writings of that time, in prose and verse, that are still in existence.

For the revival of learning the best books are Haskins's *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* and his more popular *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century.* Pierre Duhem, *Le système du monde de Platon à Copernic.* Charles V. Langlois, *La conaissance de la nature et du monde.* George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science. The Hindu-Arabic Numerals* by David E. Smith and Louis C. Karpinski is the best history of the origin and spread of those numerals. Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Medieval Mind.* Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science. Roger Bacon: Essays* is a book of essays on the great pioneer of the

scientific method contributed by various writers on the occasion of the commemoration of the seventh centenary of his birth and edited by A. G. Little; it contains a good bibliography of Bacon's works. Émile Charles's *Roger Bacon*, published in 1861, though it needs revision, remains the best account of the life and writings of the friar-scholar.

For the rise of the vernacular literatures the best introductions are the histories of the national literatures of France, Spain, Germany, and Italy. Among the more special works the following are recommended. Léon Gautier's *Les Épopées françaises* contains a complete bibliography of the editions of the various manuscripts of the *Chanson de Roland*. A good critical edition of the *Chanson de Roland* is Edmund Stengel's *Das altfranzösische Rolandslied*. Another satisfactory edition in the original is that by T. A. Jenkins. Of the several translations of the *Chanson* that by Jessie Crosland and that by Charles Scott Moncrieff are dependable. Gaston Paris's *Légendes du moyen âge* contains a chapter on the happenings in the Pass of Roncevalles. For the *chansons de geste* see the four volumes of Léon Gautier's *Les Épopées françaises*. Jessie L. Weston, *The Romance Cycle of Charlemagne and his Peers*. There is a very interesting chapter, with translations of several passages, on the *Chanson de Roland* in Henry Adams's *Mont Saint Michel and Chartres*. Joseph Bédier's *Les légendes epiques* is a capital work.

The best general study of the Arthurian cycle is to be found in the new and revised edition of Gaston Paris's *La Litterature française au moyen âge*. The best edition of the poems of Chrétien de Troyes is that by Wenderlin Foerster; but it does not contain the *Parzival*. For general information regarding Chrétien see Maurice Willmotte's *L'évolution du roman français aux environs de 1150*. Myrrha Borodine, *La femme l'amour au XIIe siècle, d'après les poèmes de Chrétien de Troyes*.

For the French poems of adventure see Charles V. Langlois's *La société française au XIIIe siècle d'après dix romans d'aventure*. Translations of the song-story of *Aucassin and Nicolette* have been made by Andrew Lang, Francis W. Bourdillon, and Eugene Mason.

The best edition of the *fabliaux* is that by Anatole de Montaiglon and Gaston Raynaud. Joseph Bédier's *Les Fabliaux* is a good summary of critical thought about these stories. The best edition

of the *Roman de Renart* is that by Ernest Martin. Joseph Jacobs has told the story in English in *The Most Delectable History of Reynard the Fox.* Among the many studies of the subject is the essay by Gaston Paris, entitled *Le Roman de Renard,* published in 1894 and 1895, in two parts, in the *Journal des Savants.*

Geoffrey de Villehardouin's *Memoirs of the Crusades,* translated by Sir Frank Marzials, is published in Everyman's Library. And a translation by the same writer of Joinville's *History of Saint Louis* is also published in Everyman's Library. There is also a translation, with some omissions, by Ethel Wedgwood of *The Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville.*

Karl Bartsch's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur* is an indispensable work; it contains a sketch of Provençal literature and a list of the troubadours, in alphabetical order, with the lyric poems attributed to each of them. Joseph Anglade's *Les troubadours* is an interesting and trustworthy work, in popular style, with a good bibliography. Justin H. Smith's *The Troubadours at Home* is a stimulating and suggestive book, in two volumes, based upon a reading of the troubadour poems and travel in southern France; it contains many translations from the Provençal. A. Restori, *Letteratura provenzale.* Henry J. Chaytor's *The Troubadours,* an interesting and scholarly little book, is the best brief survey of the subject. Friedrich C. Diez, *Poesie der Troubadours;* and also his *Leben und Werke der Troubadours.* Ida Farnell's *Lives of the Troubadours,* a useful little book, is made up of translations from the medieval Provençal and has introductory matter and explanatory notes.

Archer M. Huntington's *The Poem of the Cid* contains the Castilian text and also the first complete translation of the poem into English. Leonard Bacon's translation of *The Cid* is admirably done. In James Young Gibson's *The Cid Ballads* will be found excellent translations of old ballads about the national hero of Spain.

Karl Bartsch's *Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* is a comprehensive selection of the songs of nearly a hundred minnesingers with brief biographies and bibliographies. For translations of some of these songs into English see F. C. Nicholson's *Old German Songs.* Karl Burdach's *Über den Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Minnesangs, Liebesromans und Frau-*

endienstes ascribes much of this literature to Saracenic influence coming from Spain.

Jessie L. Weston, *Legends of the Wagner Drama;* and her *Parzival;* see also her abbreviated translation of Gottfried's *Tristan.* A fine translation of *Parzival* by Sebastian Evans is published under the title of *The High History of the Holy Grail.*

A long passage from Wernher the Gardener's *Farmer Helmbrecht,* translated by George Lincoln Burr, is printed on pages 418–425 of the first volume of James Harvey Robinson's *Readings in European History.*

In studying the rise of literature in Italian it would be well to begin with Charles H. Grandgent's little book *From Latin to Italian.* Giulio Bertoni, *I trovatori d'Italia.* Evelyn Underhill's *Jacopone da Todi* is the best biography of that mystical poet and contains many translations from his poems. Translations from many of the minor poets preceding Dante and contemporaneous with him are contained in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Dante and his Circle.* There is a convenient edition of all of Dante's chief works published by Dent in the Temple Classics, with the Italian and English texts facing one another on opposite pages. The works written in Latin will be found in *The Latin Works of Dante Alighieri* translated by Philip H. Wicksteed and A. G. Ferrers-Howell. All the great poet's works have been gathered by Edward Moore in *Tutte le Opere di Dante.* Charles Eliot Norton has translated *The New Life of Dante Alighieri;* and another translation will be found in Rossetti's *Dante and his Circle.* A. G. Ferrers-Howell has translated the *De Vulgari Eloquentia.* There are translations of the *Convito* by W. W. Jackson, Philip H. Wicksteed, and Lorna de Lucchi; the last will be found in her *The Minor Poems of Dante.* There are translations of the *De Monarchia* by Aurelia Henry, F. J. Church, and Philip H. Wicksteed, the last having excellent notes. There is another by W. H. V. Reade with an introduction on the political theory of Dante. There are many translations of the *Divine Comedy.* The most faithful is probably that in prose by Charles Eliot Norton. The one by Henry W. Longfellow is conscientiously accurate. And that by Melville Best Anderson is done in the original Italian verse-form. Edmond G. Gardner's *Dante* is a fine introduction to the poet and his work; and an important side of him is shown in the same author's *Dante and the Mystics.*

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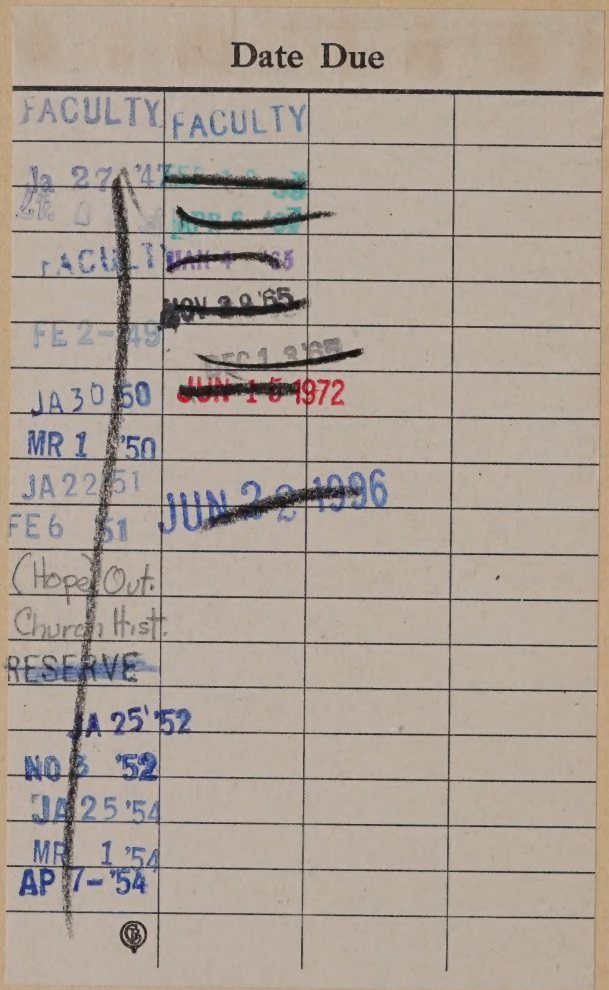
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